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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The International Socialist Review

DEVOTED TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS INCIDENT TO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

EDITED BY A. M. SIMONS

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VIII JULY, 1907 NO. 1

The Real Import Of The Austrian Victory.

THE CONTINUED brilliant succcsses of the Socialist Movement in all the great countries of Europe have been for us too much a mere matter of self-congratulation or academic interest. Between the Amsterdam and the Stuttgart Congresses, in three short years, the position of every socialist party of Europe has been revolutionized. Not only do the tactics differ in each country, but there are often now several disciplined but widely varying factions within the same party. We must stop boasting international successes, and using them merely as proof of the general justice of the socialist philosophy. We must analyze and study each party and faction to find what lesson it has for the United States.

In studying any party, however, it is convenient to classify it and compare it with other parties of the same tendency . Of course we must recognize that the parties will fall into entirely different groups, according to the principle of classification chosen. If, for instance, we classify the parties according to their interest in the economic struggle at the *present moment,* we find that the parties in England and Germany are most interested in the labor unions, while those of France, Belgium, Italy, Austria and Russia, though supporting with their full power the unions, especially, since they themselves have been the chief union organizers, are concentrating their attention either on parliamentary or revolutionary politics. If, on the other hand, we classify the National Movements according to their interest in the Agrarian question, we have a somewhat different grouping. All the movements, except that of England, are having considerable success with the landless proletariat or agricultural laborers. It is when we come to the problem of organizing the small proprietors that the diffi-

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culty begins. All Socialist parties of all countries are now agreed that the small farmers should and must become socialists, but only a few have had any success in that direction.

A. M. Simons' "American Farmer" now so widely read all over Europe must have aided in changing the former dubious and rather hopeless attitude toward this social factor, that numerically outweighs the industrial proletariat in all the great nations except England and Germany, where it is nearly as important. When the growing protective tariff system now being adopted by the world shall have reached its climax, even England's exceptional position may change, for in the British Empire, which in some form or other will then arise, the Agrarian population of the Colonies will balance the industrial population of the mother land. At any rate, Mr. Simons has proved the hopefulness of the American farmer for socialism, in proving his hopeless economic plight. Certainly with our Federal and State system, the farmers will hold the balance of power between the city workingmen and city business class for many decades. The State dominates the city, elects presidential electors and constructs congressional districts.

Not for a generation can the city workingmen hope to gain a majority against united Farmers and Bourgeoisie in more than half a dozen states. But with another generation our capitalistic society will develop large new classes of the benevolent feudalism, servants, servile employes and Hooligans of the London type. If the benevolent feudalism continued, these half dozen industrial states might never grow to be more numerous, but capitalism will continue until replaced by socialism. With the American movement, the farmer vote is, therefore, not a luxury,—it is a necessity. So the success of the European socialist parties in converting and organizing the small owners of agricultural land is of the most vital moment to the United States.

In this respect, the comparatively uninterested and unsuccessful group among the European parties include England, Germany, Austria and Italy; the successful ones are Russia, Hungary, Bohemia and Galicia. France and Belgium also have had distinctly successful, but not yet very satisfactory results. Russia has already converted her millions of peasants to a certain form of socialism. One of the socialist parties concentrates its attention on the peasants, and believes that this process of their conversion will be completed in a year or two more of revolution; the majority faction of the other party thinks the conversion of the peasants and the revolution will last a decade or so, but does not doubt a socialist outcome. The chief pride and accomplishment of the Hungarian movement also is a very strong and aggressive Agrarian organization, but it is in Bohemia and Galicia that the

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most brilliant results have been achieved in the election just elapsed, and since the Austrian party failed to convert the small proprietors in the same elections in which the Bohemians gained a general, and the Poles a partial victory, the discussion of this election should lead to far-reaching conclusions.

All the parties of Austria are united into one; all are socialist through and through, and all reached splendid successes in the last election, not excepting the smaller Italian, Slavonian, Ruthenian and Roumanian sections, which we shall leave out of this discussion. But a system of National Autonomy prevails in the United party of the Empire, and as a consequence there were wide differences in the tactics displayed by the Germans and by the Bohemians and Poles in the elections.

At first it would appear that the Germans had a greater success, since they secured 50, and the Bohemians only 30 seats in the parliament. But this is due to two facts,—(1) The Bohemians though numerically equal to the Germans were given many less seats by the Election law, so that 46 Germans have the same vote as 54 Bohemians. (2) The German Socialists were tacitly supported by several bourgeois parties, and got a third of their seats through bourgeois votes in the second ballot, while the Bohemians were opposed by a "block" of all bourgeois parties, and got only two out of 50 re-ballots.

Notwithstanding this obstacle, and the comparative newness of their party the Bohemian Socialists got a larger percentage of the total votes cast by their nationality, than the Germans did of those cast by theirs. The explanation is that the Bohemians actually succeeded in getting a large proportion of the vote of the small agricultural proprietors.

Let us first examine the results achieved by the Austrian party. There is no doubt that they are excellent,—as good, if not better in a movement scarcely twenty years old than those achieved by their fellow Germans of the land of Marx. They organized the vast majority of the working men, both politically and economically, against overwhelming odds, while Austria still remained a semi-feudal regime. Finally, it is they, and they alone, that forced the Government to make Austria a parliamentary State. The Emperor was forced like Bismarck, to consider universal suffrage as an offset to the sectional strife of the privileged classes of the different races that compose the Empire. But it was the Socialist demonstrations and threat of a general strike that forced the privileged to cease their opposition to the epoch-making edict.

The Emperor had already issued a threat of universal suffrage to quell the nobility of his other dominion, Hungary; the Czar had already promised the Duma,—the Socialists paraded

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the example of these neighbor countries, and their agitation did the rest. But, of course, the Emperor granted universal suffrage with malice aforethought. His calculation was that another International party than the Socialists,—that is, the Catholics, would get the upper hand, and owing to the failure of the Austrian Socialists to get any hold among the small proprietors, Franz Joseph was not disappointed.

Austria furnished nearly half the seats in the new parliament. Of these, the Socialists got 50, but the Clericals got nearly twice that number, and the related International group, the Agrarians, obtained 29 seats. Among the Bohemians also, these groups outnumber the Socialists, but not in the same proportion. The Socialists secured 25 seats against the Agrarians 21, and the Clericals only 16. And in Bohemia the Clericals and Agrarians combined with the city bourgeoisie against the Socialists, while in Austria the large majority of the other bourgeois parties voted for the Socialists.

The Clericals and Agrarians will not quite control the new parliament. This result is due almost entirely to the Bohemian and Polish Socialists who forced their Clericals and Agrarians to share their seats in the second ballot with more democratic bourgeois parties in order to gain the latter's support in other doubtful districts. Therefore, in the new parliament also the Clericals and Agrarians will be forced to share their power with some more democratic party, probably the Polish people's party, which while composed of Catholic peasants is opposed both to conservatism and reaction.

If the German Socialists of Austria had gained the vote of the small proprietors, as did the Bohemians, they would have forced the Agrarian Clericals into a combination with the nationalistic city liberals, either at the second ballot, or in the parliament. The combined Socialist party in Austria might in that case have gained less seats in parliament, but it would have doubled the German Socialist vote, and made the Socialists not the third, but the second political group in the Empire,— the place now occupied by the German and Bohemian nationalist and liberal parties.

What is the cause of the lamentable failure of the Austrian Germans among the peasant proprietors? It is not far to seek. The Austrian Socialists have inherited from their Prussian, German comrades, a tradition of hostility to the peasantry. Through Kautsky the German theorists have long tried to make the Prussian misfortune the rule for other lands. The stupidity, loyalty and servility of the Prussian peasant are proverbial. But these qualities are nowhere else so highly developed, not in Russia, not in France, not even in Bavaria, which has already cast off

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Kautsky's doctrine of waiting for the increase of large estates and of the landless agrarian proletariat before expecting success in the country districts. Meanwhile the small proprietors continue to increase in nearly all countries, either naturally, or by laws naturally enacted by the ever alert bourgeoisie for their own protection against the rising tide of socialism in the towns.

There can be little doubt that the German party in Austria is improving in this respect, but it is still hostile to the propertied peasantry. When in the recent campaign, the Christian Socialists (Catholic, agrarian, anti-semitic demagogues) read in public meetings, statements they said had been made by socialists against the farmers, the Socialists, or course denied the accusations. But the peasants, from what they knew of the German Socialists naturally believed what they heard, and the Socialists' own defense bore them out, for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* replied to the attacks, not with an assertion of their friendliness to the small proprietors, but merely with a statement of their interest in the landless peasant proletariat, which, doubtless, no one had ever denied. In a later number it is said in reproach of the catholic priests that they in their country environment actually became peasants *"verbauern,"* as if it were the depth of degradation to become a *"bauer,"* plough man, or peasant. Do American Socialists use the word "farmer" as a term of reproach?

The Christian Socialists stand out frankly as *first of all* the party of the small peasant proprietors, and they get his vote almost to a man. The Socialists consoled themselves with the idea that Austria is, or soon will be, an industrial country with comparatively few farmers. But this is hardly true, even of German Austria, since the vote obtained by the Christian Socialists, Clericals and Agrarians in the country alone largely outnumbers the total socialist vote, and the Socialists have three-fourths or nine-tenths the city proletariat. In the Greater Austria, as in the United States, the farmers will long continue to outnumber the workingmen.

The Clerical and agrarian parties are accused by the German Socialists of Austria, of doing things of which Socialism cannot approve; for instance, of legislating to increase the price of agricultural products, and so of bread and meat. But how can any party expect the support of any part of the agrarian population if it does not promise either the increase or the maintenance of good prices for agricultural products? The Socialists accuse the agrarians of keeping up a high tariff, but here the Socialists of Austria are simply standing for the principles of our Democratic party, and classifying themselves with J. R. McDonald's Socialist, no-class-struggle party of England, or the checkmated German party. Socialism favors the discontinuance of tariff wars, as

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well as wars with guns, but it does not demand that the most socialistic nations should disarm themselves in either respect. This is the liberal democracy of industrial lands,—taken up by the German party, only because in Germany there was no democratic party in existence worthy of the name.

What are the arguments used by the Socialists against the party that in this question, at least, truly represents the interests of the small propertied peasants. Why this, that the high tariff brings "little or no profit" to the small proprietors, and much to the big? But a little profit is much for a poor farmer. Farther, the Socialists accuse the Agrarians of trying to *"hetzen"*, arouse, the bourgeois against the Socialists. But have not the Socialists already done this as true class-conscious fighters must? It seems not,—for the Socialists everywhere, in the second ballot, supported their employers, the financiers, the officials and the shop-keepers against the Agrarian. This lets the cat out of the bag; the German Socialists prefer the vote of their so-called enemies in the city to those they call their friends in the country. Throughout the whole Austrian literature is found this setting of the city against the town, the elevation of industry, the degradation of agriculture. No wonder they dont get the farmer's vote.

Of course, some of the Socialist accusations against the present agrarian parties are true. These parties do not, on the whole, truly represent the small proprietors, and this is just the reason why the Socialists should step in as they have across the border of Bohemia, and fulfil this profitable function.

Like our Democratic and Republican parties, the Austrian and Bohemian agrarian parties have themselves an impossible task. In their fight for more power they want the powerful, as well as the numerically important classes in their party, and so they have bid for the support of the large landlord employers who, though they are certainly for the interests of agriculture, are utterly against those of the small proprietor. The small proprietors' first interest is a democratic state,—the landlords are for the feudal system. The small farmers' second interest is for the compulsory purchase by the government, and sub-division among themselves of the landlords' estates.

The Bohemian party occupies a totally different position. After capturing the city proletariat, it went out like the German party, after Agricultural laborers. But it did this in a more aggressive manner, centering a large part of its attention on the Agrarian strikes against the large landlords of South Bohemia, who were a very important factor in the old semi-feudal state. Having once taken up the fight of the landlords it continued it all along the line with such fervor that it attracted the favorable attention of the landlords' other enemies, the small proprietors,

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and finally, secured a large part of their suffrages. On the other hand, it drove all those middle-class peasants who hire one or more laborers for the season into the Bohemian agrarian party.

Here is the class-struggle in the country as it is now sought for by all the socialist parties with a very few exceptions. On the one side, the landlords, and those farmers with whom the wage-bill is an important item; on the other, the agricultural laborers, and those farmers who work with their own children, when they have them, or with the aid of some young prospective farmer when they have no children. These are the people who make up the co-operative farmer socialists of Denmark, and who composed a majority of the voters at the last Russian election, so that when the suffrage is equal they will control a majority of the parliament of the greatest agricultural country in the world.

The Polish results reinforce the lesson given by those of Bohemia. The industries of Bohemia occupy nearly as many people as its farms. Galicia is the most agricultural country in the world except Roumania. Moreover, in the towns, the Ruthenians and Jews have parties of their own, in order to resist the dominant Poles, who though they are less than half the population are able by an unjust political system to control everything. Even the working people are drawn into this Nationalistic fight, and not only is the overwhelming majority of the population rural, but it is also Catholic. So in Polish Austria (Galicia) the Socialist party, against whatever odds, has been compelled to go out after the small proprietors from the outset. It was the peasant that sent the first Socialist to the Austria Parliament from Galicia, and it is to the peasants that they owe a majority of the hundred thousand votes they secured in the recent election and half of their seats in parliament.

The Polish Socialist Party of Austria has not only kept the division of the large landlords' estates in the foreground, but like the Polish party of Russia, it has proposed the co-operative plans by which this small proprietorship shall lead to Socialism. It is as much opposed to the tactics of the Prussian Socialist party as the Poles generally are opposed to all things Prussian.

But there is hope in the future, even for the German section of the party. Already in the elections the Bohemians and the Poles have obtained more votes than the Germans. This should sooner or later lead to their predominance in the party of the Empire,—the adoption of progressive Agrarian ideas by the Germans and the ending of the latter's tacit co-operation with the bourgeois parties at the second balloting against the peasant parties.

Moreover, when Hungary leaves Austria in 1917, and sets up a tariff against Austrian manufacturers, Austria will retaliate by

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raising the tariff against Hungarian agriculture. This will give a new boom to agriculture and the agrarian problem in the whole empire. The German Socialists will be forced by economic conditions to seek the peasants' support.

This is not the only pressure. The semi-agricultural Bohemians, and the entirely agricultural Ruthenians (Russians) of Galicia, by a just election, ought to have fifty more seats in the parliament. Unless all the Socialist parties of Austria unite to get a share of this vote, Austria will not only cease to advance, but will go backwards. For the Catholics and landlords will not neglect their opportunity, and if they get all these votes they may have a majority in some future parliament, even without having to obtain the support of any genuinely democratic element like the Polish People's Party.

Austrian Socialism hangs in the balance. If the Socialists can obtain their share of the agricutural vote, the Socialist Party will become the chief party of opposition, and will force the other parties to unite, as in all the great countries of the continent. If not, it must play the secondary role which would be played by the Prussian party to-day if Prussia were predominantly an agricultural, and not predominantly an industrial State.

Let the Socialist parties of all nations assume, not the everlasting stupidity, but the ultimate intelligence of the rural population. Let not the curse of miserable feudal Prussia become the self-afflicted limitation of the Socialist parties of less unfortunate and backward nations. The influx of the rural socialist vote will prevent the threatened abandonment all over the world of political for economic action, protect the socialist parties from the domination either of the conservative labor unionism of England, or the anarchistic labor unionism of France, and insure, in our generation, the political and perhaps even bloodless victory of socialist principles in every civilized country of the world.

W. E. WALLING.

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First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

EARLY on Easter Sunday I went to the "House of the People" to attend the twenty-second congress of the Belgian Labor Party. In one of the busiest and most important sections of the beautiful capital of Belgium the socialists have built their temple. It was opened in 1899 and cost over 1,200,000 francs. It is a veritable palace. It has a theatre which is filled every night with large audiences. Besides the offices of the International Socialist Bureau and the Belgian Labor Party, all of the trade unions have their quarters in this building. There are also several large meeting and committtee rooms, and of course the stores, tailors shops etc. of the Co-operatives. On the ground floor there is a large and handsome café which is filled every evening to overcrowding by working people and their families. In addition to this *"House of the People"* there are five branch establishments, all of them handsome buildings and one of them with large grounds in addition.

On this gorgeous morning the four-storied palace was splendid in the sunlight; red flags were flowing, a great banner with "Welcome to All' was flung over the broad entrance door. At the top of the building were imprinted on four tablets the names of Marx, Proudhon, Volders and César De Paepe. How significant are these names. The first two were the great intellectual geniuses that bequeathed to the Belgian movement, as to all other working men's movements in the world, intellectual lines of guidance. The third represents the genius of agitation and propaganda, the name of him who during his short period of activity literally destroyed himself by days and nights of feverish propaganda. Before he died this young man was I am told the master of Brussels. César De Paepe was a friend of Proudhon, of Bakunin and of Marx; he was a great scientist, an eminent scholar and an indefatigable propagandist. Above all he was a worshiper of the working class solidarity, and it was I think his spirit and council more than any ones else that made possible the superb unity, and impressive harmony which rules the Belgian movement. In other words his was the genius that taught solidarity.

At the top of this great House of the People is a superb hall

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with seats for perhaps 2,000 people. The night before I had seen it crowded with the poorest of the working men, women and children of Brussels, who had come to see the immensely popular Cinematograph. This morning working men from every part of Belgium, from the mines, quarries, docks, glass works, mills, and all the great industrial enterprises were gathered together to deliberate upon their affairs. There were about 400 delegates representing Co-operatives, Mutual Societies, Trade Unions, Socialist circles and Party Federations. They were almost entirely working men, for the movement in Belgium is distinctly a Labor Party, and in the composition of its membership it resembles markedly the English Labor Party. The mass of the men there were of course unknown to me, as they are not writers of books; they are the builders and the organizers of working class movements. Many of them are masterly in debate and in propaganda, but few outside of Belgium know their names, or can appreciate the immense role they play in party affairs. There were however a few men whom we all know. There was Louis Bertrand, who in the early days of the movement carried on an immense propaganda and was also the president of the conference at which the Labor Party was formed. Vandervelde, perhaps the most able parliamentary leader, and a scholarly and conscientious writer on economic subjects, was unable to be there, because of illness. Professor Emil Vinck, who has specialized for many years upon municipal questions, was there to deliver an important report. Senator Lafontaine, an extraordinarily brilliant man. Jules Destrée and Louis De Broukere were also in attendance. Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, was as efficient in the Belgian congress as he is in all important congresses and committee meetings, whether international or national.

The youthful looking person in the chair is Edouard Anseele. I have always wanted to see this superb warrior, ever since I learned that Socialism was not a dream or a utopia, but a present day movement full of purpose and vitality. I had imagined that Anseele was now old and fatherly looking, with white hair, benevolent face and kind eyes. Instead of the sort of person I had had in my mind, I saw a short, powerful, well-muscled, youthful-looking man with a small head and a strong neck. His jaws are those of a fighter and in action they open and shut like a steel trap. He is a man with a soul full of conviction, and to express this soul he has a body of iron that knows no ache or pain. Obstacles are to him a joy. I think he must love to meet them, to battle with them, and to conquer them. He is strenuous when Teddy is still abed and he is still strenuous when Teddy nods off to sleep. He never rests; he can't walk, he runs. He does the work of half a dozen men; his activity and his accomplishments are prodigious.

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He manages one of the largest Co-operative undertakings in Belgium which does an annual business of over 5,000,000 francs. He is a fighting deputy and no discussion passes, but finds him on the fighting line. He is the bête noir of the capitalists in the Chamber. He annoys them, he routs them out of their lethargy, prods them to activity and goads them into a fury. He is also an indefatigable propagandist flying to all parts of Belgium to carry the word of socialism. The son of a workman, he is the very incarnation of the working class revolt.

It is recorded of Anseele that once when about 18 years of age, he heard by chance some socialists speak. One of them described the misery and wretchedness of the weavers of Gent. Anseele wept. That meant something for that lad and since that hour he has been a revolutionist. In his youth he sold papers on the streets, he wrote socialist novels and in the evening hours he carried on a ceaseless propaganda. As he was extremely poor he often sold to his audiences shirts and other articles to pay his travelling expenses and to assist the propaganda. Later he became the editor of the local Socialist paper, and went to prison for some months because after the soldiers had shot down some workers on strike, he called the King, Leopold, Assassin I. and at the same time he wrote a passionate appeal to the mothers, sisters and sweethearts of the soldiers begging them to write to their dear ones in the army, demanding of them that they refuse to fire upon their brothers, the working men. It would be impossible to tell what this man has accomplished by his superhuman activity during the last 30 years. It would require the space of a book and the story would be as thrilling as a novel. Perhaps here I should say nothing more. Anseele was in the chair.

The congress reminded me very much of the English one. It was cool, even tempered, practical and efficient. There were no great orations delivered and the questions discussed had to do with practical and definite party work. For an outsider there was not a great deal of interest. After considering reports from the parliamentary group, the trade union group, the co-operative group and the federated municipal councillors, the congress gave consideration to certain detailed questions of administration and to other matters largely of local interest. Louis Bertrand introduced an important report upon the eight hour day and the old fight for universal suffrage came up under the form of a proposed affiliation with the Liberal Party. Vandervelde in his report on the subject traced the history of the struggle for universal suffrage and advocated affiliating with the Liberal Party for the purpose of excluding the Clerical Party from all municipal councils. The clericals have always been the most obstinate opponents to universal suffrage. It was the opinion of Vandervelde that

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a general and concerted Electoral affiliation should be worked out with the Liberals which would enable the Socialist and Liberal parties to control practically all the municipal bodies of Belgium.

The readers of the REVIEW know that the struggle for universal suffrage in Belgium has been a long and bitter one. There have been two general strikes, countless riots, imprisoned leaders, martyred socialists and for half a century an almost continuous bitter and consistent fight to obtain universal sufferage. In all the congresses since the formation of the party, there has been a discussion of this question. The working class of Belgium has suffered much in this long struggle to obtain a more equitable electoral system. In 1895 after the general strike the old law was repealed; but the new law while marking an advance over the old one well deserves the name that Anseele gave it "The law of the four infamies." This legislation still irritates the workers and the suggestion of Vandervelde was considered as perhaps the only wise means now available to force the Government to grant a further extension of the suffrage. It must be said that there have always been in Belgium affiliations among the opposition parties. The wisdom of such affiliation is doubted by some members of the party; but each section or federation has been left to do as it pleased in such cases although the party statutes provide that the principles of the party program shall not be sacrificed. The proposal of Vandervelde was therefore not so extreme as it at first appears. It was proposed that instead of isolated instances of affiliation, the socialists should work out a consistent plan for affiliation with the liberals in all parts of Belgium. The discussion on the question was exceedingly interesting. It was however decided not to agree to a general plan of affiliation, and to leave to the local federations freedom to do as they desired.

This is perhaps the only matter of interest to American readers that came before the congress. It is easy therefore to understand that it was not the congress, but what was back of the congress that impressed me the most. The Belgian party is not a party of politicians; its power is not the power of orations nor of orators. It is the power of an economic movement expressing itself in many diverse forms, all closely associated in one definite political organization. Those present represent organizations which express every aspiration of the Belgian working class and their variety and extraordinary development help to make the movement there one of the strongest and best in Europe. I said in a previous article that the Belgian movement was an integral one and I gave in a genral way the form of its

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constitution. It will be interesting I am sure to consider the details of its organization with somewhat more care.

To begin with there are the Syndicates or Trade Unions. These organizations have existed in Belgium from early times and while almost every type of organization can be found there including a considerable movement called "The Knights of Labor," copied from the American movement, the trade union movement as a whole is weak. The reasons for this are various. In the first place the law has been most unfriendly to their development, and they have not seen the necessity for large dues and efficient well paid secretaries; they have practically no paid organizers. At the time of a strike, they often depend more upon assistance from the Co-operatives than from their own treasuries. Furthermore the trade unions usually have a political or religious bias. There are for instance four types of unions: first: those connected with the Liberal Party; second: those connected with the Clerical Party; third: those connected with the Socialist Party, and fourth: the independents who refuse to affiliate themselves definitely with any party. It is however significant that outside of the Socialist and Independent Unions there is really no movement. There are now about 148,483 Trade Unionists in Belgium: only 17,000 are Catholics, only 2,000 are Liberals and about 31,000 are Independents. In other words about 94,000 are affiliated to the Socialist Party.

It is sometimes said that Socialists do not desire a strong union movement. It is even sometimes argued that Socialists have worked to weaken the force and influence of the trade unions. In answer to such criticism it would be significant if I could take space here to show how much the development of the trade union movement of Belgium has been due to Socialist initiative. But that would take me too far a field; nevertheless it is important to observe that the party is now using all its power to build up a strong and more virile trade union movement. Its propagandists are agitating in all parts of Belgium for paid trade union officials who can give all their time to the affairs of the union, and to the building up of the economic movement. While I have been in Belgium this has been the thing most discussed by the Socialists. If one were to attempt to give a complete answer to those who make these criticisms of the Socialist movement one would only need to mention the remarkable organization of the unions at Ghent. The unions there are closely affiliated with the party and they have realized an immense progress. It is entirely through the influence of the party that the unions have obtained first from the city of Ghent and later from other cities in Belgium an insurance scheme for assisting the unemployed members of the unions. Since 1901 the Municipal Council has given to unem-

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ployed union men one dollar for every dollar they have put in the trade union treasury. This is an extraordinarily important development, for it means that instead of the unions having to bear the entire responsibility for the unemployed, the various cities in Belgium are now undertaking to co-operate with them to the extent at least of bearing about half of the total expense.

The next group of organisations connected with the party are "Les Mutualités". They are mutual Insurance Societies such as we have in America. They existed in Belgium long before the foundation of the Labour party. A number of these societies became affiliated with the party at the time of its foundation, although many did not affiliate for the reason that they included in their organization both employers and employees. In 1905 according to the report of the Bureau of Labour there were about 7,000 such societies in Belgium. These societies were organized to insure against sickness, old age, death and similar misfortunes. Although this seems a very large number for so small a country there are still many others who do not report their affairs to the Bureau of Labour. One of the most interesting of the latter is the "Bond Moyson" named in memory of one of the original Socialists of Flanders. In 1890 after a long discussion and a rather heated battle all of these Insurance Societies excepting one, affiliated themselves to the group of Socialist organisations centering about the Vooruit. After this affiliation there opened an era of immense prosperity and the members of these Insurance organisations increased from 4,600 in 1897 to 10,323, or including families to nearly 30,000 persons in 1904. Soon after the reorganisation several new Insurance measures were adopted. A new fund was begun to provide insurance against invalidity, and another for ordinary life insurance. The members now of the Bond Moyson obtain three classes of benefits: first: they are given pensions in case of illness, second: a physician and medical help is provided and third: bread supplies from the Co-operative stores with a pension to the family in case of the death of the insured one. Special assistance is also given at the time of child birth. As a part of this whole scheme the Vooruit Co-operative establishment now gives a pension to all those who buy regularly at the Co-operative stores for 20 years. And when they are 60 years old they are given a pension, including practically all their necessary supplies, from the Co-operative stores. The Mutual Insurance Societies have really taken an extraordinary development. Brussels has a system equally remarkable; and organisations similarly constituted and managed are being organized in all parts of Belgium.

The third group of organisations are perhaps the most important. They are the Co-operatives and they comprise almost

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every type of associated effort. One sees now in almost all the industrial towns of Belgium handsome stores, beautiful meeting halls, large assembly rooms, cafés and restaurants, modern bakeries and other similar establishments owned and administered by the working people themselves. In addition to the stores, where the activity is largely commercial, there has also developed a series of productive enterprises and almost every industrial town of Belgium has now one or more handsome model bakeries. In all of these bakeries the workmen have an eight hour day with the maximum trade union wage. There are also two or three breweries and cigar making establishments, boot and shoe factories, printing shops, cotton mills and co-operative dairies.

It is again at Ghent that the organisation is the best developed. To begin with there is the beautiful house of the Vooruit which is called "Our House". This house, in addition to being a large department store where almost everything that is required by the working people can be bought, is a working men's club. There are rooms for meetings and for recreation which in many ways resemble those of the University Settlements in America. On the first floor of "Our House" is a large café where about 1000 people can sit comfortably at the tables. No alcoholic drinks are sold although one can always obtain light beers and wines, tea, coffee, milk and similar non-intoxicating drinks. In the evening the café is invariably filled with men, women and children, the weavers of Ghent. Above this room is a large and beautiful library which is used also at times for lectures and meetings. On the same floor there are also several committee rooms. On the top floor there is a large assembly room which is also occasionally used as a theatre. All the rooms are handsomely decorated with Mural paintings, illustrating in ideal forms the subject of Labour. Throughout the town there are many branch stores where all sorts of supplies for family use can be obtained. On the outskirts of the town there is a new model bakery with the most improved machinery. About 200,000 lbs. of bread are sold per week from this establishment. In addition there are several branch libraries, a large cotton mill and a handsome print shop where two daily papers and most of the books, pamphlets, tracts and other publications of the party are printed. For twenty cents a year every member of the co-operative receives all publications of this print shop, and there are actually about 155,000 persons who regularly receive printed matter on this subscription plan.

Perhaps the most significant move that has been made by the ever enterprising Anseele and the working men of Ghent was the buying of a fine old house with an immense garden in one of the most aristocratic quarters. It was formerly the aristocratic

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club of the city; but it was found too expensive to keep up! Suddenly and quite secretly this house was bought by the weavers of Ghent and it is now their club. It has a large café, a library, a handsome theatre and meeting rooms, in addition to a large garden which is used on Sundays and other fête days for the games and assemblies of the socialists. In the midst of this old, aristocratic quarter Vooruit has placed its standard of revolt and the neighbors now hear at close hand the singing of the Internationale and other revolutionary songs and see the working people at their games and dances.

It is of course impossible to give in a short paper an adequate idea of the developement of the co-operatives. The following figures may convey some idea of their extent. The annual sales in Belgium during 1906 amounted to about 32,000,000 Frcs. and out of the profits benefits were alloted to the members amounting to over 3,000,000 Frcs. This latter sum was distributed to about 120,000 persons who were affiliated with the co-operatives. In addition to the above mentioned co-operatives there are the various productive enterprises, including breweries, bakeries, dairies and so forth. The total sales from these establishments during the same year amounted to about 1,500,000 Frcs. Their value however is not shown only by the amount of money which they distributed to their members. As I have said elsewhere, they furnish supplies in immense quantities to the strikers when there is any great battle on between employers and employees. In addition to these grants they supply funds in many other directions. The Maison Du Peuple of Brussels for instance during the six years from 1897—1903 gave to the socialist propaganda half a million Francs. And of course this is only one example of what they are also doing in other cities of Belgium. Perhaps a less important but very useful service rendered by the co-operatives is the aid they give to those agitators and propagandists of the Labor movement who have been blacklisted by their employers. These men can always find some work to do in the co-operative establishments and still have time free to carry on their organisation and propaganda.

The fourth developement of the working class spirit is the Labor party itself. It is the bond which ties all of the various activities together. It is meant to express the views and aspirations of the working people politically. The party has now in Parliament twenty-eight deputies and seven senators. In the various municipal councils of Belgium it has about 500 representatives and its total socialist vote is about 500,000. While the unions fight the battles of the workers on the economic field and endeavor to force the employers to accord them better conditions and better wages, the co-operatives endeavor to displace the

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middle man in commerce and to gain for the workers immense advantages in buying the necessaries of life. But the workers of Belgium realize that neither of these efforts can accomplish their complete emancipation. They do not under-value these two economic movements, on the contrary they promote and strengthen them in every possible way; but they fully realize that so long as the capitalists control the machinery of government, they must remain a subject class. They therefore make an immense effort to conquer the Government. In this work the party carries on a tremendous propaganda. It has six daily papers in Belgium reaching 106,000 persons daily, twenty-two weeklies and fourteen monthlies.

I went to see the printing establisment of the Brussels "Daily". I found the paper in possession of a handsome establishment with everything required to produce a first class daily paper. There were large and adequate editorial rooms, light and airy rooms for the compositors and ample quarters for the five large presses. The biggest press was at the time of my visit printing daily papers for the two other towns about two hours from Brussels. These papers as soon as they were printed, were forwarded to these cities where in the morning they would be delivered to the subscribers or sold on the streets. In addition they were printing on one of the presses an illustrated weekly. The Brussels paper sells for one cent while the smaller daily papers sell for two centimes or less than one half cent. The Co-operative establishment has decided recently to issue a new "Daily" for one centime or one fifth of a cent. This will give some idea of the enterprise and business methods of the Belgian Socialists.

Of course there are immense efforts made in other directions as well to promote the propaganda. Countless numbers of the party are speaking and agitating all the time. At the Socialist theatres throughout Belgium Socialist plays are given. There is an extremely clever method of spreading Socialist views amongst the very poorest workers through the medium of several cinematographs. Between every scene there are shown socialist emblems, socialist mottos and short phrases expressing socialist views. Criticisms of politics, words of enthusiasm and of revolt are thrown on the canvass, and in this way the poorest and most illy educated workers gain some idea of the aim of the Socialist party. In addition there is a university in Brussels which is practically in the control of the Socialist party.

After the brief description of the details of organization and of the immense activity of the Belgian working class, the Labor party will mean something to the reader of this article. The members are as a rule simple ordinary working men. Most of

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them have left school before the age of ten and have gone into the mines, factories, and shops to begin their life of labor. They have worked at the lowest wages of any workers in the large industrial nations of Europe; they have fought their battle in the face of a brutal and reactionary government, which has always eadeavored openly and underhandedly to destroy the co-operatives, the unions, and the political party. Furthermore the German movement was old, the trade unions of England and America were mature when this tiny little country of Belgium gave birth to its Socialist party. Almost all of these economic and political organisations, now wielding such power, have come into existence within the last twenty-five years.

The working people of Belgium have had to fight for everything; nothing has been given them, not a step has been taken without suffering. Indeed it was their misery that drove them together to make a common struggle. It is their suffering and their martyred brothers that have so united their life and spirit that not a single important division has occured in the movement during the last twenty years. The party is a practical and efficient one, and its members would never think of neglecting any opportunity open to them to fight the battle of the disinherited. They scorn no method, they eagerly use and develop all. They believe in co-operation, in trade unions, in municipal ownership and in national ownership; they believe in economic action and they believe in political action; indeed when anyone of these methods is but weakly developed, the whole party with hearty good will and with all the energy in its power gives its mind and effort to strengthen it. While other countries are discussing theories, while the working men elsewhere differ in their opinion as to methods and while especially the working men of America quarrel among themselves, the working class movement in the little paradise of the capitalists has been born and has grown to full maturity.

It seems hard to explain why it is that the Belgian working class is so fortunate, and why in the face of so many difficulties and even without universal manhood suffrage they are able to do so well what we seem to be unable to do at all. As I have said before it seems to me largely due to the advice and example of the old warrior of the Internationale, César De Paepe. He counselled solidarity at the day the party was born and he never ceased to repeat it. It is therefore significant that just about the time he was carried away from Brussels to die in Southern France, he should have written these words to the then assembled congress of the party: "I beg of you one permission, one only. Permit an old socialist, who has been in the breach for more than 33 years and who has already seen so many ups and downs, so many

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periods of progress and of reaction in the revolutionary Belgian parties, to give you counsel. That is; Be careful, *above all,* in all your deliberations and resolutions, *to maintain among the different factions of the party and among the more or less extreme or moderate tendencies the closest possible union and to prevent all that can constitute even a suspicion of division.* Naturally this implies that it is necessary to commence by forgetting the divisions which have existed in the past. To divide you in order the better to oppress you, such is the tactic of your enemies. Flee from divisions; avoid them; crush them in the egg; each ought to be *your* tactic, and to that end may your program remain the broadest possible and your title remain general enough to shelter all who in the Belgian proletariat, wish to work for the emancipation, intellectual and material, political and economic of the mass of disinherited."

ROBERT HUNTER.

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Rise of the Russian Proletariat.

PREFACE.

THE HISTORY of all society, thus far, is the history of class strife." These are the words of Karl Marx and their truth is accepted by most historical students today.

Since the Plebeians of Rome rose against their Patrician oppressors the working class has been engaged in revolutions. By the burning of manor houses, by the smashing of new machinery, by defending barricades and by the more peaceful but no less bitter warfare of strikes and boycotts the workers, the world over, have been in almost ceaseless revolt against the class which does not work. Sometimes these revolts have been inspired,—have been directed or—misdirected by members of another class, but always the Strength and Blood have come from the workers. And so it is that a knowledge of Revolutions; of their aims, their methods and their results,—is of momentous interest to the working class. In no Revolution,—not excepting the Paris Commune,—have the wrongs and the aspirations of the mass of workers been so clearly and so insistently proclaimed as in this Revolution in Russia. It is a workingman's Revolution.

During the last two years a great deal has been written about Russia. But most of this has appeared in costly volumes or expensive monthly or weekly publications which are out of the reach of the vast majority of wage-earners. The working men of America have had to rely on the daily papers for their information. This source of information has two great drawbacks. It is always scattered and unrelated, and it is generally prejudiced.

And these pages are written on the assumption that there is in America a large number of working people who want to know how and for what their brothers are fighting on the other side of the world; who want some connected and brief account of this—the greatest of the world's Revolutions.

These chapters do not pretend to the dignity of History. The events are of too recent occurrence and the writer has been too close to affairs to get either the perspective of time or the purely impersonal attitude which are supposed to be fundamental in History. But there will be some compensation for

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these defects in the fact that the writer was on the spot and to a certain extent concerned in the events narrated.

In order to understand properly the recent events in Russia some knowledge of the history of the country is necessary; therefore indulgence is asked for the brief, historical sketches which are sprinkled through the accounts of more recent occurrence.

INTRODUCTION.

The surprises and seeming contradictions which Russia holds for a Westerner are unending.

I had read in the papers of the labor demonstrations under Father Gapon and of the wonderful, general strike of October and was prepared to find a large and highly developed proletariat. One of my first surprises was to find that scarcely ten per cent of the population were factory workers and that these were the most pitifully conditioned and poorly organized of modern proletariats.

Even a slight knowledge of history is, at first, a positive drawback to one studying the Russia of today. As modern industry is very slightly developed one naturally looks for mediaeval institutions. But Russia is as far removed from Feudalism as it is from Capitalism.

The principal reason for this confusion is that Russians give words, which have a well defined meaning in the histories of Western Europe, utterly different meanings. You hear, for instance, of "A merchant of the First Guild," and you think of the trade guilds of England and search vainly for their counterpart in Russia. No similarity exists between the so-called "Burgher Class" there and the burghers of the old Flemish towns. "The ancient Republics of Kazan and Novgorod" are often referred to. In reality, they are more like the old German Empire than any Republic we know of. When the Dynasty died out, as it often did in those days of incessant warfare, poisonings and murders, a few over-lords assembled and elected a new Despot. Neither the clergy nor the nobility plays a role similar to that which these classes took in Western Europe.

And so in studying Russia it is necessary to lay aside preconceived ideas. Russia is neither an advanced Asiatic Despotism nor a retarded Western Empire. The Slavic Civilization is unique. It has been influenced by its Tartar hordes on the East and by the ideas of its Western neighbors; but is distinct from either. And the assumption that the historic development of Russia must run in the same rut as that of Western Europe, leads only to bewildering mistakes.

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It must also be borne in mind that Russia is not one nation but a group of nations. Its one hundred odd millions of inhabitants speak eighty different languages. It covers a territory twice the size of the United States, and the means of communication are very undeveloped. Odessa on the Black Sea, and St. Petersburg on the Baltic are in closer touch than many villages twenty miles apart.

The degree of education in different localities is also very unequal. In the Baltic Provinces, for instance, there are more people in every hundred who can read and write than in any republic on earth. In other parts of the Empire there are wild tribes more ignorant than our Indians; and between these extremes is the great body of the Russian people. A small class called the Inteligenzia are more cultured than the educated people in other countries, while in the peasant villages it is often difficult to find any one who reads.

Poland and Finland are examples of the dozen odd conquered nations whose hatred is not concentrated on the Tsar in particular, but is against the Russian people in general.

Each of these dissimilarities makes it increasingly difficult to speak of the Russian people as a whole. The distances are so great; the means of transportation so unequal and the education so varying that any united action seems almost impossible.

CHAPTER I.

GAPON.

The New Year of 1905 was ushered in with the usual hilarity in "The Bear," the swagger restaurant in the center of St. Petersburg. There was the glare of many lights and the blare of the military music. Officers in gorgeous uniform, and coarse women,—the hangers-on of the Court,—in fine raiment, made the night loud with their merriment. But in the factory suburb all was gloom. What lights there were, were dim, oil lamps or feeble candles. The music came from the plaintive voices of mothers, singing their minor song of the villages as they tried to make their haggard babies forget the cold. And these women, if more honest, were less beautiful than those at "The Bear." There was no gayety,—for the New Year held no promise save of twelve months more of bondage. Twelve months of the desolation of interminably long hours and unspeakably small pay. Twelve months more of the deterioration, mental, moral and physical, of mechanical routine; under-eating and over-crowding.

The center of St. Petersburg is a pleasure-place of palaces, playhouses and parks, but the City is encompassed by a ring of

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suburbs. And here is a realm of misery; of grim factories; gaunt, tall tenements and squalid streets. From all quarters of the Empire the army of idlers come to the inner City on the hunt for pleasure. But to the outer City flock a greater army in their hunt for work and this contrast is the cause of the Russian Revolution. Never has Society presented greater contrasts. The distance from Cherry Hill to Fifth Avenue is not so great. The distance from the Faubourgs of Paris to Versailles was not so great as the distance from the Vibourg Suburb to the Winter Palace. And it was across this gulf that Father Gapon led the workmen on the ninth of January, 1905.

But before we can understand that fateful march or the people who made it we must look back a little into their history.

In 1861 serfdom was abolished in Russia. Before that time there had been no factories. There were a few in certain places but in the great heart of Russia, modern capitalism, the manufacture of things for profit, was unknown. The serfs tilled the fields of their masters. Such simple things as cloth and shoes, harness and household utensils, they made in their cottages during the long winter months. Things too complicated for home-manufacture were made in "Artels." These "Artels" were voluntary groups of peasants for the making of some special product. If, for instance, the community needed cartwheels, some of the peasants banded together and made them. When the demand was supplied, they divided their earnings and disbanded The demand for some things was so constant that some of the "Artels" became permanent. Sometimes they reached the needs of their own village and supplied a larger district. In the permanent "Artels" the workmen could develop a high degree of skill but generally "Artels" were short lived and the skill was low. Although this made them a very uneconomical form of production, they are of great interest to Socialists. Although they were very crude and imperfect they were a direct experiment in co-operative production and eliminated the worst features of modern capitalism,—wage-slavery and the creation of surplus value.

Emancipation caused a change but the change came slowly. All the serfs who had been farm-workers received an allotment of land. The allotment was very small and often, through the dishonesty of the landlord, smaller than the law directed. And in order to pay for it, the peasants were burdened with excessive taxation; but in spite of all these drawbacks, it kept them from becoming immediately wage-workers. The serfs, however, who had been household servants or engaged in other than agricultural work, received no land and were at once compelled to look for wages. Some stayed on as servants to their old mas-

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ters; some found work on the master's land,—but others gravitated to the cities and as industry developed, became factory workers.

Things did not go well with the newly liberated peasants. Although the death-rate is high among them the birth-rate is higher, and the population increases faster in Russia than in any other country. And the peasant land, insufficient at first, becomes more and more inadequate as the number of peasants increases.

Add to this, the crop failures, the lack of education, the overwhelming taxation and it is not surprising to learn that the peasant wealth has constantly decreased since the emancipation. Whenever figures have been gathered the amount of food eaten by each peasant has decreased and the number of farm animals for each family has grown less. This deterioration has been constant since The Emancipation but it has been intensified in the last fifteen years by the financial policy of Count Witte. Witte is a banker; not an economist. It was his idea to establish the banking system on a gold basis. In order to collect the immense gold reserve which was needed for a gold standard it was necessary that the country should export more than it imported; the difference,—"The Balance of Trade," —would be paid in gold—and this gold would be collected by the Government for its reserve. The only thing which Russia produced in large quantities was grain. The high taxes made it necessary for the peasant to sell his grain as soon as it was harvested, and this grain was exported. As the grain exports increased famine increased. Witte collected his gold reserve by starving his countrymen. He probably learned this trick by watching England exploiting India. No other countries have so large grain exports and such frequent famines.

Another of Witte's schemes was the high tariff wall. The customs had to be paid in gold, and as these receipts swelled the reserve in the treasury, they raised prices on the already starving peasants.

Under the cumulative economic pressure of all these factors the peasantry has lost its solidarity and has broken up into three sections. The most fortunate and the most unscrupulous have risen above the average lot. They have saved a little money which they have loaned out in the days of the tax-gatherer at most exorbitant rates. Later, they sell out their victims and so acquire land. They also deal in grain. Knowing their neighbors intimately, they can buy at the psychological moment of greatest need and they have enough capital to hold their stock until prices are high. While still peasants in the eye of the law,

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they are in reality small land-holders and money-lenders. They form a very small faction of the peasant body and are cordially hated by the rest.

By far the largest mass of the peasants have remained almost as they were at the Emancipation. Their luck has been the average luck. They still keep their bit of land and are respected members of their communities. The change with them is more inward than outward. There is a little more corn husk in their bread every year. They do not laugh as often as their Fathers and the worry of ever-threatening starvation has puckered their foreheads and their hearts. Unrest grows among them. They burn the landlords' barns and kill the tax-gatherer more often every year—and the increasing bitterness in their lives points to a horrible reckoning some day.

The third sub-class among the peasants are the landless. Their luck has not been good. Some, perhaps, owe their misfortunes to drink, more to bad harvests and sickness—but most of all to the relentless taxation. They have fallen prey to the money-lenders and their land has been swallowed up by debt. Some work as agrarian proletarians on the large estates, but most are forced into the cities.

And this constantly growing section of the peasantry is the basis of Russia's Industrial Proletariat. They come to the cities—not as in other countries, to seek a fortune,—but to avoid actual starvation. They are loath to admit even to themselves that the change is permanent, and the hope which springs eternal in their hearts is that somehow, luck will look up and they may return to the land. Most Russian peasants look upon agriculture as the only uncursed existence. Their attachment to the soil and their almost universal belief in some form of nationalization are the most distinctive characteristics of the Russian peasants.

These things;—the low standard of living brought from the famine-stricken homes, and the lack of realization of the permanence of the change,—make the Russian workmen an easy prey to exploiting employers.

The English economists of the last century developed the so-called "Iron Law of Wages," i. e. that wages normally amount to enough for the sustenance of the worker and his children. This law is ignored in Russia. The rapid decay of agriculture and eighty million peasants to fall back on,—relieves the capitalist of any fear about the labor supply—despite the frightful debasement of factory life, the army of the unemployed is on the increase and the wages sink far below the economic minimum.

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At least forty per cent and probably fifty per cent of the workmen in St. Petersburg were born in the villages and are still peasants at heart. In other and newer industrial centers, the percentage is higher.

However, the concentration of so many workmen in the same city inevitably resulted in organization. There were two distinct labor movements. For many years the Socialists have been at work. Their success, considering the ignorance of the workmen and the watchfulness of the police, has been considerable. Gradually, the ideas of organizing and of striking for better conditions was growing. Trade unionism was a crime but as the magnetic idea of organized action triumphed over the oppressive laws in England, so it was doing in Russia.

About three years ago a Chief of the Secret Police conceived the idea of starting a rival movement. His idea was "The Simon-Pure Unionism," such as we know in America. His unions were purely economic and avoided all the political ideas of the Socialists. As long as the union strove simply to better its economic condition, it was fostered by the police. The Socialist idea of the workmen gaining the political power and so moulding their own fortunes was persecuted as much as ever. These police unions throve. They offered the workmen as much as our American unions do — a chance to add a few cents to their day's wages or to cut a few minutes off of the day's work. Whenever they struck they found the police friendly. When a Socialist union struck, their leaders were thrown into prison or sent to Siberia. Large numbers of the more ignorant workmen joined the police union.

And it was among these Police Unions that Father Gapon first came into prominence.

His character was wrapped in so much mystery that is is impossible to write of him with certainty. There are some few who still believe in his integrity and others who believe that he was always and consistently a police spy. It is my own opinion, based on personal acquaintance and much investigation that he oscillated between these two extremes. He was born in South Russia of a simple peasant family. He became a priest and it is said, quarreled with his Superior and was disfrocked. Later he was reinstated and in the last month of 1904 we find him, in the pay of the police, working among the factory population of Petersburg. He was very popular. A priest who takes the side of the people, even apparently, is so unusual in Russia that he is sure to have an immediate following.

Just how the idea of making a petition to the Tsar started,

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nobody knows, but when one is familiar with the customs of the peasants it is easily explained.

From time immemorial, the peasants have believed that the Tsar was their friend, and they have attributed all their misfortunes to their landlords and the officials. When famine fell on their villages it was their custom to select some of the old men of the community to go to the "Little Father" and tell him of their woes. These deputations never reached the Tsar, but every one knew that they were stopped by the officials. When they returned to the villages, their backs scarred by flogging, the peasants' hatred for the officials increased, but their faith in the goodness of the Tsar never weakened. I saw two old peasants in a village near the Volga, who had three times started in such a mission and had, each time, been flogged and sent back.

But here in Petersburg, the proverb that "God is far above and the Tsar is far away" did not hold good. He lived just across the river in the Winter Palace. Somehow the idea sprang up and it spread like a living thing through the grim streets of the suburbs; from one squalid room to another, whipped on by hunger and gaunt cold. "If we send a small deputation, it will do no good", they said. "The officials will flog them; but if we all go together they can't flog us. We will all call out in a loud voice and "The little Father" will hear and come out on the balcony and we will talk to him and he will help us."

Gapon opposed the idea at first but it was too strong for him. A few days before "Bloody Sunday" he threw in his lot with it. It is possible that he was touched with the misery in which he daily moved. It is possible that the enthusiasm of the idea caught him up as it did others to that high point where martyrdom loses its horror. It is more probable that he saw he could not suppress the movement; that if he opposed it longer he would lose influence, that if he led it—even to defeat—he would be as a god among the men.

Certain it is that on the Friday and Saturday before the fatal Sunday, he made fiery speeches in which he said that it is better to die than to live as they were living.

There was no secrecy about the movement. Every one knew. The Tsar fled to Tsarsky Celo, and his uncle, the Grand Duke Vladimir, was put in command of the city.

The sun rose that Sunday morning as though it was not the greatest day that Russia had known — the beginning of the Revolution—the new life. It touched the gilt domes of the churches and awoke the snow-covered avenues into a dazzling glare and penetrated even into the dim streets of the suburbs.

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In the center of the City there was unusual quiet save for the almost noiseless movements of the troops, but in the suburbs was the hum of great events. Through all the human ant-hills there were movements and preparation. The Workmen were clothing themselves as for a festival of the Church. At the appointed hour they gathered in their districts and in three great streams from the three main suburbs marched to the Winter Palace.

No better ambush could be imagined. The Winter Palace forms the straight side of an immense semi-circle. The curve is formed by government buildings and army barracks; and to this great amphitheatre there are only three entrances.

No troops blocked the way of the advancing workmen. They were allowed to gather and march into the trap unmolested. Then the entrances were closed by the soldiers and without warning volley after volley was poured into the dense mass of unarmed men and women. At last, in their helpless terror the people broke through the ranks of the soldiers and scattered through the City, where the Cossacks hunted them till dusk.

Father Gapon escaped, probably because he was dressed as a priest and carried a holy picture, and few soldiers would shoot at a picture of the Christ. It would have been better for him if he had died. He would have become a saint.

The next day he made his last revolutionary act of importance. He published a proclamation in which he said, "Russian people, there is no longer a "Little Father". "Oceans of blood separate the Tsar from his people."

Gapon was smuggled abroad. He raised considerable money — how much of it, if any, reached the workingmen, nobody knows. He drifted about in Western Europe for some months and at last returned to Russia and sold himself again to the police. Of this, there can be no doubt. He was killed in May of 1906, by some of the workmen he had betrayed.

He owes his notority to circumstances over which he had no control and to a proclamation probably written by some one else, but the circumstances and the proclamation are memorable. They mark the death of the fable of the Good Tsar. The circumstances proved as the proclamation said, that there was no longer a Little Father; that oceans of blood separated the Tsar from his people.

CHAPTER II.

THE PROMISE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The smoke of the Grand Duke Vladimir's guns blew away quickly but the noise of the firing echoed and re-echoed throughout all the Empire, and the observant listener can still hear its re-

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verberation. As the news of "Bloody Sunday" spread through the country it stirred a furore of protest. There was hardly a factory town which did not feel the shock. Many thought that it was a final blow to autocracy instead of being, as it proved, on-only the first.

In February — in the hope of quieting the country — the Tsar issued a manifesto in which he promised to assemble representatives of the Nation to aid him in the work of government. Bouligine, the Minister of the Interior was charged with the duty of drawing up a law establishing the Duma and arranging for the election. This manifesto was greeted by complimentary editorials in foreign papers, announcing in large headlines that Russia had at last entered into a constitutional phase and that the Revolution was over, but thoughtful Russians were less enthusiastic. "The Tsar's promises" are about synonymous with the "Sacred word of Charles I". "We will wait and see the law", they said.

In the month of August the Minister completed his labor and the so-called Bouligine constitution became public. It was no constitution at all.

The deputies were to be elected by the most cumbersome and unequal system of voting ever invented. After they were assembled, they would have no real power. The Parliament of England and the Estates General of France wrung the heads off of their respective Monarchs by controlling the finances. Bouligine had avoided this possibility. The Duma was not to meddle with money matters. The Deputies were to be bound by an oath which they must violate or give up all dreams of real reform. The law satisfied nobody and fooled very few. It became, however, a subject of intense discussion.

At first every one, liberal and revolutionist alike, were so outraged by this insult to their intelligence that they said they would have none of it. They would boycott it.

To understand the whole question of the Duma it is necessary to go back a little and to glance over the political history of Russia and see what were the roots from which the liberal and Revolutionary movement sprang.

Since the autocracy was established, political life has been smothered. The mildest opposition to the Tsar was treated as high treason and punished by exile or death. When you add to this the ignorance of the common people, it is evident that there could be no political movement among the masses. Whatever political aspirations the common people had, were unexpressed. And of necessity The Opposition drew its forces from the upper classes.

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Peter the Great tried to force civilization upon Russia. Among other things, he endeavored to establish Civil Service in place of the aristocracy. He wished that advancement in the Government should be based on service instead of on birth. Any one, irrespective of their birth, could enter the Civil Service, but must begin at the bottom and work up. This measure, was, of course, offensive to the nobles who were turned out in large numbers from their fat positions in the Government. The significance of this reform is that it split the aristocracy into two hostile sections. Some swallowed their pride and entered the Civil Service side by side with Commoners—they prospered, and became the basis of the Bureaucrats, who are now the dominant class in Russia.

Others retired from Court to nurse their wounded pride on their estates. They have never regained their influence at Court and have steadily declined in power. The Emancipation of the serfs and the recent industrial policy of Court Witte—hostile to agriculture—has further weakened and impoverished the landed gentry.

These, the land-poor gentry, are one of the sources of the Opposition. They are Liberals in the Western sense of the term. Very much dissatisfied with the present policy of the Government, which gives favors to another class, they have been expressing their protests as loudly as they dared for the last thirty years. Their platform has been the meetings of the provincial Zemstvos. The Zemstvos are the local governing boards established by Alexander II. They were intended to be something like our County Councils and Boards of Supervisors but they have been mutilated by successive ministers till they have lost all real power. The peasant representation has been reduced to a farce, and about all Zemstvos can do is to send petitions to the central government. In the past they were neglected by every one except the discontented gentry who came there to air their grievances.

Another Branch of the Opposition, who, although they call themselves Liberals, are more like Western Radicals, are the professional men. The decay of the gentry caused by the reform of Peter the Great, the Emancipation and the recent industrial policy has forced many of this class into the liberal professions. Also the increase of educational facilities has given many of the sons of merchants and of richer peasants a chance to study and enter a profession, and the professional class, almost without an exception, is discontented.

The professions are frightfully overcrowded,—not absolutely, but in relation to the effective demand. The poverty of

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the people at large is so appalling that the professions are without their normal support.

One Doctor of my acquaintance, single-handed, attends 3,000 peasants. Of every 100 Russians who die, only one is attended by a physician, and yet Doctors find it hard to earn a living.

No country offers such fine opportunities for engineering enterprise, yet the technical schools turn out more engineers than can find employment. To be a journalist, one must have an independent fortune, and so it is in law or teaching. The opportunities for practice are few and returns are pitifully small. The percentage of suicides among Russian professional men is appalling.

These educated professional men have often studied or traveled abroad and being more familiar with the political freedom of western Europe are more outraged at and more open in their opposition to the existing regime than the landed gentry. They are also much more radical in their demands.

Further to the left are the Revolutionists, most of whom are Socialists. It must always be borne in mind that until very recently, the peculiar conditions in Russia made it impossible for the masses to participate in the political life. So the Socialists as well as the Liberals and Radicals were mostly drawn from the educated classes.

The so-called Intelligencia are more broadly cultured than the similar classes in other countries. Extensive travel and the command of two or three foreign languages has made them familiar with all the movements, artistic, literary and political, of Western Europe. They have not neglected Sociology nor Socialism. The three volumes of "Das Kapital" in German and excellent translations have a wider circulation in Russia than in any other country, not excepting Germany itself. All intelligent Russians are familiar with Socialist thought. Those who do not accept Socialism become Liberals—Reformers. Others join the Socialist Party and become Revolutionists. The distinction is purely personal,—the difference between egoism and altruism.

The Liberal Movement sprang up and grew as the pressure of Autocracy bore more and more heavily on the middle classes. The Revolutionary Movement is older and had its birth in an impersonal horror at the degradation of the vast mass of the people. Very few of the Revolutionists have entered the Movement for personal considerations.

I have tried to give a purely materialistic explanation of these three streams of The Opposition, but of course there are many exceptions. There are many members of the parties of the Center, whose personal interests lie to the right of their

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party programs, but with whom devotion to the ideas of progress and political liberty is stronger than economic interest. This is almost universally true of the Parties of the left,—the Revolutionists. But this phenomenon is common to all periods of "Sturm und Drang." Economic materialism can no more explain all the incidents of the Russian Revolution than it can the Democracy of LaFayette or the Socialism of LaSalle.

But to return to the Question of the Duma. From the first, the Revolutionists decided to boycott it. "We are pledged," they said, "to a government based on universal suffrage. We can have nothing to do with this unequal, unfair system of voting."

At first the Liberals were also of this opinion. Shortly after the law was published there was a Congress of Representatives from the Zemstvos and the Town Councils. It was fairly representative of the Liberals and the Radicals. They pronounced against the election. But gradually the tide turned. People talked of the Estates General in France and how it had wrung concessions and finally complete liberty from Louis XVI. Perhaps the Duma would have a similar history. A later Congress of the Zemstvos decided to take part in the Campaign. With them went all the Liberals and Radicals.

A small section of the Socialists, also decided to take part in the election, but the great mass of the Revolutionists, with some differences in detail, decided to boycot it.

About the same time that this discussion was raging, a new organization was formed, which, for a while, exercised great weight. It was the Union of Unions. In America we would have called it a Federation of Professional Unions, as there were very few working-men's organizations affiliated with it. In almost all of the professions there already existed some kind of organization. The lawyers had their Bar Association, the Doctors had Medical Societies, and there were Technical Clubs, a Union of the Teachers, etc. As the professional classes became more and more interested in politics these organizations became more political than scientific. Their conferences and congresses—like the scientific congresses of Italy in Garibaldi's day—became veiled political meetings. Professor Paul Melikov,—one of the Russian Radicals who is best known in this Country—organized all these diverse societies into one big federation which included practically every professional man in Russia. Some few of the Labor Unions were affiliated, but on the whole it was an organization of the intellectual proletariat. Their proclamations at this period carried great weight with the educated classes.

(To be continued.)

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The Intellectuals and Working-Class Socialism.

PART II.

III. It is easy to understand how it is that a section of the intellectuals has moved in the direction of socialism and the working class.

Some have considered that their material interests could only be defended by socialism: these are the poor intellectuals of whom we have spoken. In the front ranks of these are the technicists, engineers, chemists, agricultural experts, etc., who sell their intellectual power on the market at a low price and who in the same way as the laborers find themselves a part of the industrial throng. By way of analogy they have considered their own position as more or less bound up with that of the manual laborers.

After these and of a quite different species come the mass of unemployed diplomats and other former office holders for whom the party in power has no more use and who through bitterness or envy have recklessly thrown themselves into the new movement. As the political influence of parliamentary socialism increases, as it wields a power more effective over the administration of the state, as it conquers municipalities, develops its press, creates a numerous bureaucracy for its inner organization, it thus exercises ever stronger attraction over this portion of the intellectuals.

Since socialism represents the future, the rising strength of tomorrow, they hasten to seek in it what they have not been able to find elsewhere — seats in parliament, sinecures, jobs, they trail after them the mentality due to their bourgeois education, vast hopes of dominance, unrestrained appetites for conquest, a devouring thirst for power. The capitalist world has rejected them, socialism receives them: they are nothing but waste products.

But if discontent or the spirit of adventure may drive into the labor movement that portion of the intellectuals whose position tends to become more and more precarious, there are less definite motives which have their influence over other categories of educated people. Sentimentalism, pity for the exploited, the desire to suppress poverty, etc., awaken in many cultivated people vague tendencies toward socialism. They understand neither its immediate bearing or its ultimate meaning but they offer their recipes, tender their support, contribute their sympathies. Sport

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and fashion are still bringing distinguished recruits into socialism. Through a strange snobism the most decadent strata of the capitalist classes give rise to subversive ideas which threaten their nearest interests. There is a whole category of repentent bourgeois who "go over to the people" for the double purpose of disseminating happiness and lightening the burden of their own privileges.

There still remain the system-makers, the professional sociologists, the law-makers for future societies who claim the noble function of conducting socialism along roads that they alone know. Then there are all the diseased brains, the unrecognized inventors, the social apothecaries, the mystics, all those who are troubled by the prodigious disorder of our society and who all wish to take part in the movement which is to renew the world. Engels has a penetrating passage on these people in which he recalls the resemblances which the history of socialism has on this point to that of primitive Christianity. "And there is this further resemblance," says Engels, "that to the labor party of all countries flock all the elements which have nothing more to hope from the official world or have quarreled with it, such as the opponents of vaccination, the vegetarians, the anti-vivisectionists, homeopathists, preachers of dissenting congregations whose flocks have taken to the woods, authors of new theories of the origin of the world, unhappy inventors who have missed fire, the victims of real or imaginary wrongs in the courts, honest imbeciles and dishonest impostors,—it was just so with the Christians. All the elements which the process of dissolution of the ancient world had liberated were drawn one after the other into the sphere of attraction of Christianity, the one element which resisted this dissolution."*)

Even the representatives of traditional socialism have many times pointed out the danger from the intellectuals. It is Engels again who in 1890 indicated the peril in a letter published after his death, "Within the last two or three years a crowd of students, literary men and other young, unclassed bourgeois have streamed into the party; have come just in time to occupy most of the editorial positions in the new journals which are springing up and habitually regard the bourgeois university as a sort of socialist Saint-Cyr which gives them the right to enter the ranks of the party with the title of officer if not general."**

It matters little whether in the particular case he was discussing Engels was right or wrong. The essential point is that his words exactly apply to the crowd of intellectuals who have

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* Contribution to the History of Primitive Christianity; Devenir Social, 1895, p. 32.

** Le Socialiste, Nov. 24, 1900.

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invaded the socialist parties. So true is this that Kautsky in his turn took up, in a study not at all polemical, the thesis of Engels: "He who comes to us" he says, "driven by his personal interests, he who does not come to take part in the class struggle of the proletariat but to find in the proletariat the career and the success which the capitalist class refuses him, such a man is a poor acquisition and he may in certain cases, and especially when he comes from the 'Intelligenz' become dangerous. We can never be too careful to rid our party of the unrecognized geniuses, the bohemians of literature, the scheme builders, the inventors (inventors of new systems of spelling, new stenographies, etc.) and other similar ambitious elements." *

Even Bebel himself has been somewhat rude toward the professionals of thought. It was in 1903 at the famous Dresden congress where the "Mehring Case" had raised the question of the relation of socialism to the intellectuals. I am well aware that Bebel was considering these young doctors fresh from the German universities whom the democratic revisionism of Bernstein attracted into the party. I pass over the question of deciding whether Bebel's attacks did not in this particular case go beyond the intellectuals whom he was combating to strike a death blow at all liberty of thought without the party. All I am stating is the general opinion which he expressed on the body of literary men considered as a whole, an opinion which is equally good for the intellectuals on his side and on the other side. "And my experience." Bebel explained, "permits me to say to you, test new comrades well but test the intellectuals two or three times. They should not be repulsed. We have need of their intelligence and their knowledge, but precisely because they are intellectuals their first duty is to get information from the proletarians how the masses think who know better than they do what the class struggle of the proletariat means."

IV. These are evidently truths let fall in the fire of battle, but they remain and we are putting them on record. Moreover the attempts made by the socialist parties to rehabilitate the intellectuals do not seem fortunate. In a recent article in the *Peuple* of Brussels Vandervelde claims that without them socialism would not exist.** According to him a division of labor would be

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* Soc. cit. p. 265.

**Le Peuple, Feb. 20, 1907:—The Use of the Intellectuals. Here is the most characteristic passage of this article which The Socialiste, the organ of the united socialist party reproduced in its No. 96:—"The Romans had Vestals to tend the sacred fire. We must also have constant care for tending the sacred fire of the revolution. That is the part of the young, and Anseele will tell us that there are youths fifty years old.

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established between thought and action. The workers would furnish the "dough" of socialism and the intellectuals the "yeast". I will think for you; you shall act for me. In other words the proletariat is incapable of finding its own way and has need of bourgeois "leaders".

Let us pass over for the moment, we will return to it later, the question of in what measure socialist systems have been of use to the proletariat. Let us keep simply to the proof on which Vandervelde rests his argument. "What would have been the socialism of the nineteenth century without Marx, without Proudhon, without Robert Owen, without the intellectuals who came into the working class?"

Marx, Proudhon, Owen intellectuals! Great Gods, whither is the confusion of words leading us! Evidently it would be agreeable to the throng of diploma bearers who under the shadow of socialism edge their way into sinecures, capture seats in parliament, concoct schemes, parade and gesticulate, to call themselves the direct descendents of Marx, Proudhon and Owen, and they might well thank Vandervelde for thus coming to their assistance. There is only one trouble. It is that neither Marx nor Proudhon nor Owen were "intellectuals". Indeed they were thinkers with whom the intellectuals found no favor.

Marx harshly expressed his opinion of the intellectuals in his celebrated pamphlet against Bakounine and his friends: "The Alliance of the Social Democracy and the International Workingmen's Association."* He reproaches his adversaries with desiring to put the working masses back again under the tutelage of a new class of professional Intellectuals destined to serve as "interpreters between the revolutionary idea and popular instincts". He denounces what seems to him the dictatorship of a general staff

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It is perhaps equally the part of the intellectuals. It has often been remarked, generally by way of reproach, that in the socialist congresses many intellectuals showed themselves more radical, more uncompromising, more revolutionary than the workingmen themselves. In this there is nothing strange. The workingmen who suffer directly from capitalists oppression are justly concerned with the immediate reforms which may however little ameliorate their condition. The intellectuals on the contrary who have come into socialism for reasons independent of their immediate inferest are naturally inclined to decide questions upon fundamental principles and to get broad views above particular events.

"It goes without saying that I do not pretend to make a merit out of this idealism of theirs which follows from their privileged position. I am especially careful to avoid exaggerating the importance of the part they play. Without the working class they would be nothing, but in the working class they are the yeast which makes the dough rise."

* L'Alliance de la Democratic Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, 1872; V. p. 48-49.

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of literary bourgeois exercised over the revolutionary proletariat in the name of the Idea. Bakounine especially had congratulated himself on having found in Italy "a body of young men ardent, energetic, untrammeled and disinterested who had thrown themselves headlong into revolutionary socialism."* It is against these unclassed recruits that Marx rebels: "The pretended sections of the Italian International" he said, "are run by lawyers without clients, doctors without patients and without science, students of billiards, commercial travelers and others employed in business and especially writers on small newspapers. It is by getting hold of official positions in the sections that the Alliance succeeded in forcing the Italian laborers to pass into the control of their unclassed allies who in the International might find a career and an object in life."

We need not inquire here as our friend Michels does further on,** whether Marx's grievances against the Italian allies were well-founded or not. It has nothing to do with the present matter. Not that I wish in any way to echo Marx's attacks against Bakounine or to defend his methods of controversy. In a general way I am in accord with the reservations expressed by Michel on this point, but the important thing to remember is Marx's judgment upon the invasion of the intellectuals into the ranks of the proletariat.

Moreover such an estimation of them is in accord with Marx's general thought. For the Marxian the social transformation can only be the task of a working class arrived at its full capacity; that is to say prepared by its organization and its education to take the place of capitalism. It assumes not only that the capitalist economy has arrived at its highest development but especially that the proletariat has created a complete outfit of institutions and ideas sufficient to establish new ways of living.

Everything reduces itself to the elaboration of these institutions and these original ideas. By their very definition they can only be the antithesis of official society since otherwise they would be merely a bad copy of it. The proletariat must borrow nothing from the bourgeoisie; must imitate none of its modes of existence and must draw everything from its own funds. The rupture between the labor world and the capitalist world is the first condition of the socialism of the class struggle.

What have the intellectuals to do in such an interpretation of the proletarian movement! They represent by the education which they have received and the aim which they pursue the old parasitic and hierarchic society. By penetrating into the labor organizations they will bring to the proletariat those very traditional values

* Letter of April 5, 1872.
** Controverse Socialiste, by Robert Michels pp. 284, 285.

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from whose influence it is the mission of the proletariat to break away. By conquering the state, by increasing the role of parties they will reinforce the social hierarchy, that is to say, the political and administrative organs which are its expression and which it is the task of the working class to eliminate or to re-absorb into the social body.*

The introduction into the labor movement of elements foreign to the body of the laborers can therefore only be the mark of the immaturity of the proletarian organization. That proves that the working class is not yet strong enough to shield itself from bourgeois infiltrations. Surely if the producers need help from outside to carry on their work, if they must submit to the direction of men outside their circle, it is because they have not yet arrived at their full capacity and that socialism is a long way off. In short, Marxism is essentially anti-intellectualist and I do not see how it could be the precursor of our university socialism. Did not Marx realize that a system is dead when it is finished? The struggle waged by him against the Utopians and his anxiety not to make a "system" out of his own ideas are so well known that we need not insist on them, but it is well to remember, as we confront the prevailing socialist intellectualism that Marxism is nothing but a *method of thought* which fits the movement of ideas to the movement of things, a philosophy of practice which aims to arrive at truth by laying hold of the facts of life.

Perhaps Vandervelde will oppose to us this well known phrase of the Communist Manifesto. "Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.**

Very true. But here we are dealing with ideologists swayed by theoretical convictions and not with the group of professional thinkers. These ideologists are not intellectuals. They have neither the aspirations nor the pretensions of the literary caste and if Vandervelde had meant to say that Marx is one of the gifted prototypes of those independent spirits whom free inquiry has led into socialism, he would have been right. Now he has not done this. He has made out of him an ancestor of those university pedants of whom some characteristic representatives lately took it upon themselves to write the following:

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* Marx's anti-state-ism which we constantly meet in his works seems to me happily expressed in this phrase from "The Civil War in France" (page 47 of the American edition): "The Communal Constitution would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon and clogging the free movement of society."

** Communist Manifesto, page 28.

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"Did not Auguste Laugel propose to create certain *ideal election districts,* within which from one end to the other of a great territory free spirits united by the quest of the Ideal too refined or too bold to be popular, might unite their votes on the names of a few choice candidates? Thus the system of proportional representation favorable to the democratic organizations of parties might give satisfaction to that intellectual aristocracy which bears within itself, if it can keep itself from egoism, so many germs that are precious for the future of all society."

On this question of the intellectuals, as on so many others, Proudhon is at one with Marx. It is surprising that Vandervelde should have forgotten the scathing pages of the *Capacité des Classes Ouvrières* * "There are among the working masses plenty of educated men capable of writing as well as talking, informed on business matters, more capable, and worthier representatives, twenty times over, than the lawyers, journalists, writers, pedants, intriguers and charlatans on whom the working men lavish their votes, and yet these men are rejected! .... the instinct of deference is still a powerful force in our democracy. Its idea of what is called *Capacity* is singularly false and exaggerated; those who were formerly its masters who have retained the privilege of the so-called liberal professions, a name which it is time to drop, these men always seem to it to stand a head higher than other men."

If ever a thinker fought the artifices and privileges of the intellectual caste, it is that rude man of the people, that robust peasant, Proudhon. The wrath with which he spoke of literature and literary men will be recalled by that thunderous article in the *Représentant du Peuple* of May 28, 1848.

It would be difficult indeed to link the category of "intellectuals socialistically inclined" to the Proudhonian tradition, for the whole work of Proudhon, even more than that of Marx, is directed against that State, "an artificial organism essentially parasitic, distinct from the people, outside of and above the people,"[1] which is nothing more or less than the prey of the professionals of ideology.

I do not wish to quote excessively, but I cannot resist the pleasure of putting under Vandervelde's eyes this instructive page of Proudhon against the State: "We want no State", he cries "because the State, the self-styled delegate, or servant of the people, existing through a general and unlimited power of attorney from the voters, no sooner exists than it creates for itself a separate interest, often contrary to the interests of the people; because then acting in that interest it makes public

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* De la capacite des Classes Ouvrieres, p. 37 et 38.
(1) Melanges, Troisieme volume p. 76.

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functionaries its own creatures, whence result nepotism, corruption, and little by little the formation of an official tribe as hostile to liberty as to labor .... We want no State, because the State, to increase its power outside the people, tends to multiply indefinitely its employes, then in order to bind them always more to itself, tends to increase constantly their salaries .... We want no State, because when taxes no longer suffice for its wastes, for liquidating its favors and sinecures, the State resorts to loans and misappropriations, and after taking other people's money, it still finds methods for having its thefts applauded .... We want no State, because we would purge society of the whole mass of bankrupts, usurers, bloodhounds, stock-jobbers, highwaymen, sharpers, extortioners, forgers, counterfeiters, jugglers, parasites, hypocrites and statesmen, because in our eyes all statesmen are alike, and all are in various degree eaters of human flesh, as Cato called them". [1]

Owen was a practical man, as far removed as possible from intellectualism. I mean by this, that his dreams were applied to facts of the great industry, and that he represents in one sense the first period of capitalism in England. The expert manager of prosperous spinning mills, the unfortunate experimenter of New Lanark and New Harmony is also the father of labor legislation — and through his disciples —, of the English Trade Union and Co-operative movements.

But, from the point of view with which we are concerned, it is his conception of education welded to the workshop that should be preserved. Marx pointed out its importance in his "Capital": "One need only consult the books of Robert Owen to be convinced that the factory system has within it the germ of the education of the future, an education for which for all children above a certain age shall unite productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, and that not only as a method of increasing social production, but as the one and only method of producing complete men."

To make *complete men,* that is to say, to suppress the artificial separation of manual labor from intellectual labor which creates the *fractional men* of capitalist society, that was Owen's concern. It will be that of all those who analyze the evolutionary process of the industrial movement, and Proudhon will be found to propose the same solutions as forcibly as Marx. We shall return to this problem of education united to productive labor, which by the very fact that it does not conceive of thought isolated from action throws so clear a light on the abnormal position of the intellectuals in society. It is enough to observe that Owen's conceptions are directed against that monstrous di-

(1) Melanges, Troisieme volume, p. 76, 77 et 78.

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vision of the two faculties of labor, which assures to a caste detached from life, and foreign to its practice, the easy dominance of prestige. The only future which Owen's ideas reserve for the intellectuals is their disappearance as a privileged class of thinkers, their subordination to the world of production; in a word their re-absorption into social reality.

Truly the great names of Marx, Proudhon and Owen do not constitute the ideal shelter to cover up their intellectual merchandise.

HUBERT LAGARDELLE.

(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)

(To be Continued.)

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The Evolution of Socialism in Russia.

THE FIRST real step in the social revolution is, according to Marx in the Communist Manifesto, the nationalization of land. Russia is rapidly nearing this step. Already the bourgeois are for expropriation and the peasants for the prohibition of large estates. The workingmen socialist deputies in the Duma are for partial nationalization and fully half the peasant deputies, also members of a socialist party recognized by the international movement are in favor of complete nationalization of the land.

The controversy that wages in Russia between these workingmen and peasant socialists is the most momentous in all the international movement. For the agrarian program of the workingmen socialists is not nor never will be so popular among the peasants as the more revolutionary measure proposed by the peasant socialist party.

There is little question that nine-tenths of the Russian peasants will soon be converted to the latter program. If the workingmen's party allows the peasant socialists to settle their land question, reserving to itself the labor question, the already strong tendency of the peasants and workingmen to unite will be completed. There will exist only one Socialist party in Russia. This party will include three-fourths of the common people (all except some of the non-Russian peasants, such as the Poles, Letts and Lithuanians) and the victory of Socialism in Russia will be assured before any other great country.

The controversy is not so complicated as it appears. After several years of fighting at the high tension of a revolutionary time all minor and subsidiary questions are either decided or climinated. Both parties are in favor of a large measure of local autonomy. This would do away with the opposition of the small peasant proprietors of Poland, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces. If there is a middle-class peasant majority in these countries, they will rule and the Socialists will represent the landless or small propertied minorities. Both parties are agreed that there shall be no nationalization under the present government merely to increase its power, but only after a thoroughly democratic revolution. Both parties are agreed in favor of expropriation without compensation.

The only great difference is this. The Social Democrats, the city workingmen's party are in favor of expropriating only the large landlords and not the middle class peasants who work with their own hands. The Socialist Revolutionists, the party of the

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peasants, are in favor of the expropriation and nationalization of all land. The Social Democrats support their position on the opportunistic ground that the expropriation of the small peasant proprietors, though they form only a small minority of the whole peasant-class, would nevertheless, in the present critical state of the socialist and revolutionary movement, endanger its success. This is the sole argument used on this question in the most recent manifesto to the peasantry of the Social-Democratic faction of the Duma.

The Socialist Revolutionists do not feel that the opposition of a few million small proprietors could check the wishes of twenty million communal peasants. They are prepared for delay and a long and hard-fought revolution. But they will not abandon the socialist principle of absolute economic equality.

If the large landlord with his thousands of acres is to be expropriated why not also the small landowner with his hundred acres since this is three or four times the amount of land he could hold at the present moment if it were equally divided among the whole people.

To this socialist revolutionary principle of a permanently equal division of the land among all the people, not for ownership but merely temporarily, for cultivation, the bourgeois as well as the social democrats have answered in the Duma that there is not enough land in Russia to give all who would apply for it a living. To this the socialist revolutionists reply as follows. This lack of land is Russia's terrible, crushing misfortune and just for that reason it should be shared by all alike. Because there is not enough land, is that any reason why large or small landowners should have more than their share? Better agriculture and the opening up of new lands will in a decade or so double Russia's agricultural wealth, but then as now all should share alike in the prosperity or misery of the country.

The Social Democrats feel that Russia must follow Prussia and certain other countries in the development either of large or middle-sized land holdings and an agricultural proletariat. The Socialist Revolutionists feel that socialism by this road would take several generations whereas it can be reached in a short term of years by checking any such tendency and simply holding to the communal ownership that has already prevailed in Russian villages for a thousand years.

Whether or not this program succeeds depends largely on the action of the Social Democrats. The government and the bourgeois parties are already doing everything in their power to break up the village commune and increase the number of small proprietors. If this process is not stopped the number of small proprietors will be doubled within a few years, complete national-

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ization will have become impossible, and Russia will have to wait decades or generations for the social revolution.

Already the majority faction of the Social-Democrats which, as it is strongest in the Russian provincial towns, is nearest the peasants, is demanding common action with the peasant socialist parties. In the meanwhile the minority faction led by the theorists and St. Petersburg managers of the party and joined by Lettish, Caucasian and Siberian groups or by the Jewish Bund of Poland and Lithuania, where private property prevails or industries predominate is in favor of a temporary co-operation with the bourgeois parties until a purely political revolution is accomplished. It was the majority faction, friendly to the peasants, that first adopted the idea even of partial nationalization.

This ill-concealed contempt for and hostility to the peasants on the part of a faction of the Social-Democrats is due of course to historical causes. First this faction has taken nearly all its ideas from Germany and one of its chiefs glorifies in the name of the Russian Kautsky. However the Russian peasants have never been brutalized by a Prussian military system as in Kautsky's country. More miserable than the Prussian peasants and without any defined legal status, they have nevertheless launched forth a thousand local rebellions since their Prussian relatives were finally beaten into abject subjection. And although their emancipation from serfdom came a generation later than that of the Prussians, the conditions were more favorable and the government did not dare as in Prussia to rob the peasants of all the land in their possession. Prussia has conquered surrounding nations and her peasants have been patriots for centuries. Russia has been beaten for two generations and her peasants have no love for the war-game. I do not speak of the controverted benefit of the absence among the Russian peasants of private property in the land.

A second influence that led the minority faction to despair of the peasants is that before the present revolutionary movement there had been no unified, common organized, national effort among them. Whereas, for more than a decade strikes have been spreading among the workingpeople and even before the war with Japan the Socialist movement had obtained a universal foothold among them. At that time it was hoped to make a purely political revolution by the aid of the bourgeoisie. But this revolution was really made in October 1905, when the bourgeois and the working-people through the general strike brought about the Manifesto and freedom and the first Russian parliament. Since that time the bourgeois have been going backward until their leaders now declare that the revolution is over.

Yet the minority faction still demands co-operation with "the more radical" bourgeois and its leader Martof declares that the

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peasant parties are not only not socialist but reactionaries. This may be true of Kautsky's Prussia but I doubt if it is true of any other country in the world. Everywhere the socialist parties are seeking to obtain the support of the small farmers on the ground that their property and trading interest is secondary to their interest as manual workers. And it is precisely in Russia that this policy has had its most splendid success. The very name of the leading peasants party in the first Duma, the Labor Group, is an indication of its position. And when this party sent its leader Anikin to London to the Interparliamentary Socialist Congress he was accepted immediately as the representative of a socialist party. In the second Duma this party is breaking up and the majority of its members are going to the Socialist Revolutionary party recognized by the Amsterdam Congress and the International Bureau of Brussels as one of the two Socialist organizations of Russia.

Marxist, materialist, class struggle socialism is rapidly taking hold of the Russian peasantry who have already elected a majority of Socialists in their delegation to the Duma. When the socialist consciousness will have gained the whole of the communal peasants it will have a clear majority of the people of the whole Russian Empire. Perhaps this point has already been reached in the rapid evolution through which the country is now passing. If it has we may soon see a Socialist Revolutionary Parliament, since all the popular parties demand universal suffrage.

However the bourgeoisie are not sincere in this demand since it would instantly end their power in the Duma. Before there is universal suffrage there will have to be a violent revolution. And doubtless after the election of a socialist parliament some kind of civil war would be inevetable. But here is where the majority civil war—and it expects the driving power to be always the faction of the Social-Democrats disagrees with the minority. It expects this course of events—violent revolution, followed by a civil war—and it expects the driving powe rto be always the thoroughly "democratic and revolutionary," not the "reactionary" attitude of the peasants party. The majority faction, according to its leader Lenin does not hope however with the peasants that socialism will grow directly out of this civil war offered by the bourgeois. Lenin thinks that Germany would not allow Socialism in Russia and would try to interfere. He then thinks the Socialist Revolution will break out all over Europe and that then only will the peasants see what true Socialism is and demand that it be applied not only to the land but to the factories also.

The situation at the present moment is this. One faction of one party despairs of the peasants. The other faction of this party

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and the whole socialist revolutionary party stakes its hopes on the peasants. The Socialism of Russia is certain then to have an agrarian character as in no other land. And for this very reason Russia may be the first Socialist Nation.

WM. ENGLISH WALLING.

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EDITORAL

The Work if Not the Pay of a Spy.

Comrade Ben Hanford pointed out several years ago, that Daniel DeLeon was doing the work, whether he was receiving the pay or not, of a capitalist spy.

The last few months have doubled this impression and lead one to wonder whether he is not also receiving the pay.

Two years ago, and yet today, the Western Federation of Miners was the most militant, class-conscious, most feared labor organization on this continent. It set about pushing the principles that had guided it to that proud position into the East. If this move proved successful it would mean the mental and political arming of the workers of America for battle. It would mean the heaviest blow that could well be dealt capitalism.

Manifestly the thing which capitalism desired above all else was to prevent this, to sow dissension within the new organization, to make it repugnant to the workers of the country, to make it ridiculously impotent, and a stench in the mostrils of intelligent workmen.

These things DeLeon has practically accomplished.

But this was not enough. What Pinkertons, and state governments, and militia and Mine Owners' Associations and all the powers secret and open that capitalism had previously brought to bear against the Western Federation of Miners had been unable to accomplish, DeLeon's devilment did,—sowed the seeds of dissension among the membership of the W. F. M.

Go back over another portion of his history and more corroborative evidence of this theory arises. At the moment when the Socialist Labor Party was beginning to grow he loaded it down with the S. T. & L. A. and then distorted the purposes of that organization until no intelligent Socialist could remain in the S. L. P.

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Then when the Socialist Party was growing there was no vituperation, no falsification too raw for him to pour out upon it.

The last few months has seen a change of attitude. The S. L. P. has practically ceased to exist. In many large cities it is no longer of sufficient importance to be valuable to capitalism as an obstacle to Socialism.

The Socialist Party on the other hand has grown into a power that seriously threatens capitalism, and gives promise of much in the near future. Manifestly the most effective way to earn the plaudits of capitalism is to sow dissension in the Socialist Party ranks. So we now note a sudden friendliness for that party. No longer do the columns of the "People" reek with nauseous abuse of the Socialist Party. On the contrary certain young and fresh and easily gullible members of the Socialist Party are bathed in fulsome praise by the clever schemer and are urged to start trouble within their organization. For years DeLeon could find no words sufficiently strong to express his denunciation of any "boring from within" tactics. Now he is practicing those tactics with all his slippery cunning, upon the Socialist Party.

He flatters the more susceptible members by telling them how clear, and intelligent, and class-conscious, and superior to their fellow members they are. When one of them can be induced to "resign" from the Socialist Party he is assured of as many columns as he may desire to pour out his venom in the "People," and his leaving the Socialist Party is hailed as a "split," although the total number of such weak-headed dupes that he has caught during the last year is not equal to the average number of new members taken in by Local Chicago at each monthly meeting.

DeLeon has recently finished a trip across the continent and the burden of his boast on his return is the number of "S. L. P. men in the S. P." And to those who know this man, one of the most humorous things about the trip has been the way in which he has slyly played upon the exposures of his own rascality and has posed as the "best abused man" in the country, while maintaining everywhere the suave smoothness, for which he has long been noted among those who know him.

Taking all these things into consideration, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that DeLeon is playing the part of a capitalist spy in the Socialist ranks.

There is another feature that leads to the conclusion that he is not doing this unrewarded. He has been running a daily paper in New York for seven years. Although it is little more than a handbill, yet with the limited circulation which he has it must have a considerable deficit.

WHO PAYS THAT DEFICIT? In all these seven years he

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has never made a financial report. It would at least be interesting to see such a report. It might show that he was getting the money as well as doing the work of capitalism.

No apology need be offered for the preponderance of foreign material this month, for there are stirring times in Europe just now and much can be learned from events there.

Seldom has the Review been able to secure such a splendid set of articles as appear in this issue. No matter how much money we might have spent it would have been hard to have improved upon this selection.

The series of articles on the Russian Revolt, which are begun this month will constitute the standard history of the great struggle for liberty. They are written by one of the foremost of the group of younger writers, who are basing their work upon the Socialist philosophy. He has made a thorough study on the spot of all phases of the Russian revolution, and his work taken in conjunction with that of William English Walling and Robert Hunter will give a treatment of European politics such as has never been presented to the English reading public.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The so-called Union Labor party of San Francisco has received a blow from which it is doubtful whether it will ever recover. With its chief prophet in jail and its boss discredited and despised by all men, and with any number of alleged leaders resting under a cloud, the future is dark indeed for this once promising, but unclear and bourgeois movement. Back a half dozen years ago, when class lines were clearly drawn in the great water front strike, when the class struggle was transferred from the industrial to the political field, the mass of the workers were thorougly imbued with the class spirit and desirous of striking a smashing blow at capitalism and at the same time fortify itself. But the wretched , self-seaking poltroous, who are ever ready to counsel "conservatism" and sacrifice anything and everything to be enabled to climb over the backs of the workers into wealth and power, soon obtained control of the aggressive, fighting U. L. P. The musician Schmitz, who happened to carry a union card while voting the Republican ticket regularly, and who had no more conception about the rights of labor than a hen has about algebra, was whooped into office to the great consternation of the privileged class. But, while the laboring people were still shouting about their victory and assuring themselves that henceforth their industrial and social burdens would be lightened, Mr. Schmitz quickly surrounds himself with a lot of spoils-smelling politician ward-healers, and announces in the newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the land that he was no revolutionist, that "vested" rights would not be disturbed, and that everything would go along in about the same manner as under preceeding administrations. Schmitz spoke the truth. While in a number of instances Mayor Schmitz was instrumental in arbritrating troubles between employers and employes, just as did capitalistic officials before him in San Francisco, and for that matter in many other parts of the country, he also sent the police to protect scabs and harrass union strikers, as did other capitalistic mayors.

The ludicrous attempt of certain capitalistic dailies to label Schmitz a Socialist is one of the humorous incidents of the silly season. I distinctly recall the well timed visit of Mr. Schmitz to the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor. He had just been elected and was the lion of the hour. Gompers beamed upon him and bowed and scraped around him in a manner as only Gompers can when he is in the presence of the truly great. Of course, Schmitz made a speech; he talked eloquently about the "practical" things to be accomplished, and, behold! here was the personification of

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practicability that would forever smash theatrical socialism and all its advocates into a cocked hat. I had quite a lengthy conversation with Mr. Schmitz. He frankly admitted that he could not accept the doctrine of socialism, but was inclined to believe in municipal ownership of railways "ultimately." When the political debate precipitated by the Socialists was before the house the San Francisco pure and simplers, led by Andrew Furnseth, pointed with pride to their "practical" demonstration on the coast, and they poured vials of wrath upon the "red-button soapbox orators" who got out on street corners and held forth in "Crazy Alley" and denounced the U. L. P. as a fake labor party, whereas they should have been good little boys and clambered into the Schmitz band-wagon and rode to glorious victory.

Again at the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L., Mayor Schmitz was the whole show, and some beamed and bowed and scrapped some more. And the "reds" in "Crazy Alley" went forth nightly and they rented halls and challenged the so-called "Labor" party to show what it had done for the betterment of the working class and wherein the local administration was not as bad or indifferent as the Republican and Democratic tribes of politicians that held other municipalities in their grip. As a matter of fact along about that time some of the pure and simplers in 'Frisco were becoming quite lukewarm toward the "Labor" administration. Schmitz was beginning to hanker for high society—they say he developed an uncontrollable mania to become a member of the exclusive "four hundred" that ruled the social world from Nob Hill. Be that as it may, it is true that the public service corporations had everything pretty much their own way. Schmitz was becoming eminently respectable. He was regarded as a thoroughly "safe" executive, and the only thing that was necessary for those who desired favors to do was to "see Abe Ruef." The latter person was a typical snob; he despised the workers who brought him out of obscurity and created him a boss. He referred to the "labor leaders" who placed him on a pedestal as "a lot of hungry grafters who would eat the paint off a house." And like a disgusting snob that he was and is, he was bound to turn traitor and betray his pals to save his own precious skin. The world despises a cringing coward and has a certain amount of respect for a crook who has played his cards, lost and takes his medicine like a man. The old saying that "there is honor among thieves" proved untrue in San Francisco. A thief is an extremely selfish individual; he has no high ideals; there is no fraternal feeling for his fellowman in his soul. Quite naturally he thrives under and is an ardent defender of a robber system. The cold-blooded Ruef saw on the one hand a great mass of workers, who were class-conscious to a degree, and who by an accidental stroke, he was able to use. On the other hand were privilege-seeking plutocrats who were willing to pay him well for the opportunity to exploit the mass of people. Ruef played upon the cupidity of the big ignoramus Schmitz and the unholy alliance reduced the workers and held high carnival until fate finally landed them behind prison bars.

This San Francisco fiasco is not lost upon the Socialists. It vindicates the position assumed by the latter from the beginning. It only proves once more that these mushroom political movements that spring up here and there, and are not based upon the solid revolutionary rock of socialism are not worth enough powder to blow them to sheol. Not only is it a waste of time to join such movements, but

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frequently they are positively injurious to the labor class as a whole, because that class must bear the odium, as in the San Francisco case, of the miserable fraud. Let the Socialists stand pat for their great international movement, more determined—yes, more fanatical, if you please—than ever. The little local sideshows are bound to destroy themselves sooner or later.

The expulsion of the United Brewery Workers from the American Federation of Labor by the executive council of the latter body has not added much prestige and strength to organized labor in a collective sense. On the contrary it has demonstrated the fact that, despite their professions to the contrary, some people have little regard for the sacredness of the contract, and, again, that the claim that the A. F. of L. is a voluntary organization and in principle opposed to coercion is untenable. The charter rights of the brewery workers provide that they be given jurisdiction over all employes in breweries, and the Federation laws read that the various affiliated organizations be fully protected in maintaining their entity. Yet because about 40,000 brewers, engineers, firemen, teamsters, etc. who are banded together in an industrial organization for mutual betterment refuse to disintegrate and associate with half a dozen craft unious they are drummed out of camp by the great leaders. Indeed the Prohibition Secretary of the A. F. of L., Morrison, in a newspaper interview, goes so far as to announce that the beer manufactured by the brewery workers will be regarded as an unfair product, and probably the next edict will be that all workingmen with cards, to be "good trade unionists," must sign a temperance pledge and join the prohibition party. Probably the "leaders" will actually lead in this respect and set a good example for the rank and file— and probably not.

Gompers has been the implacable foe of the brewery workers for years because he has been unable to use them, and for the reason that they are socialistic in tendency and believe in concentration, while he is anarchistic—or to use a more respectable term, "individualistic"—without the courage to 'fess up. People can say what they will, but Sam Gompers is the brains and the domineering spirit of the executive council. He has his way about things. He fired out the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, of which George Barnes, member of the British Parliament and a well-known Socialist, is general secretary, and of which Isaac Cowen, equally well known as a Socialist speaker, was American organizer. He also got rid of the United Metal Workers' International Union, of which C. O. Sherman, of the I. W. W., was general secretary. Now the brewery workers are expelled, and there are one or two other bodies slated for dismemberment or expulsion. They may not wait to be disorganized, but pack up and go of their own accord.

One would naturally imagine that while the open shop employers' associations are collecting an enormous war fund and considering plans to unite their forces that the labor "leaders" would aim to concentrate their organizations and prepare to meet any and all attacks. But not so. The brewery workers' locals affiliated with state and city and central bodies, according to Gompers' man Morrison, are to be driven out of those bodies ,too, and, as the brewers have a few friends among the rank and file who have no axes to grind in all likelihood, if the great men at Washington carry out their threats,

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there will be internal war all along the lines. The brewery workers have issued a dignified statement in which they declare that, despite the persecution of the reactionists, they will continue to observe union principles as they understand them. On the other hand, the United States Brewers' Association, the employers' organization, is reported to have announced that they will make contracts with the various craft unions after this year and ignore the brewery workers so far as the engineers, firemen and teamsters are concerned. The bosses are also said to be accumulating a fund to enforce their decree and look to the A. F. of L. to lend support in any possible contingency. There are some interesting times ahead.

It will be recalled that mention was made in the Review some time ago of the peculiar autonomistic or anarchistic condition that prevailed in the printing industry, where the International Typographical Union was struggling to enforce the eight-hour workday, while the pressmen were bound by an open shop agreement and were virtually forced to scab against their fellow-workers, and that, despite the indignation of the membership of the I. T. U. and the pressmen, President Higgins deliberately signed a new agreement with the employers' association to continue the nine-hour day and the open shop until 1909. Certainly, under the Gompersonian interpretation of liberty and license, Higgins had a perfect right to bring incalculable injury upon the Typographical Union, of which organization, by the way, Secretary Morrison, of the A. F. of L., is a misrepresentative. But in the face of all opposition the I. T U. has practically won the eight-hour day—at a cost of over $3,000,000 actual money assessed upon the members. The pressmen have just held their annual convention in New York, and although every effort was made by Higgins and his followers to pack the assemblage, the revolt of the rank and file was so widespread that the "leaders" met their Waterloo. Higgins and his cohorts were turned down and out and their policies were reversed. The indications now are that there will be a strong printing federation consummated, which will virtually amount to an industrial body. Higgins was one of Gompers' ablest lieutentnts, and a number of times was given the distinguished honor of presiding at A. F. of L. conventions while officers were being elected. This year the erudite gentleman of Boston will be sadly missed.

If the members of some other organizations— the men who pay the freight—would imitate the example of the pressmen, arise in their might and kick their "leaders" into the middle of next week there would be more progress and less reaction in the American labor movement.

The irony in this disgusting situation is that the brewery workers have never hesitated to make sacrifices for the benefit of some of the very organizations whose representatives on the executive council voted to expel them, and who would not dare to submit their acts to a referendum vote of their own unions for vindication. Moreover, some of the members of the executive council are at the head of organizations that are doing precisely what the brewers were excommunicated for. Take the miners, for example, the largest body affiliated with the A. F. of L., an organization that, during some of its fights for life, received thousands of dollars from the brewers to enable the ill-paid members to stand out and fight the operators. The miners claimed jurisdiction over the coal hoisting engineers, and

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President Mitchell stated emphatically that they would not surrender them to the craft organization that made repeated fights in the Scranton, New Orleans and Boston conventions for their alleged autonomy rights. President Keefe, of the longshoremen, will battle strenuously against yielding jurisdiction over the engineers on the docks to the International Union of Steam Engineers, which body is one of the organizations that is attempting to pluck the brewers to pieces. The carpenters, whose President Huber is on the executive council, are attempting to swallow the Amalgamated Woodworkers and claim jurisdiction over all employed in woodworking, but to hear them tell it they are "straight trade autonomists." The machinists, whose President O'Connell is also on the council, absorbed the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics, thus giving them a stronger grip upon machine shops, but O'Connell is for "trade autonomy" and ferninst the brewers. There are several others who, if they were consistent, would surrender important elements in their organizations all the way through. But the only time they are consistent is when they are inconsistent.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

FRANCE.

By far the most striking event of the month has been the vine-growers' strike in Southern France. Although this movement has been widely heralded in this country as being a socialist uprising yet it really had no connection with Socialism, save in so far that every revolutionary movement at the present time is influenced by the dominant revolutionary note of the age,—socialism. As a matter of fact the Midi, as the section of France is called where the vine growers were in rebellion, is the most conservative, if not reactionary portion of the nation. The Socialist strength is largely in the North.

Neither was this a proletarian movement. The vine-growers have for years been confronted with falling prices. This is partly due to overproduction (in the capitalist sense) but also largely to the manufacture of "chemical" wines in the manufacturing centers and in Paris. A combination of sugar manufacturers and liquor traders who were behind this "manufacture" of "wine" were able to control the government and to prevent any legislation against adulteration.

The vine-growers, who had petitioned for such legislation over and over again, grew desperate, and finally announced that unless the government proceeded to stop this adulteration and to enact certain other legislation they would all "strike" and that all the local officials would resign thus paralyzing local government.

Under the leadership of Marcelin Albert this threat was carried into effect and for some time the Midi was in a state closely bordering on anarchy. The Clemenceau government ordered the troops sent to the locality, but those troops that were recruited in the disafected region refused to fire upon their relations and friends, and there were many signs of widespread disaffection and mutiny.

The matter came up in the Chamber of Deputies and the Socialists proposed the immediate nationalization of the vineyards of the larger employing proprietors, and of the wholesale and retail trade in wine and sugar, with associations of the wine growers to direct the management,—details of compensation and management to be settled later. This proposal received only the votes of the Socialists and one or two other Deputies.

In the midst of the excitement, Albert, who seems to have been about as simple as the average small capitalist reformer, came to

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Paris to see Clemenceau. He was evidently dazzled by the splendor of official Paris and after having been arrested, was released on parole, on condition that he succeeded in stopping the strike. On leaving the ministeral headquarters, Clemenceau kindly (?) offered him his train fare to his home. He accepted this, and immediately there arose a cry that he had been bribed, although the sum received was only about twenty dollars.

His followers, accordingly, refused to follow his instructions, but nevertheless the strike is gradually dwindling away.

In the meantime the Socialists are fighting in the chamber of deputies for the complete amnesty for all those engaged in the uprising, including the mutinous troops. This Clemenceau is resisting and the affair may yet easily precipitate a cabinet crisis.

In the meantime the general unrest among the peasants, while not now by any means a Socialist movement, may easily at any time drift into co-operation with the socialist movement. At any rate it indicates an insurrectionary spirit among the French peasantry long so famous as the backbone of conservatism.

RUSSIA.

The event of the month in Russia was, of course, the dissolution of the Duma by the Czar. This coup d'etat was determined upon as soon as it became evident that in spite of the gerrymandering and police interference with the elections that the Duma was not inclined to be completely subservient to the Czar.

The pretext upon which it was dissolved was that the Social Democratic members were plotting to establish a republic. There is something almost humorous in this charge since the Socialists have never attempted to conceal the fact that they were seeking the overthrow of the autocracy and to speak of their "plotting" to that end is a new use of the word. A demand was made upon the Duma that the Socialist members be delivered up for punishment,—which meant for death. This the Duma refused to do and dissolution followed. The Socialist members nearly all seem to have escaped arrest and have taken up the secret propaganda once more.

The government has also determined upon a still further revision of the election laws so as to place power entirely in the hands of the reactionary elements'. Incidentally this is a violation of the pledge of the Czar that no changes would be made in the election law without the consent of the Duma.

The immediate result of the dissolution has been a revival of all the old tactics, including terrorism. Just what attitude will be taken by the Socialists toward the elections for the next Duma has not yet been decided.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

The International Socialist Congress will be held at Stuttgart August 18th to 24th. This will be the first International Congress where the proportional system of voting will be in force. Hitherto each nation has had two votes no matter what its size or strength of its socialist movement. At the coming Congress an effort has

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been made to apportion voting strength to the various countries in the ratio of the importance of the Socialist movement, the size of the country the strength of the labor union movement, and the number of Socialist parliamentary representatives.

The principle questions before the Congress will deal with immigration and emigration and the relation of the Socialist Party to the labor unions.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Three Acres and Liberty. By Bolton Hall. MacMillan. Cloth, 435 pp., $1.50.

Here is a combination of the Single Tax, "Back to the Land" and suburbanite enthusiasm, tempered with the supervision of an agricultural expert and written in charming literary style. Such a combination should be pleasing to a great variety of readers, and it certainly is. The farmer, gardener, suburbanite, chicken-farmer, bee and fruit raiser, nature lover and poet will all find something to enjoy in its pages, while it has much of great value to the sociologist.

The burden of the book is that on three acres enough can be raised to give economic freedom. While the book does many things, as has been suggested, it seems to fall something short of proving its main thesis. There is no doubt but what enormous crops, far exceeding the average at present can be brought from the land. The examples which are quoted, and which are largely taken from Kropotkin, may on the whole be accepted, although some of them seem to lack discriminating accuracy in statement. But the present writer, like Kropotkin, neglects to tell us that the market gardeners of Paris, who have conquered climate and soil and cultivated the earth to an intensity unknown elsewhere on earth are sunk in a poverty as deep as that of the city sweat-shops. Their hours are the limit of human endurance,—their only sleep being often that which they can catch on their carts as they wait outside the walls of Paris, to be first in line at the market. Nor have all those who have tried market gardening been so successful as Mr. Hall would have us believe. There are plenty of failures in the neighborhood of every great city. The fruit belt of Michigan could tell a story longer than the volume before us could contain on this point.

Passing by this optimism, which is excusable in the enthusiast, even though it destroy the heart of the argument of the book, there is still enough that is valuable, interesting and helpful to make it one of the important books of the year. There are a host of practical suggestions from how to buy a farm to what to plant and how to care for it, although on the latter point the writer wisely refers to technical works on gardening rather than cumber his pages with details on points already covered. Here one notes some omissions that might well be supplied in a later addition. A discussion on the possibilities of intensive fruit raising should not have neglected the new dwarf fruit that enable such wonders to be so quickly wrought, nor, in work with so much of detail one should have expected to have seen some reference to the raising of such fruits as strawber-

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ries in batrels and boxes. Again the author's pessimism leads him to overlook the failures that have been met with in vacant lot cultivation by philanthropic bodies and to mention only the more remarkable successes.

That there will be a tremendous "Back to the Land" movement as soon as economic conditions permit is certain. That even under capitalism there is much of a movement in that direction is evident. That such a movement can ever solve any problem of present time, or give "liberty" to any large number is doubtful. Yet if it does no more than arouse a desire in those who have the possibility of cultivating the soil it will have done good.

Sex and Society. By William I. Thomas. University of Chi:go Press. Cloth, 325 pp., $2.00.

After discussing the various theories that see in woman a partially developed man, a lower human being, etc. Prof. Thomas concludes his chapter on "Organic Differences in the Sexes" with the statement that:

"Man consumes energy more rapidly; woman is more conservative of it. The structural variability of man is mainly toward motion; woman's variational tendency is not toward motion, but toward reproduction. Man is fitted for feats of strength and bursts of energy; woman has more stability and endurance. While woman remains nearer to the infantile type, man approaches more nearly to the senile. The extreme variational tendency of man expresses itself in a larger percentage of genius, insanity and idiocy; woman remains more nearly normal."

The book is a close social and psychological study of sex relations and the part which they have played in race evolution. It is a welcome relief from the vast amount of undigested sentimental rot that it poured forth on this subject, and this whether the reader agree with the author or not. Indeed there are not many conclusions with which to agree or disagree as the work is largely descriptive of facts.

There are chapters on Sex and "Primitive Social Control," "Social Feeling," "Primitive Industry," "Primitive Morality," "The Psychology of Exogamy," "The Psychology of Modest and Clothing," "The Adventitious Character of Woman" and "The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races."

The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism. By Louis B. Boudin. Charles H. Kerr & Co. Cloth, 286 pp., $1.00.

The contents of this work are already familiar to our readers as it was first published in the columns of the International Socialist Review. It is an attempt to present the Marxian system of thought, with the emphasis on the system. The materialistic interpretation of history, the doctrine of the class struggle and the labor theory of value are shown to be integral parts of one symmetrical system.

Considerable space is given to a discussion of the various critics of Marxism. In this respect it is particularly timely since the Revisionist movement, which produced most of these critics seems to have practically dissappeared so that their criticisms may now be

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looked upon as completed. Much use has been made of those portions of Marx' work which have not yet appeared in English. It is here that the author appears at his best. There are many who will disagree with some of his presentations of Marxism, which is patterned very closely after that of Kautsky, but there are few who will deny that he has made good in overthrowing the critics of Marx.

The book cannot be looked upon as an adequate presentation of the Marxian philosophy,—it is doubtful if any such presentation can be made in less space than that occupied by Marx in the original statement—but to the person who has already read the first volume of Marx and an average amout of Socialist literature this book will bring new ideas and give a much better grasp of the philosophy of Socialism.

It is almost the first of what promises to be an extensive literature in English corresponding to that already existing in other languages, expounding, explaining, elaborating Marxism.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A NEW WAY TO BUY STOCK.

Most readers of the Review are already famaliar with the co-operative plan on which the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is organized. Starting without capital, and getting our support not from capitalists but from laborers, we have gradually found new co-operative stockholders, until at the end of June we have a paid-up capital of $23,380.00. But all this and several thousand dollars of borrowed capital beside is invested in copyrights, plates, books and accumulated advertising, so that more capital is needed if we are to enlarge our work.

We can not expect to receive large sums from investors, first because our work is not in the interest of the people who have large sums, and second because we offer no dividends. Moreover, we regard it as essential to the future of the publishing house that the control be kept in the membership of the socialist party, so we are making no effort to secure stock subscriptions for more than a single share. We already have 1761 stockholders; if we could double the number within a year we could more than double the output of socialist books.

Only a small portion of those who have subscribed for stock were able to pay the full ten dollars at one time. Most of the stock has been paid for in monthly installments of one dollar each. This plan has been a great advantage on both sides, but there have been some serious drawbacks which we believe the new plan will overcome. The stock subscribers have had to promise definitely to pay a dollar a month, while the office force of the publishing house has had to keep a record of each promise and send notices when payments were delayed. We have allowed those making payments to buy books at reduced prices while paying for stock, and this has worked out unequally in the case of those unable for various reasons to complete their payments. Some have put off buying books until their stock should be fully paid for, and on account of ill health or loss of jobs have been unable to get any benefit whatever from their stock, subscriptions. Others have paid a single dollar on stock, pur-

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chased a large number of books at cost, and then have stopped their payments. And the office force has had to put a good deal of unproductive labor into the collection of the deferred payments of some who have finally paid. We believe our new plan will work better on both sides.

The New Plan. Our discount on books to stockholders is forty per cent when we prepay charges, fifty per cent when books are sent at purchaser's expense. To buy stock on the new plan, simply send the retail price for what books you want to the amount of a dollar or more at a time. We will send the books and with them a credit certificate for 40% or 50% of the amount of the remittance, according to whether we prepay the charges on the books or not. These certificates will be received the same as cash at any time within a year in payment for a share of stock; after a year has expired they will be of no value. Thus the purchase within a year of books to the amount of $25.00 if we prepay charges, or $20.00 if purchaser pays charges, will entitle the purchaser to a full-paid share of stock without any direct outlay.

These credit certificates will be transferable. If several numbers of a local or branch of the Socialist Party will buy books and turn over their certificates to the secretary, a share of stock can easily be secured without burdening any one.

In this way the purchasers of books have everything to gain and nothing to lose. They will for every remittance get their money's worth of books. If they buy the number specified within the year, they get their stock without any direct outlay. If not, they have no explanation or apology to offer, and they will receive no letters requesting them to keep up their payments.

The publishing house on the other hand will save an immense amount of unproductive labor, and will be enabled to make every dollar count toward the circulation of more socialist books.

"JUNE BREAKS ALL RECORDS."

Our readers will remember that April broke all previous records for the sale of books. We had expected that the April record would stand untouched until fall, but June, ordinarily a dull month, has surpassed April. Our book sales for June have been $2878.68, Review receipts $155.51, stock subscriptions $216.93, total $3251.12. The large total book sales are partly due to special orders from the Wilshire Book Company and the Appeal to Reason, and partly to the fact that many stockholders responded to the offer of a special discount during the month of June. The result is encouraging in that it has enabled us to meet our most pressing obligations without resorting to a bank loan at high interest, but it does not mean that further

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effort is needless. The contrary is true. We have been printing and binding new books so fast that we must keep up the pace another month to pay the bills that are coming due. We have strained our credit to publish these books because we believe the socialists of America want them. The following list includes only the newest books. For a complete list, see our Socialist Book Bulletin for June, mailed free on request.

LATEST SOCIALIST BOOKS NOW READY:

Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. By Karl Marx. Volume II, The Process of Circulation of Capital. Edited by Frederick Engels and translated from the Second German Edition by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 614 pages, with index, $2.00.

The Rise of the American Proletarian. By Austin Lewis. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 14, $1.00.

The Theoretical System of Karl Marx. By Louis B. Boudin. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 15, $1.00.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring.) By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 16, $1.00.

Socialism, Positive and Negative. By Robert Rives La Monte. Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 19, 50c.

Capitalist and Laborer, a reply to Goldwin Smith, also **Modern Socialism,** a reply to W. H. Mallock, by John Spargo. Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 20, 50c.

The Right to be Lazy and Other Studies. By Paul Lafargue, translated by Charles H. Kerr. Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 21, 50c.

Science and Socialism. By Robert Rives LaMonte. Pocket Library of Socialism, No. 22, 5c.

Marx on Cheapness. Translated by Robert Rives LaMonte. Pocket Library of Socialism, No. 50, 5c.

All the above are NOW READY. They will be sent to any address for $6.60, and a credit certificate receivable on stock subscription will be also sent,—for $3.30 if purchaser pays expressage; for $2.64 if we pay it.

IN PRESS:

Revolution and Counter-Revolution. By Karl Marx. Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 22, 50c. Ready about July 15.

The American Esperanto Book. By Arthur Baker. A complete text-book of the new International Language, including grammar, exercises and vocabulary. $1.00. Ready about July 15.

What Socialists Think. By Charles H. Kerr. Pocket Library of Socialism, No. 57. Ready about July 15.

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American Communities. By William Alfred Hinds. Third edition, revised and enlarged, with many new illustrations, $1.50. Ready about August 25.

Marxian Economics. By Ernest Unterman. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 13, $1.00. Up to the date of going to press the author has not given us concluding pages of the manuscript for this work, though our contract with him provided that it should be in our hands as long ago as last January, and we announced it accordingly. He is at present in Idaho, and writes us that he will complete the work shortly. Those who have ordered advance copies may substitute something else if they prefer not to wait. We will not attempt to fix the date of publication until we get the rest of the manuscript.

International Socialist Review, Vol. VII. This volume is now being bound, and will be ready about July 15. We can now supply volumes II, III, IV, V and VI, at $2.00 a volume, and Volume I, the supply of which is nearly exhausted, at $5.00. These prices are subject to the usual discount to stockholders. The price of Vol. VII will also be $2.00, subject to the same discount. We have a few copies of Volume II with slightly damaged cover which we will mail at $1.00 while they last (no discount from this special price). A set of the **Review** is indispensable to any one desiring a history of the International Socialist movement and of the development of socialist thought for the years beginning with July, 1900. Please note that we do NOT bind back numbers nor exchange bound for unbound volumes. We can still supply a few single copies of the different numbers of Volume VII, but shall close them all out by the end of August. To make sure of a full set of the **Review,** order now.

Marx's Capital.

Do not forget that we are now offering the first opportunity to get the second volume of this great work in the English language. No one who is ignorant of this book really understands socialism. If you have the first volume you will want the second, if not, you should send for the first. Two dollars a volume, postpaid. And do not forget that at $1.50 we are publishing Morgan's "Ancient Society," which has always sold at $4.00. With more co-operators we can do more. How about yourself?

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VIII AUGUST, 1907 NO. 2

Immigration in the United States.

One of the important questions left undecided by the last International Social Congress was the attitude of Socialism towards immigration. The subject was as novel as it is large, and it found the delegates unprepared to deal with it in an intelligent and satisfactory manner. Of the two resolutions offered, the one drafted by the commission practically declared itself for unrestricted labor migration, while the other proposed by several representatives of Holland, Australia and the United States, voiced the opposition of organized labor to the importation into advanced countries of laborers of backward races, such as Chinese and African coolies. On the suggestion of Keir Hardie, both drafts were finally withdrawn in order to afford the socialist parties opportunity to make a more thorough study of the subject.

The discussion on Labor Immigration will be resumed in the coming Stuttgart Congress, and in conjunction with it the experience of the United States in that domain may play an important part in aiding the delegates to arrive at a proper solution of the problem.

The United States is the country of immigration par excellence, and that not only because, historically speaking, we are a a nation of immigrants, but also because immigration has at all times been, and to present days remains, a most potent factor in the growth and development of our country, and in the formation of its industrial and social conditions.

The census of the United States in 1820 showed a total population of 9,638,453; in 1900 that number had risen to 76,303,387. If we consider that during the same period over 19,000,000 immigrants were admitted to the United States, and that the birth rate of immigrants is considerably higher than

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that of the natives, the conclusion is irresistible that they and their descendants constitute the bulk of the present population of the country.

The majority of "native" citizens to-day can probably not trace their American ancestry to more than two or three generations while the number of foreign born inhabitants in 1905 was between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000.

And the immigration is constantly increasing in volume. During the thirty-year period of 1850—1880, the average number of yearly arrivals vacillated pretty uniformly around a quarter of a million, in the succeeding two decades it rose to almost half a million, per year, and in 1905 the number of immigrants passed the million mark, and in 1906 it was over 1,250,000.

The United States is thus the classic soil of modern immigration, and the study of the sources and causes of that immigration, its effects on the welfare of the country, and particularly the working class of the country, are of more than local interest.

SOURCES, CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION.

About the middle of the last century, the American immigration recruited itself chiefly from Ireland and Germany. In the decade of 1840 to 1850, nearly one-half of the total immigration was Irish, while one-quarter was German, and in the succeeding decade both nations were almost equally represented, and together constituted about two-thirds of all American immigration, the balance being chiefly made up of emigrants from England, Scotland, France and Sweden. The German, Irish English and Scandinavian immigration reached the highest point about 1880, but the last twenty-five years show a steady decline in the influx from this countries. Austro-Hungary, Italy and Russia henceforward supply the bulk of American immigrants. In 1870 all immigrants from the three countries mentioned constituted only one per cent, of the total immigration of the United States, in 1880 they rose to ten per cent, while in the five-years period of 1901 to 1905, two-thirds of all immigrants came from these countries. The number of Italian immigrants for that period was 959,768, that of the Austro-Hungarians 944,239, while Russia furnished 658,735.

The causes of this varying stream of immigration are to be found primarily in the industrial conditions of the countries of Europe as well as in those of the United States. It will be noticed that the American immigration commences to assume very large dimensions around the middle of the last century, i. e., at a time when in the more advanced countries of Europe the capitalist mode of production, with its inevitable blossoms of industrial crisis, unemployment and poverty, had reached a high point of

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development, while the United States was about entering on its industrial career, and had an abundance of cheap fertile land and other unexploited natural resources. The operation of this economic motive on immigration is clearly shown by the immediate effects of the fluctuating industrial conditions of the country on it. During the Civil War the immigration decreased to less than 90,000 in each of the years 1861 and 1862, in 1865 after the close of the war, it rose again to almost a quarter of a million, and continued increasing until 1873, when it reached the high record of 459,803. But the industrial depression ushered in by that year immediately reflected itself on the immigration which fell from year to year until 1878, when it was reduced to a total of 138,469. The somewhat milder depression of 1894—1898 again witnessed a falling off of almost half of the yearly immigration.

But the economic considerations are not the sole cause of immigration: political motives have also from time to time largely contributed to its growth. The defeat of the revolution in 1848 and the enactment of the Exceptional Laws of 1878. have in each case more than doubled the emigration from Germany; the French risings of 1848 and 1870 had a similar effect, and the political and religious persecutions of the Jews in Russia have resulted in a veritable exodus of the victims to America.

The immigration from these causes represents a natural and spontaneous movement, and must be carefully distinguished from immigration purposely and artificially stimulated.

For a very considerable portion of American immigration is produced by artificial and unscrupulous means, and the worst offenders in this respect are the trans-atlantic steamship companies. The business of steamship travel has increased enormously within the last decades, and more than $125,000,000 is said to be invested in the principal steamship lines. The chief source of profits of the industry is the carrying of steerage passengers. The steerage passengers are the least troublesome and best paying cargo: they are herded together in such numbers that a large ship frequently carries as many as 2000 of them, their food is of the cheapest, and they receive no attendance worth mentioning. It is, therefore, of the most vital interest to the steamship companies to solicit steerage passengers, and since steerage travel is rarely undertaken for pleasure, the traffic can only be supported by emigration. The part of the steamship companies and their agents in inducing emigration is not generally known or appreciated, for the reason that it is in most cases conducted clandestinely on account of the laws of the United States and some other countries prohibiting such practices. It is, however, an open secret that the principal lines maintain hosts of paid agents in all

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parts of Europe, whose business it is to induce the poor and the ignorant to seek wealth and happiness in the New World by glowing descriptions of the conditions in the United States, its high wages, free land and great opportunities. The Red Star Line formerly had no less than 1500 of such agents, the Anchor Line had 2500, and the Inman Line 3400. All of these are smaller concerns, and each of the other companies probably employ still larger numbers. But in addition to such professional solicitors, the steamship companies know how to press tens of thousands of amateur agents into their service. In his report to the Commissioner General of Immigration in 1903, Special Immigrant Inspector, Marcus Braun, stated:

"I learned in the course of my travels, particularly in the countries of Austria-Hungary and Russia, that a large number of reputable persons, such as priests, school teachers, postmasters and country notaries, are directly connected with certain agents representing steamship companies, and that they advise and instruct the emigrants how to procure steamship tickets, passports, and all other things necessary for their travel, for all of which they receive a commission from the agent employing them, *** These sub-agents occupying semi-public positions, in order to earn commissions, play upon the ignorance and susceptibility of the plain peasant, frequently inducing him to sell or mortgage all his belongings for the purpose of raising the necessary travelling expenses."

And the steamship companies are not the only capitalist concerns to stimulate artificial immigration to the United States. In many large industries, the employers find it to their advantage to import foreign labor: unskilled workingmen are imported in large numbers by mining concerns and by railroad companies engaged in the construction of new roads, on account of the low wages for which they consent to work; and skilled workingmen are generally imported in cases where the American workingmen are on strike, or where their organizations are so strong as to enable them to maintain a high standard of wages. Such skilled laborers from foreign countries are usually brought over under contracts of employment, written or oral.

But with all that the question of immigration had not, up to the latter part of the last century, attained to the dignity of a social problem in the United States. The unoccupied territory was so vast, and the nascent industries grew so rapidly that the powerful flow of immigration was easily absorbed by the new country.

Within the last generation, however, practically all the unappropriated and unreserved land of the country suitable for cultivation was disposed of, the inherent forces of the now fully

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developed capitalist system of production created the usual "surplus population" of workingmen, and the wisdom of continuing the policy of unrestricted immigration began to be questioned by both employers and employees.

To the employing class, on the whole, the problem was, comparatively speaking, simple. It is in the interest of that class to maintain not only a number of workingmen sufficient for the actual needs of the industries of the nation under existing conditions, but also a certain surplus or reserve army of unemployed in order to keep wages at a low level. Until that point had been reached in our labor population, immigration was encouraged and our good capitalists were exceedingly hospitable to the persecuted and oppressed coming from the different despotic countries of Europe. Our immigration laws were very liberal. But after that critical point had been reached, all further "surplus population" became not only unnecessary, but highly embarrassing. Our ruling classes consequently became more apprehensive of the evil social and moral influence of the foreigners of an inferior grade of civilization, and our laws show a tendency towards increasing strictness in the admission of immigrants.

These considerations apply to the capitalist class on the whole, but, of course, there are still the numerous individual capitalist concerns which have good use for cheap foreign labor, and these continue the wholesale importation of such labor in spite of any and all prohibitive laws.

ATTITUDE OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

As far as the American workingmen are concerned, only the organized portion of it has expressed definite views on the question, and these views are decidedly in favor of greater restriction of immigration.

Within the last thirty years or more the Order of Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, have repeatedly adopted resolutions demanding such restrictions. Among the favorite demands of these organizations were a physical and educational test, prohibition of importation of contract labor and "assisted" immigration and even the wholesale exclusion of certain races.

Mr. Samuel Gompers presented the problem to the annual convention of that body in 1905, in the following language:

"More than a million immigrants landed on our shores during the years which ended June 30, 1905. Far the greater part of them were men who have entered at once into the competition for work. They are already a part of our American industrial system. A few years hence many of them will be loyal and earnest members of the organization of their crafts, as many thousands who came like them a few

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years ago are loyal and earnest supporters of the American labor movement to-day.

"But in the meantime their coming places several problems before us. One is the problem of bringing them within the circle of the labor movement. Most of them have known nothing of the principles of unionism in their own country. Hard experience will give them some inkling of the need of united action, but to make them steady and intelligent union men requires our most careful and persistent effort.

"And while the organized labor of this country is struggling with this problem of education and organization, it cannot lose sight of the effect of these immigrants on the old and everpresent problem of maintaining and raising wages and shortening hours. Additional workers, anxious for a chance to labor, is calculated to diminish the share of the product of labor that goes to the laborer, and to increase the share that goes to the employer. Additional men anxious to work in shop or field or on railroad or in forest have precisely this effect; to enable the owners of land and of monopolies to get more of the product of the laborer's work, and to compel the laborer himself to take up with less.

"It is with no ill-will to our brothers from over the sea that we point out the unfortunate results of their coming. We have only good wishes for them. More than that, their interest is ours. * * *

"The greatest hindrance to the rapid rise of our million comrades who came in last year is the other millions who are coming after them. The competition of these other millions will hold them down, and in holding them down will hold down the whole body of American workers. We wish nothing but good to such future immigrants. But we hold that we ought not, for their good, as well as our own, to sacrifice the interests of all the workers on this continent and of the generations that are to follow.

"If we and our children are not to be sacrificed, some check must be put upon the constant overstocking of what some are pleased to term 'labor market'. Some check would have to be put upon it even if the competition between those who are here and those who are coming were on equal terms. But it is not equal. The great mass of our present-day immigration is far inferior to the great body of American workers, and for that very reason its competition is the more hurtful. The more ignorant and poorer a man is, the more completely is he at the mercy of an employer. The weaker he is in body or mind, the better can he be used to break down the independence of his fellows. Just as the cheap labor of women and children displaces the labor of men, so the cheap labor of the unenlightened immigrant displaces the labor of Americans who insist upon American wages and conditions.

"Though most concerned in our own interest and welfare, it is not these considerations entirely that prompt us to restrict, limit and regulate future immigration. * * *

"If the workmen of foreign countries would more largely remain at home, conditions and circumstances would so develop that they would demand and secure material as well as political and social relief, and make for liberty and justice in their own countries. It is the free and unlimited opportunities for the workmen to leave their homes that perpetuates economic, social and political evils at home.

"Our demand for immigration restriction is as humanitarian for

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the people of other countries as well as it is wise, just and protective for the people of our own."

This is one of the more enlightened expressions of the pure and simple trade union view on the subject. Many of the strongest trade unions, some of them affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, show far less tolerance towards the immigrant-workingmen of their trades. Their policy is to keep them out of their organizations by exacting unreasonably high initiation fees, and not infrequently requiring a certain length of residence in the country as one of the conditions of their admission. This short-sighted policy is, of course, the exception rather than the rule, and is pursued only in such cases where the trade unions are strong enough to practically control the labor market.

And it must be admitted that the unfriendly attitude of American labor towards immigration is not entirely without foundation, at least as far as the economic aspect of the question is concerned.

The standard life of the American workingmen is above that of the average immigrant laborer.

Thus the average wage of the American agricultural laborer outside of harvest time is estimated at $1.25 to $1.50 a day, while that of the English laborer is about 50 cents, that of the Russian and Austria-Hungarian about 30 cents, and that of the Italian still less. Of course, these figures do not take into account the cost of living of the laborers, which is about three times higher in America than in the countries mentioned, but even with proper allowance for that difference, the foreign laborer still underbids the native workingman, so much so that the latter has been driven out from several entire industries. In the mining regions, for instance, the American workingman was first supplanted by the English and Irish immigrant, who in turn made room for the German, and the latter finally yielded the field to the cheaper labor of the Italian and "Slav."

And the life of these new comers is, at least in the beginning, very miserable. Herded together in large numbers, they live in small and dirty shanties, are poorly nourished and clad, and compelled to send their children to work at a very tender age. Compulsory education is a dead letter as far as they are concerned. The degradation of this cheap foreign labor finds perhaps its most revolting expression in the development among them of the "padrone" and "sweating" system, both of which had a somewhat demoralizing effect on the American labor market.

It is true that the competition of cheap immigration labor is felt most keenly in the "unskilled" trades, but it would be a mistake to assume that the "skilled" organized workingmen are entirely unaffected by it. The development of machinery has a strong

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tendency to obliterate the distinction between "skilled" and "unskilled" labor, and in many "skilled" trades the workingmen have long periods of idleness during which they are compelled to eke out their existence by common labor.

Thus it happened that on the question of immigration the apparent interests of organized labor have within the last decades largely coincided with those of the employing classes, and the demands of the former for restriction of further immigration have found rather willing ears in the legislatures of the latter. It is a noteworthy fact that of all the demands made from time to time by organized labor in our country, those relating to restriction of immigration have been most readily granted by our ruling classes. The course of immigration legislation in the United States Congress has within the last thirty years been one of successive restrictions.

The first significant act of Congress in that direction was the Chinese Exclusion Law and the different amendments it passed from 1882-1888. Around 1880 there were more than 100,000 Chinamen in the United States, and the majority of them settled in the State of California. They were engaged in mining, in the work of constructing the Pacific railroads, and fruit growing and farming. Their lack of requirements, cheapness of labor, inability to merge with the American workingmen and to organize, and their strange garb and habits, had early engendered a hostile feeling towards them on the part of the local working population, and when, towards the end of the seventies of the last century, the unprecedented industrial depression in California threw most of the native workingmen out of employment, this hostility was fanned into a blaze of hatred. Chinese labor was made responsible for all existing social and economic evils on the Pacific coast, a strong and turbulent agitation sprang up and culminated in the formation of the Working-men's Party of California with the platform: "The Chinese Must Go!" The two old parties were quick in endorsing the motto, and Congress promptly responded to the general demand of the Californians. At present all Chinese immigrants are excluded from the United States except officials, teachers, students, merchants and travellers for curiosity or pleasure.

Other restrictive measures were adopted by Congress one by one, and to-day the immigration laws of the United States bar the following classes of persons from landing: (1) Idiots, insane persons and epileptics; (2) Persons afflicted with contagious or dangerous diseases; (3) Criminals, polygamists and prostitutes; (4) Paupers, beggars and persons likely to become a charge on the public; (5) Contract laborers and assisted immigrants. The barring of the last mentioned class of immigrants and in some

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measure also the fourth class, is chiefly due to the agitation of organized labor.

After the assassination of President McKinley by the native American anarchist Czolgosz, Congress passed the notorious law excluding anarchists, defining the term as "persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the government of the United States or of all government or all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." Our present laws also prohibit all encouragement and solicitation of immigration on the part of the steamship companies, and impose a head tax of four Dollars on every immigrant.

THE SOCIALIST VIEW.

The socialists of the United States have heretofore occupied themselves but little with the question of immigration. The problem has never attained the magnitude of an important political issue which would force the Socialist Part as a political party to define its attitude on it, and the socialist influence on the trade union movement of our country is unfortunately so weak, that the party is not yet called on to act as the theoretical adviser on matters of general interest to organized labor.

As a rule the socialists of the United States do not share the narrower views of pure and simple trade unionism on the question of immigration. From the point of view of the immediate economic welfare of the American workingmen, immigration is certainly not a blessing, but its evil effects are largely exaggerated. The immigrant workingman certainly swells the supply of labor power but to some extent he also helps to increase the demand for it. He is not only a producer, he is also a consumer, and while under the present system he is bound to consume less than he produces, it is still a gross error to overlook his stimulating effect on the industrial growth of the country. The immigrant's low standard of living is also often a temporary rather than a permanent condition. Experience has demonstrated that in most cases the newly arrived workingmen after some time raise their standard of life, assimilate with the American workingmen and join their labor organizations. In fact the organized "American" workingmen to-day are the best proof of that assertion, for in a large, if not in a majority, of cases, they are themselves immigrants or immigrants' children.

And to the extent to which immigration actually is an evil to the working class of the receiving country, it is an evil inseparable from the existing economic system, as inseparable from it as the evils of child labor or woman labor, or the existence of the standing "natural" army of unemployed workingmen in every country with a capitalist development.

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The migration of workingmen is caused and regulated largely by economic conditions, it is just as much a part of our industrial order as the movement of the masses from the village to the city and from city to city within every country. Capitalism is international, and the working class of the "civilized" world is its marching army, whose battalions are constantly ordered from town to town, from country to country, from hemisphere to hemisphere according to the exigencies of industrial developments and changes. And just as little as any modern country can withdraw from the international market, just so little can it permanently protect itself by artificial barriers from the natural stream of modern labor migration. It is the inexorable rule of supply and demand that in the last instance determines the volume and direction of migration and all legal enactments opposed to that rule are but temporary and inefficient makeshifts. Should the labor market in the United States fall below that of the European markets, the immigration of European labor will fall off no matter how liberal and attractive our immigration laws may be, and should, on the contrary, a condition arise where our employing classes would need more labor than they can advantageously find in their own country, all restrictive immigration laws will be speedily repealed and foreign laborers will be imported in larger numbers than ever. The efforts of organized labor should, therefore, be directed towards the organization and elevation of their immigrated brethren rather than towards their exclusion.

But if the socialists are thus unable to share all the current views of organized labor on immigration, they can just as little afford to ignore all their views.

The considerations indicated above apply only to immigration naturally and normally produced by existing economic conditions, and we may also add to that class immigration produced by political causes. But an entirely different standard must be applied to the other aspects of immigration mentioned in this article. Immigration artificially stimulated for the benefit of the steamship companies, land agents and similar commercial concerns, is just as pernicious to the workingmen of the country of emigration as to those of the receiving country, and should be discouraged with all means at the command of the socialists and workingmen of all countries. The international importation of workingmen from foreign countries for the purpose of breaking strikes or weakening or destroying labor organizations, is just as obnoxious to socialists as it is to the trade unions, and all measures to check these capitalist practices have the full support of the socialists. And finally the majority of the American socialists side with the trade unions in their demand for the exclusion of workingmen of such races and nations as have as yet not been drawn into the sphere of

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modern production, and who are incapable of assimilation with the workingmen of the country of their adoption, and of joining the organizations and struggles of their class. This demand is a direct expression of the natural instinct of self-preservation.

Just what races are to be included in this category is a question that can only be decided from time to time with reference to the particular circumstances and conditions of each case. Years ago the Chinese laborers in California were by common consent declared to be undesirable immigrants, and very recently the same issue was raised in the same state with reference to the Japanese laborers. Whether the claim is justified this time, whether the Japanese workingmen have proved themselves incapable of organizing on American soil and taking part in the struggle of their American brethren is the subject of quite animate discussions in American party and labor circles just now. Personally I am not sufficiently familiar with the question to pass judgment on it.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

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Rise of the Russian Proletariat.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENERAL STRIKES.

The first half of 1906 had been marked by an immense protest against the murder of Gapon's followers, but toward the middle of the year the Revolutionary movement died down into a discussion of the coming elections. The Socialists had decided in their various conferences to do what they could to impede the election by strikes and revolt, and they wished to keep the workingmen quiet and so save their strength until the election days.

But in the early part of October the printers of Moscow began to talk of a strike. They wanted an increase of wages and more free time. Their Union had been organized by the Socialists and its Executive Committee was largely controlled by the party. According to their plan—to save up the energy of the proletariat for the critical election days, the Socialists did all they could to discourage this strike, but they could not hold the men in. The movement was too strong for them. They had to go with the men or lose them.

Not being able to prevent the strike they decided to turn it into a political demonstration.

When the boss printers of Moscow received the demand of the men, the first thing they read was the demand for a democratic republic based on universal suffrage. Even if the bosses approved of these demands, as many of them undoubtedly did, it was, of course, out of their power to grant them. They were not demands for the improvement of the economic condition of the workmen, but for immediate and thorough-going revolution.

The men were determined and would not listen to any compromise. Many of these boss printers closed their shops. Others transferred their contracts abroad. The strike failed pitifully.

But the political psychology of Russia was very tense. There was a ring in the demands of the Moscow printers—hopeless as they were—which found an echo in the heart of almost every worker in Russia. The next morning their demands appeared in the papers of St. Petersburg, and the Petersburg printers went out in sympathy. Before the day was over, half a dozen of the biggest factories, iron works, textile mills, etc., went out —without demands—to show their solidarity with their Moscow comrades.

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It happened that delegates of the railroad men were gathered in conference in St. Petersburg. That night they declared a general railroad strike. Again without demands of their own —to give emphasis to the brave words of the Moscow printers. Before any one realized it, the biggest general strike of history was on foot. Day by day,—hour by hour,—the movement grew. It spread in all directions. The Union of Unions joined in. Engineers, lawyers, doctors, hospital nurses, teachers,—quit work. Almost all the employees of the Imperial State Department went out. The movement was not without its humorous features. The Congress of Apiarians was assembled in Moscow, and they passed a resolution that it was impossible to raise bees unless Russia was granted a constitution. Even the police force struck in some places.

All over Russia hung the fear of the unknown. Such a quiet had never been. The streets of St. Petersburg were empty. The tram cars were deserted by their drivers. There were no cabs. The stores were boarded up as though to resist a siege. At night there was no light. The streets were deserted except by the patrols of Cossacks, but there were no disturbances. The very quiet added to the fearsomeness. The workers had stopped work. Hunger and thirst threatened. People spoke in whispers and waited nervously for what the next hour would bring forth. Never has the idle class been so frightened.

In these days of tension a new entity came into the life of Russia: The Council of Workingmen's Deputies—and the name of Krystalov, the President, grew and grew, until it eclipsed that of Witte, the Premier.

Never had there been such an impressive proletarian action as that of this first general strike. The Council of Workingmen's Deputies functioned admirably. There was none of the bickering and rivalry which wrecked the Paris Commune, and this was not the revolt of one City but of the workingmen of an Empire more than forty times as large as France.

It is hard for one who has not seen it to understand what the words "General Strike" mean. "War," "Insurrection," "Parricide,"—have a place in history and a meaning for everybody,—but a "General Strike" is something new,—something of our generation—and few people realize its power. It came suddenly. There was no warning. The street cars stopped where they stood. Cabs disappeared. The restaurants closed. The ovens of the bakeries got cold. No one bought milk. There were no papers, no mail nor telegrams; no news from the outside world. There were no trains running to bring in the tons of meat and vege-

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tables consumed every day. Would the water stop? The Council of the workingmen's Deputies decided, "Not yet."

On the 17th the Tsar broke. The manifesto of October 17th was issued. With fair promises, Nicholas, in his terror, sought to save his throne.

Liberty! Freedom of speech! Freedom of Assembly! A constitution! Amnesty for political prisoners!

With these words the strike was ended. Like magic the streets were alive again. Strangers embraced and kissed as they read the manifesto. Impromptu processions paraded the streets and crowds flocked to the meetings at the University and the Kazan Cathedral. The religious sang Te Deums but more sang the Marseillaise. The police good naturedly uncovered before the red flag.

The days of freedom had begun.

Not much more could have been expected than the Tsar promised on that 17th of October. To be sure, the promises were vague—they would be developed in detail as soon as possible—the manifesto said—but a movement so spontaneous as the October strike could not be expected to have very definite demands, and all that they had asked had been promised. The telegraphists rushed back to their work to send the news to the remotest corners of the Empire and with almost as much haste, the other workers went back to their toil and life began again.

No one realized the disorganization to traffic and commerce which this strike had caused until long afterward. The chaos of the mails and freight yards was never straightened out. Nearly a year afterward I saw a carload of baby buggies in a siding near Bostov-on-the-Don. Some one had quit work without putting a tag on the car and it was being sent back and forth in the hope that some one would claim it.

The workmen of Russia had suddenly decided to stop work, and the result was appalling. The autocracy, which had never before taken revolution seriously, was shaken to its foundation. The capitalists and exploiting classes of Russia received a shock from which they will not soon recover.

And yet Russia is so preponderatingly agricultural that at the very most, not more than 11 per cent of the population was engaged in this strike. The effects of a General Strike in a country where industry is highly developed as in America or England is quite beyond calculation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAYS OF FREEDOM.

The first week after the manifesto of October 17th was one

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of unbounded joy. Old and experienced men lost their heads and congratulated one another on the freedom of Russia. I was sitting with an old Revolutionist the day after the manifesto when a telegram was received from a comrade in England, a telegram of wild exultation. And the joy with which every one was intoxicated was not of a gift but a conquest. The Tsar had refused to make concessions to Gapon. They had forced them from him. No one spoke of petitions in those days. The word was "We demand." The new liberty of speech and assembly was used to the utmost. Every one with a voice and an idea took to the stump and some who had only a voice. There were meetings everywhere. Workingmens' meetings, students' meetings, meetings for soldiers, meetings for school girls. Nobody knows how many political parties were launched in that first week of the Days of Freedom. Perhaps no phase of life so well reflected the change as the newspapers. Within the week there were a score of more new papers. The Liberals, Radicals, Revolutionists, started printing offices. "The Beginning", "The Dawn", "Toil", "The Laborer", and dozens of others sprang to life, but most startling of all were the satirical papers. A week before a political cartoon had been a crime. Every day now brought out a new set of caricatures.

"When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be.
When the devil got well, the devil a monk was he."

And so, as the tide of proletarian revolt sank back to its old level, the Court regained courage. The reaction set in.

The second week was one of doubt. News came from the South of Jew slaughters. The details of the amnesty were published and many a popular hero was not included. Perhaps the Tsar had, after all, deceived them.

The third week was one of certainty. Even the most hopeful had to admit that the Victory was not yet won. Newspapers were suppressed; so freedom of the press was a myth. Meetings were dispersed; so freedom of speech was only a promise.

Every one prepared again for war. The general strike had proven so effective in October that it was accepted as a weapon for a new struggle. It became only a question of time when it would be called.

The meetings of the Council of workingmen's Deputies were secret and no one can tell exactly what happened there, but it seems to have lost some of the integrity it had during the first strike. Various Socialist factions began to try to control it — not always by praiseworthy methods; but despite these party intrigues it still had a place in the popular mind side by side with — if not superior to — the government.

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The Council of Workingmen's Deputies was a makeshift, suddenly called together at the time of the first strike. It had never been fairly representative. It was composed of two elements; delegates hastily chosen from the factories, and educated men appointed by the Socialist parties and similar organizations. These last were supposed to have only a consulting voice but their influence was very great.

Most of the factory deputies were discharged by their employers and so lost touch with their constituents. At best they were simple workmen with absolutely no experience in the work before them. Their intellectual advisors were also inexperienced.

But the gravest defect of the Council was that it was local. It had no regular means of communication with the workmen outside of Petersburg.

I give these facts as extenuating circumstances for the Council needs all the excuses it can get. In the first strike, in October, its work was above praise. It had been hastily convened but it met each problem as it arose and its decisions were marked with surprising sanity. But in the second strike it threw away the advantages already gained. In the third strike it pushed the workmen to their death.

In November the Petersburg workmen began to strike for an eight-hour day. Their demands were purely economic and the strike was not successful. The Council of Workingmen's Deputies tried to cover this local defect by turning the movement into a political general strike of all Russia. A few days previously there had been a munity in the Garrison of Kronstadt, and a number of the soldiers had been condemned to death. About this time the martial law had been proclaimed in Poland, and the Polish workmen had taken an active part in the October Strike. The Council of Workingmen's Deputies used these things as a pretext for the second General Strike. They thought that the workingmen, by protesting against the execution of the Kronstadt mutineers, would win the army to their side and they considered that they owed a duty to protest against the martial law under which their Polish comrades were suffering. By calling a strike on these two issues they hoped to cover the defeat of the eight-hour movement.

The slogan of the second strike, "For Bleeding Poland and Kronstadt Martyrs", fell flat. In Petersburg, most of the well-organized men were already on strike but in the other cities and in the provinces the response to this call was very slight. The second General Strike failed dismally, and it was a disastrous failure. Besides the discouraging influence on the workmen, incident to the loss of any strike, it lowered the prestige of the

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Council and restored the courage of the Court. It was a pitiful display of weakness, and the officials got definitely over their October scare. Everything which had been promised was retracted and the oppression set in in earnest.

The prime cause of the failure of the November Strike was that it originated — not as in the first strike, in the spontaneous wish of all workers — but in the order of a body which was not representative. Ignorant of the conditions and temper of the men outside of St. Petersburg, the men could only judge from what was taking place in that city, and the St. Petersburg men responded loyally. The blame of the failure cannot be placed on the workmen outside of St. Petersburg. They had shown their revolutionary spirit in October and were to amply testify to it again in December, but the call of "Bleeding Poland" and the "Kronstadt Martyrs" stirred no echo in their hearts. To protest against the oppression of Poland was perhaps an ethical duty. To strike on behalf of the mutinous soldiers would have been a good strategical move; but neither ethics nor strategy is motive sufficient to stir the great massses.

On the other hand, no one can doubt the absolute sincerity and devotion of the men who composed the Council. It was only an error in judgment but it was a frightfully costly error.

There was another element of weakness in the second strike for which the blame can be more definitely placed. The Socialists, the intellectual leaders of the workingmen, had used the first of the days of freedom to villify the middle class. The editorials of their papers bristled with venomous attacks on every one — but themselves — who did not earn their living by manual labor. Every one who did not call himself a proletarian was Bourgeois, and not only an enemy of the working class, but also a traitor to the cause of political freedom. No one will deny that the Bourgeoisie of France and other western states have often used and abused the workingmen in their Revolution. No one who is familar with America or other democratic states will deny that — at election times — the Bourgoisie offer the workingmen all sorts of promises which they have no intention of fulfilling. But in Russia things are different. The Russian Socialists who knew history were right in believing that the ideals of the workingmen were not identical with those of the Russian Capitalist, and if the class of factory workers in Russia had been big enough and sufficiently developed to overthrow Tsarism and to keep the political power in their own hands, the leaders would have been wise to say: "We will do this thing ourselves and keep the benefits ourselves". But the factory workers form only nine or ten percent of Russia's population. Single-handed

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they are powerless against the forces of autocracy. A very large element of strength of the first General Strike was given by these whom the Socialists called the Bourgeoisie.

The Socialists had succeeded by their vituperation in alienating the professional classes and all the Radical and Liberal elements of Society. This split of course weakened the opposition immensely and gave proportionate strength to the Government. The Radicals and Liberals gave no help to the November Strike, either by actual participation or by money.

The last Days of Freedom were pitiful days. The Government's success in suppressing the second Strike encouraged foreign bankers to give the Government another loan wherewith to hire more Cossacs and to buy more ammunition for the machine guns. Almost every newspaper was suppressed and arrests often totalled over a hundred a day in St. Petersburg. The Council of Workingmen's Deputies, 127 of them, were arrested at one of their meetings.

All pretenses on the part of the Government, of keeping the promises of October, had been dropped, one after another. The Revolutionists had to look forward to another struggle. Evidently, General Strikes could not be called successfully very often and even such an imposing movement as that of the October Strike had had only a temporary effect. There must be found some new and deadly weapon. It was decided that the next General Strike should be followed by an armed insurrection.

When should it be? There was great difference of opinion. Some thought that the election days would be the psychological moment. Others thought that that was too soon, for there were very few firearms in the hands of the workingmen. There was no definite plan, but it was the subject of discussion in all Revolutionary circles. All the efforts of the parties of the Extreme Left were spent in the smuggling in of arms, and as fast as possible, the Socialist organized the workingmen into a Revolutionary Militia. The possession of fire-arms, without a police permit—is a serious crime and to be found with a large number means a long term in exile. So the work of arming went on with pitiful slowness.

Meanwhile, the activity of the Government, refreshed by the new loan — was redoubled. A new Council of Workingmen's Deputies had been organized, but it, in its turn, had been arrested. All the organizations of workmen formed in the first week of the Days of Freedom, were being dispersed. Hundreds of leaders were being thrown into prison.

And on the ninth of December a new Council of workingmen's Deputies called for a third General Strike and an armed

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uprising. They knew that the workmen were neither organized for the strike nor armed for an Insurrection. But the persecution of the Government was so fierce that they said: "We are growing weaker instead of stronger. If we sit idle, what little organization we have will be wrecked. It is now or never.

It was a forlorn hope.

CHAPTER V.

THE DECEMBER DAYS.

Close to the site of the very oldest settlement of Moscow is a large high school. Mr. Fielder, the superintendent of this school, was a Liberal, and during the Days of Freedom, he opened the class rooms in the evenings for political meetings.

On the evening of the 9th of December, 1905, in one of the class rooms there was a meeting of Workingmen's Deputies, delegates of the Socialist party and leaders of the Revolutionary militia. They were there to discuss the call of the Petersburg Council of Workingmen's Deputies to the general Strike and armed uprising. Their discussion was interrupted by the news that the schoolhouse was surrounded by troops and that the police were demanding their surrender.

Most of them were armed and surrrender meant a long term of imprisonment. They hurridly determined on resistance. They barricaded the doors, and with pistol fire and two or three bombs which they had with them succeeded in temporarily beating back their assailants.

The windows of this school were soon riddled by rifle balls but the walls were of solid stone. The Revolutionists were well armed and perhaps they thought, if we hold out till the news of our plight spreads through the city, the workmen will rise and come to our rescue.

Although some of their number had been killed, no one thought of surrender until Moscow woke up to the sound of cannon fire,—the first since the days of Napoleon, nearly a hundred years before. Peaceful Moscowites started from their sleep at the thunder of the guns and called from the windows to know the trouble. The more war-like hurried into their clothes and went to the rendezvous, but long before there could be any plan of rescue the defenders of the school had surrendered.

Solid shot and shrapnel tore through the stone walls of the buildings. The cannon were beyond the range of their pistols, beyond the reach of their bombs. With the masonry crashing around them, they decided on surrender. Some few managed to escape. The rest were taken by the police and thrown into prison where they still remain.

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Such was the beginning of the December Insurrection. The Revolutionists were not ready; did not want it. The Council in Petersburg who had issued the call were not able to do anything. They did not succeed in getting the Petersburg workmen out. They did not fire a single gun in their own Revolt. Outside of Petersburg the strike fared better. In Moscow almost all the workmen came out and on the 10th, the morning after the attack on Fielder's school, the workmen paraded the streets with red flags. Again the Government forced matters. They tried "The whiff of the grape shot" which Napoleon had said would quiet any Insurrection. The artillery poured grape and shrapnel into crowds of workingmen and it is probable that more lives were lost on this day than in all the rest of the Insurrection. No one knows the number who fell that day. The blood of many harmless onlookers, women and children, reddened the snow of Moscow. And almost immediately the barricades sprang up. Flags as red as the blood stains on the snow waved on these barricades. And the news of the barricades in Moscow raised the red flag in many another city.

On the morning of the 11th, all the outer city was a maize of barricades. Only the center of the city belonged to the Tsar.

It is almost inevitable to compare these Russian barricades with those of the Paris Commune. But it is an unfair comparison. The Frenchman was bred to war. They had the Revolutions of 1792 and 1840 to learn from. They had trained officers at their disposal and best of all, they were armed. The workmen of Moscow had not a single officer to direct them. No one of them had ever seen a barricade, and among all the population there were scarcely 2,000 armed; most of them with only pistols. They had neither machine guns nor cannons.

The arrest of their leaders in the Fielder school, the brutal firing on the peaceful processions had forced them to revolt. They had read in books of barricades, and barricades they made. From the point of view of scientific fortifications, they were laughable. Loose piles of telegraph poles, iron railings, overturned street-cars, anything that came handy. In some places, mere banks of snow such as children build.

But from the point of view of history—the history of the upward forging of the disinherited,—they were not laughable. They represented the first crude efforts of the Russian people to break their chains by force. Father Gapon's demonstration and the October Strike had been protests. This—was an assault.

And from the point of view of the Governor of Moscow, they were not laughable. This mushroom growth of baricades was more frightful than a peaceful Strike. Of the troops at his disposal, so

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much of the Infantry were disaffected that they could not be trusted. The Cavalry was almost useless against the network of tangled wires with which the Revolutionists had surrounded their barricades and Artillery was not very effective against piles of the empty boxes which the insurgents had enough sense not to defend. It was guerrilla warfare. The Revolutionists kept behind cover. They shot on the troops from windows and dropped bombs from house tops. They could move about with triple the speed of their regular troops and they amply demonstrated that Karl Marx was wrong when he said that the invention of machine guns had made city Insurrections impossible.

For almost a week the Insurgents held their ground, and even advanced their fortification. They could build more barricades in a night than the troops could destroy in a day. In the fighting the Revolutionists lost very few men. They certainly killed many times more soldiers than they lost themselves, and they could have killed more if they had tried, but as they were hoping that the troops would come over to them, they did what they could to win their friendship, confining their attacks as much as possible, against the officers.

Although they were very poorly armed they had one great advantage over the troops,—their number. When one man was worn out he handed his gun to a comrade and went to sleep. So the few arms which the Revolutionists had, were working all the time. The troops, not having a chance to rest, were very much worn out by fatigue.

For the first three days of the Insurrection, the Insurgents' cause was on the increase. Every gun they captured, by changing it from fatigued hands to fresh ones, added three men to their firing force. And on the 14th and 15th, it became a question what was happening outside of the City. The Insurgents were gaining in strength. The garrison was weakening through fatigue, rapidly. A few days more, and the soldiers, not over-loyal at first, might have thrown down their arms.

What was happening outside?

Petersburg was as quiet as death. The Strike had failed, and there was no shadow of an Insurrection beyond the words in the appeal of the Council of Workingmen's Deputies. The inhabitants of the Baltic provinces had revolted, burned the chateaux of the nobles, and in almost every part of their territory had established Revolutionary government. The Cities of the South were also up. Kharkov, Jekaterinoslag, Odessa, Rostov, and Batoun were battlefields closely comparable to Moscow, Novorossisk on the shores of the Black Sea had won the fight and established a Republic. Almost every town in Siberia was in revolt, and in many

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places, aided by the discontended soldiers of the federal Manchurian army, the workmen had planted the red flag on the town halls.

Just at this critical moment, when some of the cities had overthrown their garrisons and when fully half of the cities were waging a hopeful fight, the railroad Strike broke.

Then, as the government could move its loyal troops from one place to another, it became only a question of time when the Insurrection would be crushed out.

The crushing process began in Moscow, as it was of the most importance strategically. It is the ancient capital of Russia and still holds in the heart of the people a more important place than Petersburg. The foreign papers had little news of the Insurrection in other cities, but were full of exciting stories from Moscow. To re-establish its credit abroad, as well as at home, the government had to concentrate all its energies here. On the 13th a train load of fresh soldiers arrived from Tver, and the next day, and the next, troops were rushed from Petersburg where there was no sign of trouble.

The arrival of these troops turned the tide. The Revolutionists, disheartened by the failure of the Petersburg workmen to support them, discouraged by the failure of the Strike, lost heart and for the remaining days fought despairingly. The Revolutionary militia from the cotton mills and furniture factories of the Presnia Suburb held out the longest. They were the best organized and best led of all the scattered troops of fighters.

But on the 17th, the barricades being down in the rest of the City, they found themselves surrounded by an overpowering force. The cannon fire was terrific. Further defence was hopeless. They held their positions for some hours and then slipped through the surrounding forces and escaped.

The next few days were spent by the troops in destroying the buildings whose owners were suspected of complicity in the Revolt, and in hunting out and killing as many of the Insurgents as possible. In this process they were not over particular and many an innocent person was executed.

The days of pacification were the days of terror. The City was crowded with patrols. It was impossible to go on the street without being searched by the soldiers and there was short shift if you were found with a weapon. It was a crime to have given medical aid to the wounded, and more than one doctor met the fate of Dr. Liebmann, who was shot by the soldiers in his own house before his family on the bare suspicion of having aided in one of Red Cross Stations established by the Revolutionists.

When Moscow was sufficiently pacified the troops were

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moved to other cities, and after they were recaptured the same bloody policy of pacifications was applied. It took months to reconquer Siberia. Ali Kanov, a Russian General of Turkish descent, was still pacifying the Caucasus in March, and although the Republican Government in the Baltic Provinces was overthrown in January the Government still finds it necessary, a year later, to maintain their field court martial and the summary executions have only sligthly abated.

The collapse of the December Insurrection marked the end of the Days of Freedom. Freedom, won by the working men was quickly withdrawn after their defeat on the barricades.

The factory workers of Russia—less than a tenth of the population — have fought their fight. For a few days in October they ruled the Empire. But their power gradually waned. They were crushed in December. Worn out by three General Strikes, their leaders rotting in prison, their bravest spirits buried beside the barricades, it is doubtful if this generation of workmen will recover sufficient strenght to be a decisive force in the near future.

The factory workers of Russia of this generation have striven for freedom more valiently, more determinedly, more solidly, than any other country, but the hope of Russia does not lie with them. It is an agricultural country, the only one known to this or the last century. There is no real proletariat; no numerous and well-organized class of factory workers. The center of political gravity lies outside of the City.

ALBERT EDWARD.

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To the Workers of the World.

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

At the very moment in which Nicholas was about to call the first peace conference his policy in the far east was rendering the war with Japan inevitable.

At the moment in which he was receiving the congratulations of the second Hague congress he ordered the dissolution of the second duma.

This double coincidence is an admirable illustration of the farce which has been and is being played now at The Hague and at St. Petersburg. The farce will be complete when the third peace congress shall meet in a palace erected by a man who in his own country, the United States, was one of the first to hurl an armed police against the working class and to illustrate to the world his idea of social peace, by ordering them to fire upon the workers in his shops—the creators of his immense fortune.

For a long time the proletariat has thoroughly understood the traditional policy of the Russian government—that pivot of the reaction. External peace, as it conceives it is not the abolition of war, but the weakening of its opponents and the domination of czarism. Its dream of domestic peace is a people crushed and autocracy perpetuated.

After the first congress at The Hague Nicholas went forth to devastate Manchuria and turn loose the horrors of Blagovechtchensk. He violated his oath to the Finnish people and drowned all Russia in blood. He re-established the tortures of the middle ages at Riga; he permitted the massacre and pillage of the poor peasants of Goria by his soldiers to go unpunished; he has permitted the guards of the prisons to kill with the bayonets political prisoners, both men and women. During the insurrection of Moscow he permitted his soldiers to fire upon ambulances and his imperial guards have, under form of law, killed railway employes engaged in their regular work.

The czar has treated his own subjects as he would be ashamed to treat the soldiers of an enemy. And it is this chief of a band of capitalists and colonial pirates, who is seeking to impose himself upon the world as the symbol and personification of their right of primitive force, who seeks to show us how peaceable agreements can be substituted for bloody battles and permanent treaties of peace replace fratricidal war.

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Admitting sincerity, it is impossible to realize these peaceful intentions, because militarism is nothing more than the organized armament of the state for the purpose of holding the working class beneath the economic and political yoke of the bourgeoise—because under capitalism wars between nations are generally only the result of their struggles for the markets of the world, because each power asserts itself, not alone to maintain the markets which it already possesses, but to conquer new ones, and this, too often, by the subjugation of foreign peoples and the confiscation of their territory.

Let the diplomats who are seated at The Hague look about them! They will see the masters of West Africa by the side of the rulers of India, the conquerors of Madagascar by the side of the exploiters of the Congo, and the victors in Manchuria by the side of their unfortunate adversaries.

Wars, which are systematically undertaken by the dominant classes for the purpose of arousing the mutual antagonism of different peoples, appear to the proletariat as the very essence of capitalism, which will disappear only with the disappearance of capitalist exploitation itself.

The working class, on the contrary is the natural enemy of war, because it is the principal victim—victim through the sacrifice of its children, victim through the loss of its product, and because war is in opposition to the object of Socialism, which is the creation of a new order of things, based upon the solidarity of the producers, upon the fraternity of nations, upon the liberty of the people.

When in 1870 Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine the representatives of the Socialist proletariat, Bebel and Liebknecht, protested against war and annexation.

When in 1904 the official heads of Russia and Japan were sacrificing thousands of young lives, the representatives of the proletariats of Russia and Japan, were clasping fraternal hands at the Socialist congress at Amsterdam.

In 1870 while the cannon were thundering on the frontiers the German workers wrote to the French workers:

"We must never forget that the workers of all countries are friends, and that the despots of all countries are our enemies."

And the French workers replied to the German workers:

"French workers! German workers! Spanish workers! Let us unite our voices in a cry of denunciation of war."

Such was the language of the first international of the workers. Such is the language of the new international of the laborers. Its representatives have, in spite of calumny and persecution, consistently supported their ideas of peace between nations by their acts, in systematically refusing to vote for all military

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credit, and it is certain that the day on which the workers control armies wars will cease.

This is why they demand the military disarmament of the bourgeoisie, and the armament of the working class through the general armament of the whole people.

Each time that a threatening cloud appears upon the political horizon, the working class intervenes in parliaments, in the streets, by its deputies and by manifestations, and it may well decide in the hour of danger to go further than it has hitherto done to anticipate and prevent war.

Its politics will not be contradictory. Just as in the Boer war the English proletariat was opposed to its government, so no two divisions of the international army of labor will permit themselves to be in opposing camps.

The international labor movement has always maintained as a principle that no government can threaten the independence of any nation without arousing against it its own working class and the international working class. This is why the idea of peace can only take form and triumph through the progress and realization of the ideal of Socialism.

War, on the contrary, finds its best ground for culture in the growth of absolutism. Viewed from this point the dissolution of the duma constitutes a danger for all Europe. It has surprised no one. We are accustomed to seeing czarism violate its pledges, and the moment that it has the power it will treat other nations as its treats the Russian people.

Nicholas II, during a moment of danger, promised liberty. But when the peril seemed less threatening he sent back the first duma, since it did not appear sufficiently docile. He desired a parliament of servants.

The government of Russia accepted the words, government by parliament, but not the thing. In response to the desires of the bureaucracy and his sovereign, Stolypin promulgated restrictive legislation, tampered with the electoral lists, imprisoned his opponents. This great minister showed his chivalry by turning loose the Black Bands and the police to massacre women and children.

Events baffled the ministerial calculations. In spite of the interference and violence of the officials the second duma appeared more radical than the first. It included more than 100 deputies, professing some of the different shades of Socialism.

On the morrow of the elections it became evident that the days of the second duma were numbered. But Stolypin wished to play the part of the good prince, and so he permitted a parliament to exist on condition that it always consented to just what the government wished. The cadets were weak enough frequent-

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ly to agree to his suggestions. They repulsed the project of amnesty; they refused to censure the official assassins, and they did not even dare to reject a budget over which they had no control. They guarded Stolypin against all words of censure and smiled while he persecuted and murdered.

The chief of the cabinet has made easy game of them. He searched the homes of the deputies. He forged telegrams in the name of the people commanding the dissolution of the duma. He demanded that the proceedings of the sessions in which the question of the army was discussed should be secret. He presented resolutions of sympathy with the police. He gave them an opportunity to discover plots against the government and the peace of the nation. He demanded immediate and unquestioning solid support at all times. The bourgeois representatives did not have the courage to give this impudence the reply which it merited and dissolution was announced without the cadets having been permitted the honor of once taking a manly attitude.

The organized proletariat of Russia is charged and has charged itself with the task of meeting this situation. There must be no truce in the battle against autocracy, and it is the duty of the workers of he world to come once more to the assistance of their comrades in the strugle.

The Socialist deputies in the Austrian reichsrath have already announced their intention of questioning their government upon the consequences of dissolution, some of the already apparent complications of which menace the interests of foreign governments.

The Socialists of France have not been slow to call the attention of their government to the solemn obligations which it has taken in regard to Russian bonds.

The Socialists of Great Britain, the traditonal parliamentary country, have already held meetings of protest on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, against the succession of coup d'etats, which their authors have sought to justify by hypocrisy and lying.

The proletariats of other countries may be depended upon to support this movement and to recall to treir members that *Socialism alone means Peace*, and that the watchword must always be *"Down with Autocracy; long live the Russian Revolution."*

* * *

This statement is signed by the representatives of twenty-five nations, Russia being omitted, because of the fact that signing such a document by a Russian would at once make him a marked man.

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The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.

Of all the writings of Karl Marx there is none better adapted than this to give the reader an insight into the practical applications of the doctrine of historical materialism. It is especially helpful to American Socialists just at this time, for, just as Louis Bonaparte was a sort of second edition of the great Napoleon, so Theodore Roosevelt is a sort of second edition of Louis Bonaparte, Farmer support enabled both Louis Napoleon and Theodore Roosevelt to dictate to a divided and incompetent bourgeoisie; but the French bourgeoisie of 1849—52 was incompetent because it had not yet arrived at maturity, while the American bourgeoisie of 1906—07 is incompetent because it is rotten ripe and only waiting to be mowed down by the scythe of the Class Conscious proletariat.

The way in which the psychology of the individual is moulded by material class conditions is clearly shown in the following passage. Marx has been showing that the House of Bourbon was the political representative of large landed property, while the House of Orleans was the political representative of Capital; he continues:

"That simultaneously old recollections; personal animosities, fears and hopes; prejudices and illusions; sympathies and antipathies; convictions, faith and principles bound these factions to one House or the other, who denies it? Upon the several forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, a whole superstructure is reared of various and peculiarly shaped feelings, illusions, habits of thought and conceptions of life. The whole class produces and shapes these out of its material foundation and out of the corresponding social conditions. The individual unit to whom they flow through tradition and education, may fancy that they constitute the true reasons for and premises of his conduct."

The following description of the coalition of the small traders and workingmen in the Social Democratic party of 1849 may be applied almost word for word to the followers of Roosevelt, Hearst or Bryan; and it comes far nearer than I could wish to being a description of the Socialist Party. It should be noted that Marx credited the small traders and their spokesmen with a sincere conviction that they were trying to save Society by avoid-

*) The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. By Karl Marx, translated by Daniel De Leon. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Paper, 25 Cents.

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ing the Class Struggle. American Socialists are too apt to be less fair in describing the motives of contemporary reformers.

"The peculiar character of the Social Democracy (in France in 1849) is summed up in this: that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as the means, not to remove the two extremes—Capital and Wage-slavery—, but in order to weaken their antagonism and transform them into a harmonious whole. However different the methods may be that are proposed for the accomplishment of this object, however much the object itself may be festooned with more or less revolutionary fancies, the substance remains the same. This substance is the transformation of society upon democratic lines, but a transformation within the boundaries of the small traders' class. No one must run away with the narrow notion that the small traders' class means on principle to enforce a selfish class interest. It believes rather that the special conditions for its own emancipation are the general conditions under which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided. Likewise must we avoid running away with the notion that the Democratic Representatives are all 'shopkeepers', or enthuse for these. They may—by education and individual standing—be as distant from them as heaven is from earth. That which makes them representatives of the small traders' class is that they do not intellectually leap the bounds which that class itself does not leap in practical life; that, consequently, they are theoretically driven to the same problem and solutions, to which material interests and social standing practically drive the latter. Such, in fact, is at all times the relation of the 'political' and 'literary' representatives of a class to the class they represent."

In another passage Marx calls the tendency to rely upon political methods alone the disease of "Parliamentary Idiocy"—a disease "that fetters those whom it infects to an imaginary world, and robs them of all sense, all remembrance, all understanding of the rude outside world." This malady is not yet extinct.

Marx wrote this in 1852 so soon after the coup d' etat of December 2nd 1851, that it was impossible for him to get an absolutely true perspective; there can be no doubt that the Empire of Louis Bonaparte lasted much longer than Marx expected it to. Marx did not and could not realize how very far from maturity as a class the French bourgeoisie then was.

It will be found extremely interesting and illuminating to read in connection with Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire" Browning's apology for the career of Louis Bonaparte in the little-read poem "Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau".

ROBERT R. LAMONTE.

May 19, 1907.

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The Intellectuals and Working Class Socialism.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH SOCIALISM AND THE INTELLECTUALS.

The formation in France of a working class socialism free from alloy enables us to gage better by contrast the value of the socialism of the intellectuals. While the former proceeds from economic reality, from the development of the great industry and its proletarian institutions, the latter comes from the democratic Utopia, ideological systems, and the State superstition. The former sees in the working class the free and voluntary agent in the transformation of the world, the latter regards it as merely the passive instrument utilized by the new aristocracy of thought to impose its plans. Whether they invent theories, construct societies, or occupy themselves prosaically with conquering the public powers and exploiting the State, the intellectuals of socialism, like intellectuals everywhere, have but one aim, to assure the dictatorship of the Idea, and of the Idealists.

This is clearly apparent from the analysis of the two aspects which the socialism of the intellectuals has assumed; utopian socialism and parliamentary socialism. In both cases, although from very different reasons, the literary caste claims to think and act for the proletariat, but in fact it thinks and acts for itself alone; it obeys that illusion common in history which impels social groups to veil with idealistic appearances the egoistic aims which they pursue.

I—UTOPIAN SOCIALISM.

1—Some years ago the most distinguished opponents of the Marxian socialism of the class struggle, the university men, the jurists, and other "scientists of four phrases" were seized with a frenzied infatuation for the Utopians. They talked of nothing so much as of *civilizing socialism*, which had fallen into its working-class barbarism, by bringing it back to the old "French Sources."

In fact, this *return* to the *Utopians* was natural. They were partisans of this principle, that truth is accessible only to literary people, and they had arrived at this other truth, that the direction of the world belongs rightly to "men of science." Why not begin again the Utopian adventure and rescue the laboring masses from the savagery of instinct by giving them for guides the priests of Intelligence?

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The promoters of this movement were not destitute of practical sense; they knew that the worship of superior talents, even though a little out of repair, still has chances of permanence. There will always be people with parchments, who will derive from their diplomas the right of governing the universe; the literary pedants, whose profession is to keep a shop of ideas, will not renounce their trade sooner than necessary, and for a long time yet credulous crowds will purchase the intellectual trash and applaud the charlatans who sell it.

I hasten to say that the first Utopians could not be held responsible for this speculation. The inventors of systems at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not look to the exploitation of human credulity. They were excellent people, who believed in good faith that they were bringing men the recipe for happiness.

The old workingman, Corbon, whose admirable book, "The Secret of the People of Paris," is worth reading for an understanding of the psychology of the masses toward the middle of the last century, reminds us that the proletarian class was in no way deceived in the matter. It had felt what a mystical devotion to the cause of labor animated through their extravagances the followers of Saint-Simon and Fourier. "They may have erred," wrote Corbon, "but they were moved by the profound conviction of the efficacy of their systems, and still more by the ardent desire to improve as promptly as possible the condition of the lower classes. The people, sure of their intentions, could not fail to be grateful even though they showed themselves skeptical with regard to the panaceas, and ridiculed some of the doctrines." We could not say so much of our parliamentary socialists.

It should moreover be added in their defence that at the time when they lived they could not find in their capitalist environment the elements for a just estimate of the social movement. Marx and Engels have judged these pioneers of the first socialist epoch as they deserve. "The founders of these systems," says the Communist Manifesto, "see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

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Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class-organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans."

The same explanation would not answer for our new utopians. The continuous growth of the working class into a conscious class is the great historic fact of the nineteenth century, as the theorists of "reformism" know very well. But they can not conceive of leaving the proletariat to itself, to its own impulses and reactions, without overwhelming the world with the most terrible catastrophes. A socialism inspired by "working-class coarseness", rude as the factory, brutal as the strike, seems to them a backward step toward barbarism, while it would be "so simple" to listen to *reason* voicing itself through them, and to employ the *positive methods* of democracy. What good could possibly come from the blind clash of unchained forces. Would it not be better to follow the enlightened opinions of competent people?

II. In this very way the (early) utopians stated the problem which they proposed to solve, and it is this intellectualist way of going about it, which assumes that *ideas lead the world,* that our reformists have admired in them most. Reason, guided by science, was to give the "solution of the social question". The formula once found, it need only be applied and society would be transformed in a flash. These inventors of societies were "true children of that amiable, idealistic eighteenth century which has not without reason been described as the century of Wisdom and Light".

It is the common illusion of intellectual speculators to think themselves above phenomena and happenings, in the immaterial world of spirits. The utopians all came from cultured circles: "they were recruited", as Corbon says, "from among the fine flower of the educated youth. The Saint-Simonian group and the Fourierist phalanx counted scarcely any but lettered people among its apostles or adherents; most were indeed intellectuals of the first order."* These seekers after the absolute pictured the social movement to themselves as an outward process, capable of being modified according to a previous plan or of being adapted to a preconceived end. They were the firmest of believers in the disinterested role of Thought, to which they assigned for its mission the quest of Eternal Truth.

But the mind does not work on a void. It borrows from the

* Corbon, work cited, page 103.

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environment around it the materials which it combines. It is not enough to say with Marx and Engels that the utopians substituted, their own inventions for the historic reality that failed them. We must show that their systems were but a fantastic reconstruction of the society that they had under their eyes. They deformed, magnified, idealized, minified the elements which they found around them, and out of these made an original composite which seemed to have no connection with reality.

Nevertheless it is the contemporary environment which explains these plans of society, and they, in turn, help to understand that time. How are we to interpret Saint-Simonism, if it be separated from the brilliant renascence of Christianity and the accelerated development of the new social order, with its procession of inventors, technicists, captains of industry, ready to inaugurate triumphant capitalism? How can we read Fourier understandingly, without thinking of the eighteenth-century theories on the state of nature, the passions and the sentiments, of the dissolute manners of the Directory, its taste for gallant feasts and easy pleasures? And may not both of these, — the Saint-Simonian system and the Fourierist system, — be summed up as the social aspect of the *romanticism* with which this epoch is so highly colored? And again, are they not a form, perhaps the most astonishing form, of that "Napoleonic malady,"* born of the formidable suggestion produced by the revolutionary wars and swollen by the imperial epopee, and which in spite of economic obstacles, inspired those attacked by it with the mystical belief in the creative virtue of Force in the service of the Idea?

We ask in all sincerity what practical borrowings the literary representatives of reformism propose to make from the utopians, and for what use they intend them. What can we derive for our present conduct from a system which is but a distorted aspect of one moment of history? The Saint-Simonians and Fourierists themselves quickly forgot, in contact with economic reality, their dreams of renovation, and they adapted themselves admirably to the new conditions of capitalism. Corbon observes again: "The two doctrines gradually divested themselves of everything repugnant to common sense, and it may thus be seen that both of them, in their primary data, and considered apart from all plans of realization, answered to the highest needs."

But our "cultured" reformists do not stoop to such prosaic interpretations. They do not examine so closely; of Utopianism

* "They (the Saint-Simonians) played in sincerity that role of apostles, believing that they were imitating the life of the twelve fishermen of Galilee, hoping, like them, to conquer the world and to rule it. The desire of being leaders of nations possessed them. In them, as in many others, the Napoleonic malady thus showed itself."—S. Charlety, Histoire du Saint-Simonisme, p. 476.

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they keep only the formal processes of abstract thought; knowledge of economics is the last thing with which the professionals of Intelligence concern themselves. They conceive of the Idea only as detached from the world and shut up in the splendor of isolation. To observe reality and submit to its empire would be a discipline too humiliating for the noble function of Thinker. Is it not for the mind to restore order in the chaos of facts? And without the bright light of formulas, how should we find our way through the darkness of things?

There is some truth in the contention. The operations of the mind have for their aim to guide us in the labyrinth of facts. But we also need, if we are not to be astray, a prudent reserve. Every creation of thought is an artificial act, which makes a choice within what is real, and keeps only the elements suited for its combinations. Even in the most prudent researches, the observer knows that truth is never entirely perceived, and that there always remains an arbitrary element in our estimates. Moreover, however exact they may be, formulas translate merely a momentary and historic aspect of things, and can not fix in their schedule the whole course of life; they are for us nothing but a relative assistance for the intimate comprehension of phenomena. We grasp the real movements far more by intuition than by formal representation.

But the mind has a high opinion of itself and it delights in its creations. It forgets that reality, just now grasped, has already fled, and that it remains behind: it can not believe that its painfully constructed work can be but a passing thing, and it has not strength to follow the forward march of events. So it lingers in contemplation of the abstractions it has created, and is made prisoner by its own chimeras. It clings to them the more as they become remote from their origin, as they survive their cause. These abstractions have long ago come to be nothing but dry husks, formal expressions without real content, which like an ever higher barrier conceal life from sight. Dogmatism, intellectualism, sectarianism, these terrible maladies of the mind, thus pervert the thought of the professional intellectual, and instead of a living brain, lured by the concrete side of things, we find only an idealist swollen with pride, an adorer of his abstract "science", a ferocious defender of dead ideas.

Be it understood that contempt for practice, its everlasting motion and change, is the first virtue of the intellectual. But this disdain is still more comprehensible when we come to the practice of the working class. Our reformists are aghast at a proletarian movement which respects nothing, — neither their dogmas, nor their programmes, nor their formulas, which accepts no orders but from itself and no lessons but from its own experience. Their

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eyes are offended at the sight of laborers primitive enough to rush furiously to the conquest of their rights, obeying only the spontaneous impulses of their consciousness, an obscure consciousness quite steeped in instinct.

It might be urged in objection that the practice of the capitalist is equally unreasoning; that industry is all the while overwhelmed by processes as sudden as they are hazardous; that every technique is provisional, constantly renewed, modified, improved; that the economic world, in the course of a perpetual revolution, is swept on as by a torrent which leaves nothing stable nor immovable*; and that the vigor of enterprise is measured by the adventurous audacity of those in charge. But to what purpose? The capitalists who do things are no more acceptable to the adepts of formal science than the laborers who do things.

It is thus quite logically that our new utopians have tried to rehabilitate the methods of their illustrious predecessors. If the individual genius of a Saint-Simon or a Fourier could bring forth wonders, what may we not expect from the collective genius of that compact mass of cultured men who put their talents at the service of socialism?

III.—Of all the utopian systems, Saint-Simonism realizes the most perfect type of the socialism of the intellectuals. It has conceived of a society wholly subjected to the hierarchy of the scientific corps, and even to-day its conceptions inspire the apologists of our "literary aristocracy".

It is in his *Lettres d' un Habitant de Genève* that Saint-Simon explained his first conception of the government of the world by the literary people. "Open a subscription", he exclaimed, "before Newton's tomb; all without distinction subscribe whatever sum you please. Let every subscriber name three mathematicians, three physicists, three chemists, three physiologists, three authors, three painters, three musicians. Renew the subscription as well as the nomination every year, but allow each one unlimited liberty to renominate the same persons. Divide the proceeds of the subscription among the three mathematicians, the three physicists, etc., who shall have obtained the most votes. Request the president of the Royal Society of London to receive the subscription for this year; in following years place this honorable function on the person who has made the largest subscription.

* Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the laborer, and in the social combinations of the labor-process."—Marx's Capital, Vol. I. p. 532 (Kerr edition).

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Require of those whom you name that they receive neither positions nor honors, nor money from any fraction of your body, but leave them individually free to employ their energies as they will. The men of genius will then enjoy a reward worthy of them and of you; this reward will place them in the one position which can furnish them the means of rendering you all the services of which they are capable; it will become the goal of ambition for the most energetic souls, and this will divert them from aims hurtful to your tranquility. By this measure, finally, you will give leaders to those who labor for your progress in enlightenment, you will invest these leaders with an immense consideration, and you will put a great pecuniary force at their disposal."*

With certain variations, this idea of a new sacerdotal caste ruling the world constitutes the basis of Saint-Simon's whole system. It recurs, transformed or developed. in his principal works, the *Catechisme politique des industriels, le Systeme industriel,* etc. With what then is he dealing? The problem is simple. The dissolution of society, an accomplished fact from 1789, has left standing not one of the ancient powers, temporal nor spiritual. The nobility, grown useless, has disappeared, and the clergy, powerless through its inability to lead men, has fallen into decay. The French Revolution, which has destroyed everything, has rebuilt nothing. Only disorder and anarchy remain, the task is to re-establish social authority.

To this end, a "new philosophical system" must be elaborated. Saint-Simon is the very prototype of those ideologists who think that without a "conception of the world" there is no coherent activity. "Every social regime," he says, "is an application of a philosophical system, and consequently it is impossible to establish a new regime without having first established the new philosophical system to which it must correspond."** The lawyers and metaphysicians of the French Revolution could not solve the problem because they employed a false method. They thought it enough to affirm a few abstract principles of moral order, then let things follow their course. But individualism and liberalism gave rise to the worst miseries. Experience thus proved, to Saint-Simon, into what a chaos an ill-ordered society rushed: there is no lasting social state without organization.

Now Saint-Simon has found the system, which only has to be applied: it is *positive science*, which admits nothing but the rational and the demonstrable. On the ruins of a decrepit religion and an abstract ideology, *positive philosophy* affords a foundation for a social rationalism, to which the philosophic rationalism of Descartes has after a fashion paved the way.

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* Saint-Simon. Edit. Rodrigues, 1832, p. 3.
* Page 44 of work quoted above.

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Only *scientists,* accustomed to positive methods, can govern society according to principles as rigorous as a scientific demonstration, and acceptable to every reflecting mind. They are fully competent to direct politics: *science* is *foresight.*[1] Equalitarian theories, which lead to the doctrine of popular sovereignty and to the practice of universal suffrage, are anti-social. They start from the absurd assumption that the ignorant man in the street knows as much as the scientific specialist. Saint-Simon paraphrases this conception, that the government rightly belongs to *scientific capacities,* by saying that "authority should be distributed in proportion to enlightenment".[2]

But is that song so out of date? Do the professionals of Intelligence thing otherwise in our days? The chartered sociologists of our universities also believe that their profound "science" is all that can lift society out of the rut into which it has sunk. We may not talk so much now of "positive methods", but there is a deal of loud talk about "sociological methods". And the people who decorate with this name a gibberish having no connection with reality are not far from regarding themselves as the natural guides of a society whom Reason ought to rescue from Chance.

How will the new system operate? This is clearly shown by the books of Saint-Simon quoted above. While the *military organization* was established with a view to war, the *industrial organization,* which Saint-Simon announces, will have no aim but production.[3] The vestiges of the past, war, feudalism, theft, parasitism, oppression, will have disappeared, and only useful functions will remain. In his famous "Parable", Saint-Simon explains his meaning.[4] Scientists, manufacturers, artists,—these alone are necessary to society: the governors, ministers, priests, functionaries, landed proprietors are but useless and vain parasites. The Saint-Simonian regime will consequently recognize only the three productive classes, scientists, artists, manufacturers. The first two will have the spiritual power, formerly held by the clergy. The scientists will devote themselves to the laws of the exploitation of the globe and to scientific researches; the artists will awaken "in the souls of the manufacturers ideas of glory and generous sentiments". As for the manufacturers, they will wield

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1 "A scientist," says Saint-Simon, "is a being who foresees; it is because science affords means for prediction that it is useful, and that scientists are superior to other men."—The same, p. 33.

2 The same, p. 40.

3 "All society," says Saint-Simon, "rests on industry. Industry is the sole guarantee of its existence, the one source of all wealth and all prosperity. The state of things most favorable to industry is therefore, by that very fact, the most favorable to society. Here we have at once both our point of departure and the end of all our efforts."—Works, Vol. II, p. 13.

4 "Parabole politique," 1819.

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the temporal power, and within the industrial class the bankers will dominate the merchants, manufacturers and farmers. In such a social world the government, being in the hands of the wise, can not but be *rational* and *scientific*.

These are the very principles of State Socialism. And, in fact, Saint-Simon assigns as the end of the social organization "the quickest possible amelioration of the lot of the poorest class". The new social order will be "organized directly in the interest of the majority". Without attacking the rights of the proprietors, the State is to take up the cause of the toilers. Its most urgent task will be to devote its first outlay toward "preparing work for all able-bodied men, in order to assure their physical existence," to "diffusing as promptly as possible among the proletarian class the positive knowledge that has been acquired," and finally to "guaranteeing to the individuals composing that class pleasures and enjoyments suited to develop their intelligence".* Saint-Simon, according to an idea in which the State Socialists often follow him, indicates that the State will attain this end by undertaking great public works,—clearing of land, roads, bridges, canals. Here the scientists will play a decisive part, in planning a whole series of projects to develop the industrial, commercial and agricultural life in that direction.**

But Saint-Simon's dream goes further, and we find ourselves in the most theocratical *university socialism*. There is to be an official dogma, taught by the scientists. Positive ethics, the product of reason and science, the basis of the new religion, will be obligatory and universal. The scientists exercising that high priesthood will prove that the interest of all and that of each are intermingled, and that one profits from the perfecting of the other. Chairs of ethics will be established, and public instruction will have for its basis principles rationally formulated. Here again we seem to be listening to words of yesterday. The apostles of our *professorial socialism* talked in no other fashion when they demanded so insolently, at the conclusion of the Dreyfus Affair, the dictatorship of the literary corps and a system of official instruction.

Quite like our democratic Jacobins, Saint-Simon thinks that since his ethics is positive, scientific and demonstrable, there is no great harm in *imposing* it: the yoke of reason is not heavy except for unreasonable people. So the Institute shall edit a *national catechism*. This catechism "shall define" the principles which shall serve as a basis for the social organization, together with a summary of the principal laws which rule the world of matter." A royal shall regulate strictly the instruction in these principles:

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* Works, Vol. VI., p .171.
** Works, Vol. VI., p. 162.

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Article 1. The Institute shall have the oversight of public instruction; nothing shall be taught in the schools contrary to the principles established in the national catechism. *Article* 2. The ministers of the different forms of worship shall be subject to the supervision of the Institute, both as to their preaching and as to their instruction of children. *Article* 3. No Frenchman can exercise the rights of citizenship without first passing an examination on the national catechism: the Institute shall regulate the method and the conditions of the examination*". Here we have the genuine monopoly of instruction.

In plain language, official dogma will tolerate no heresy. Like our democrats, Saint-Simon has no conception of *liberty of error*. Let science become the foundation of ethics and religion, and no contest is possible: people do not rebel against a positive demonstration. Science suppresses liberty of conscience. Saint-Simon assures us to the contrary: the new clergy will not fall into the errors of the old, since one was ignorant and the other is wise. Never did rationalist fury conceive a more absolute sway of an intellectual aristocracy over the mass. It is easy to understand the attraction exercised by Saint-Simon over our professional thinkers.

HUBERT LAGARDELLE.

(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)

(*To be Continued.*)

* Works. Vol. VI., p. 237-239.

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International Socialist Congress of Stuttgart.

The International Socialist bureau, at its session of the 9th ult., has taken the following actions:

1. The bureau will meet on Friday, Aug. 16, at 3 p. m., at the Liederhalle, to take the last measures in view of the organization of the international congress. The delegates to the bureau will receive a special invitation.

2. The interparliamentary commission will meet on Saturday, Aug. 17, at 11 a. m., at the Liederhalle. The Socialist legislative representatives will receive a special convocation.

3. The first plenary opening sitting of the international congress will be held at the Liederhalle on Saturday, Aug. 18, at 11 a. m., to hear the speeches of welcome and to definitely draw up the order of the day.

4. On the same day Sunday, Aug. 18, at 4:30 p. m., great public meetings in the open air will be held on the Volksfestplatz (popular festival place), near the König Karls-Brücke (King Charles bridge), on the Neckar.

5. The delegates will be invited to the concert, which will be given on Saturday evening, at 8:30, in the great hall of the Liederhalle.

6. The divers national sections will meet in the halls of the Liederhalle, on Monday, Aug. 19, at 9 a. m., to verify of the mandates of their delegates, and their secretaries will transmit the validated lists to the secretary of the International Socialist bureau.

7. The section of the congress, intrusted with the examination of one or several points put down in the order of the day, will meet on the same day, Monday Aug. 19, at 11 a. m.

8. The reporters and editors of Socialist papers will meet on Monday, Aug. 19, at 9 p. m. in one of the halls of the Liederhalle, in order to discuss a method to improve the communication of Socialist correspondence between the divers organs of the affiliated parties and eventually to the creation of an international news service.

9. The plenary sessions will be held on the following days from 9 to 12 a. m., and from 2 to 6 p. m.

At the same session of June 9 the bureau has decided to submit to the congress the following procedure and order of the day:

(a) The congress, assembled to approve the divers resolutions taken by the bureau, would adopt these resolutions as a

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whole, on one hand to gain time, and, on the other, because these resolutions are work of the authorized delegates of all the affiliated parties.

(b) For the same reason, the congress would adopt as a whole the regulations of the congressess, of the bureau and of the interparliamentary commission.

(c) The bureau recommends the rejection of an amendment of the Independent Labor Party abolishing the requirement for trade unions, invited to the international congresses, that they be formally based on the principle of the class struggle.

(d) The bureau recommends the rejection of the proposition of the Italian Socialist Party in Switzerland for a uniform membership card for all the organizations affiliated with the bureau.

(e) The bureau proposes to transmit to the interparliamentary commission the proposition of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain, asking that the Socialist mandatories of all parliaments should agree to present at the same time, in every parliament, the projects of labor legislation relating to the same object.

(f) The bureau proposes to reject as being yet insufficiently mature, the proposition of the Transwaal and of France relatively to the utility and choice of an international language.

(g) The bureau proposes not to discuss the proposition of the Social Democratic women of Germany, relative to the democratization of suffrage, but to accept the proposition of the Social-Democratic women of Austria asking for the insertion in the agenda of the right of suffrage for women.

(h) The bureau lastly proposes to draw up as follows the order of the day:

1. Militarism and international conflicts.
2. The relations between the Socialist political parties and the trade unions.
3. The colonial question..
4. The emigration and immigration of working people.
5. Woman suffrage.

The bureau proposes the following assignment of the votes, to which the national sections have a right, in virtue of article IIIb of the project of regulation of congresses:

Germany, Austria-Bohemia, France, Great Britain, Russia, 20 votes; Italy, 15; United States,14; Belgium, 12; Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, 10; Unified Australia, Finland, Holland, Sweden, 8; Spain, Hungary, Norway, 6; South Africa, Argentine, Nonunified Australia, Bulgaria, Japan, Roumania Servia, 4; Luxemburg, 2.

In conformity with the scheme of regulations, each national

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section will have the right to admit the groups depending on the section. For instance, a group not affiliated with the Socialist Party, French section of the Labor International, will have to apply to the latter in order to be admitted to the congress of Stuttgart. But the rejected organizations have the right to appeal to the bureau. It is also the national section which apportions the votes allotted to it. But in case the organizations forming the sections have not been able to agree about the allotment of the votes, such allotment will be effected by the bureau.

The congress will be held in the Liederhalle. Besides a large hall for plenary sessions, the comrades will find there halls for the sections, a restaurant, a reading room, where they will be able to consult the Socialist papers of most of the affiliated parties, and, lastly, an exhibition of pamphlets and books allowing congressists to get an idea of the richness of the Socialist literature of every country.

From this day on, the groups can obtain from the local commitee of Stuttgart, provisional cards for their delegates. But these groups must get them through the intermediary of their national secretary, who will receive the cards and forward them to the groups: The delegates of Russia and Poland can also apply for these provisional cards to the representatives of these sections at the International Socialist bureau.

The local committee of Stuttgart will find lodgings for the delegates to the congress, but cannot do the same for the assistants to the congress. The delegates to the congress in applying to the local committee, must add to their application an attestation of their quality of delegates, signed by the secretary of their party or of their national section, or, for Russia and Poland, by their delegate to the International Socialist bureau. They can also send their application through the intermediary of their secretaries or delegates to the bureau. These applications for lodging must be, at the latest, on July 15, in possession of the local committee of Stuttgart, who will immediately forward to the applicant a confirmative card, and then, through the intermediary of the above mentioned persons, a provisional delegate's card, bearing the address of the applicant for lodging. From the 16th to the 18th of August an inquiry and lodging office will be set up in the central hall of the station of Stuttgart.

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The Workingman to the Socialists.

And now my mission great, wide, breaking on
My soul, I come to you, ye scorned, depised,
Ye prisoned, martyred men. Ye've stood with me
In lock-out, strike, in starving home. Ye've giv'n
Your lives for me. Aye, yes, I come enthralled
By your great light, virile with strength hard won
On desp'rate battle field. And hence with you,
O Comrades dear, hands clasped around the globe,
I wage class struggle bold, invincible,
Till strong, impregnable, we build our State,
The Comrade State,—slow, consummation great
Of Labor's awful toil, and grief, and want,—
His battle, valliant, long, for life's rich joys,—
Our State,—the State of 'each for all and all
For each,'—incarnate soul of proletaire.

John Hallam Vonmor.

The Full Dinner Pail.

What base affront to come to me to send
Ye back to power again! Think ye to still
My holy needs with plea of Dinner Pail
Heaped high, aspill? Bourgeois Republican
And Democrat, ye know not me. I scorn
Ye both and all your grov'ling ways: your lust
For power, inhuman greed, ideals base.

Out of my awful toil, my barren days,
My strike, my starving home, has come a life—
Ye wot not of, whose glory flames my soul.
It cries, Arise! arise! incarnate me
In State! Strike mightily henceforth Bourgeois'

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Fell power and doom his State! Then build thereon
Thy Comrade Commonwealth, august, divine.

John Hallam Vonmor.

The Scab.

Come Treason from thy hellish throne
And brand him, brand him deep thine own.
Thou coward base to sneak to camp
Of foe enleagued with famine grim,
And gold 'gainst brother struggling brave
For pittance bare of joy of life,
For Cause that fires the heart around
The world! Ah better far to starve —
Yea die in garret bare, or rot
Unknown on ocean wave, than gain
Thy need by traitor's damned deed!
Thou Judas of the Proletaire!
We curse thee deep! We spew thee out!

John Hallam Vonmor.

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EDITORAL

A Victory Gained.

It is no exaggeration, no figure of speech to speak of the acquittal of William D. Haywood as an epochal event in the history of the working class in the United States. The struggle which preceeded it has been the greatest manifestation of the class conflict ever seen on this continent.

There has been no force of capitalism that has not been brought into action. The entire governmental power was utilized. Two states lent their machinery of government to the Mine Owners' Association to carry out their murderous purposes. Corporate and individual capital combined with official machinery to wreck the resistance to exploitation.

When this power was found inadequate, — when the kidnapping of Moyer and Haywood, instead of intimidating the workers proved to be only a bugle call to greater action, then new forces were brought up by both sides. The national government took a hand, at first indirectly by sending Taft, the presidential errand boy, to Idaho to assist in the election of Governor Gooding on the platform of "These men will never leave Idaho alive." Just now Taft is wondering how much this pulling of Teddy's chestnuts from the fire is going to affect a certain budding presidential boom.

When the laborers refused to be intimidated by Taft, Roosevelt himself was called upon to show whose collar he wore. He responded at first by innuendo in his Chicago speech, where he referred to the accused as murderers. This was at a time when the case was under consideration by the Supreme court and doubtless had its share in producing the shameful verdict of that body, a verdict that will go down to historical infamy side by side with the Dred Scott decision with which it has so frequently been compared.

The only effect of this was to rouse the workers to still greater exertions. Unawed by the majesty of the Supreme Court they set

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about calling new battallions of the labor army into action. Moyer-Haywood conferences were formed in all the great cities. These conferences are one of the most significant phases of the entire struggle. The initiative in their formation was generally taken by the Socialist Party or by the Socialists within the trade unions, and when they were completed they constitued the first organ for the activity of the organized workers and the Socialist Party combined that has ever existed in the United States.

Discovering that covert sneers and veiled indirect attacks were hopeless to intimidate the militant workers of the country, Roosevelt came into the open with his now infamous "undesirable citizen" letter. It is significant of the bulk which the Haywood trial has taken that while he coupled Harriman with Debs, Haywood and Moyer in this phrase, yet the only portion which has stuck in the public mind was that which applied to the men on trial for their lives.

The cowardly dastardliness of this attack upon men on trial for their lives was a shot which proved to be very much of a boomerang. Instead of turning the tide of public indignation against the men attacked, it brought down such a storm of denunciation upon its author as to force him completely into the open, and the workers of the United States were treated to the very remarkable spectacle of the President on the defensive against the attacks of an outraged working-class. Perhaps it is not too much to say that this marked the turning point of the battle. There was something so despicable in this action, so much akin to that other much boasted feat of Roosevelt, — shooting a Spaniard in the back, that it roused thousands hitherto indifferent.

From thousands of trade union treasuries a flood of money began to flow into the defense fund. Protest meetings redoubled in frequency and in virility. The Moyer-Haywood conferences organized great parades, that filled the streets with marching thousands of workingmen demanding that they know "the reason why" their foremost champions must die.

The funds that came were needed. They made it possible to procure the best legal talent before the American bar and insured that, so far at least as the forms of the law were concerned, that the accused men should not suffer.

But not all the resources of capitalism were exhausted when the battallions mentioned above had been wheeled into action. During the whole fight there had been a utilization of other and no less powerful forces. Foremost among these was the capitalist press.

When the story of this battle is told in some future day, one of the blackest of its many sullied pages will be the one that tells of the part played by the press controlled by the exploiting class.

From the very beginning of the struggle in the Rocky Moun-

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tain States the capitalist press of America has shown a subservient slavery to the blood thirsty mob of profit takers that has no equal in history. The great news agencies exhausted every resource at their command, during the early stages, to suppress all mention of the occurrences, and to preserve the darkness that is essential to the deeds that were being done. Trained "special writers" like Walter Wellman were sent into the region to telegraph back the carefully fabricated libels of the Mine Owners' Association. A telegraph and telephone and mail censorship were established in the first crude stages of the fight. But when the battle had grown too broad for secrecy to be longer maintained; other tactics were necessary.

Then began that campaign of lying and villification and slander that has continued up until the present moment; that has misstated almost every event of the trial; that has cunningly manipulated evidence, distorted facts and twisted everything with that shrewdness that is the most striking characteristic of modern journalism. It has not been alone the great dailies that have been guilty of such tactics. Semi-religious magazines like the "Outlook," and "radical" publications like "Colliers," have vied with openly reactionary magazines like "McClure's" and Harpers", in attempting to deceive the laborers.

It is once more significant that these publications have been brought into action. They have been long in building up a reputation for "impartiality." They have always claimed to stand on both sides of the class line, and when leaning over to the side of labor cost nothing they have been willing to bend in that direction in order to maintain that reputation. But now they have thrown that reputation to the winds. More nearly correct they have used that reputation for the purpose for which it was acquired. They have used it to bolster up capitalism when it was in desperate straits.

Whatever our individual opinions may be upon religion, there is no denying but what it has been used as one of the means of class rule. Never however has it been more misused than in this present case. When Orchard declared that he was moved to attempt to hang Haywood by his religious conversion it was one of the hardest blows that religion ever received. When a host of preachers took him at his word and sought to preach the gospel of St. Orchard and McParland his father confessor the gorge of even the average believer began to rise. So it was that this method of controlling and directing the public mind was soon relinquished.

In every great expression of the class struggle, the institutions of class education are always called upon to bolster up the ruler's aim. It looked as if this feature would be lacking in the Boise battle, but in order that no feature necessary to symmetrical completeness might be missing a Harvard Professor of psychology, Hugo Mun-

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sterberg, seized the opportunity to write himself down not only as an intellectual prostitute but as a shameful charlatan, by pretending to read Orchard's consciousness and to pass an expert opinion that he was speaking the truth.

In short the whole parapharnalia of capitalism had been brought into action to accomplish the judicial murder of the men who stood between them and profits.

Against these forces stood nothing but the working-class. Nothing but the working-class. Nothing but a little over three-fourths of the population, the portion that produce the wealth and performs all the necessary social functions.

In spite of the fact that every local of the Western Federation of Miners was infested with Pinkerton detectives seeking and manufacturing evidence, in spite of the terrible provocation to which the miners had been subject for nearly a dozen years, in spite of all the machinery which capitalism could bring to bear to accomplish the judicial murder of the officials of the union, a jury selected by the Mine Owners, without a single union man in it has refused to convict the object of the conspiracy, and he goes forth as free man.

Out of this fight the working-class advances to new victories strengthened and prepared for greater battles. It has gained a new solidarity, a greater militancy, a deeper selfconfidence, and a more thorough insight into the weaknesses and wickednesses of its enemy than have been vouchsafed hitherto.

Once again it has been proven that blows upon the working-class, like blows upon the white hot iron, only drive its particles closer together and forge it into a better weapon.

In the fight the brunt of conflict has fallen upon the Socialist press and well may that press be proud of the part it has played. From start to finish it has poured a flood of light upon the scenes of conflict. It sounded the first battle cry, it rallied the hosts of labor when things looked dark, it formulated the intellectual weapons and distributed them among the fighters, and finally when the struggle was drawing to a close it carried the words of encouragement and news of the more immediate actors to the whole great army of labor.

It is therefore fitting that when victory is won that the Socialist press should rejoice. And well it may rejoice, for in the heat of conflict it has forged new weapons and improved old ones until today it is manifold more effective for the class struggle than when the fight began.

It may well be that from this trial will date the growth and development of a proletarian activity and militancy that will bring about the speedy overthrow of the whole capitalist system.

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International Socialist Congress.

During the week beginning August 17th there will meet in Stuttgart, Germany, what will be without doubt, the most important gathering for the working-class ever held.

The program of the Congress is published elsewhere in this issue and will give a general idea of the importance of the discussions that will be held.

The editor of the International Socialist Review is one of the delegates to that Congress and the next issue of this periodical will be largely devoted to the proceedings of the Congress. For this reason it will probably appear about a week later than usual, since the Congress does not end until the 24th of August, and it will take some time to get the material in shape and arrange for publication.

The past three years, since the last Congress was held, have been stirring ones in the Socialist world. The Russian revolution, the Austrian and German and Finish elections, the rise of new problems in relation to the trade unions, all these require a new adjustment of many things that have been considered fixed.

This Congress will give an opportunity to bring these matters to a focus and reflect the opinions and knowledge of those in closest touch with the questions before the workers of the United States.

There should be a large number of extra copies of the September issue circulated by the Socialists of the United States. To do this it will be necessary that orders be sent in before publication as no more will be printed than have been ordered.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Very few persons who watched the Haywood trial at Boise, Idaho, and read with more or less indignation about the infamous schemes practiced by the Pinkertons, realize what organized labor of this country is compelled to contend with nowadays. In fact, union people themselves, unless constantly active in organization matters, have little conception of the growth and expansion of modern capitalism's espionage system during the past few years. While most union men have been busy with their daily work and ordinary problems of life—while they voted their old party tickets regularly and thus strengthened the grip of capitalism, and while they shouted lustily to "keep politics out of the union" and placed all their confidence and hope in the pure and simple strike and boycott—a complete new industry has grown up and flourished right under their noses.

The Pinkertons were undoubtedly the first to engage in the shameful work of worming their way into labor organizations and breaking them up. But while the Pinkertons and Thiels, the pioneers to "operate" in unions, were careful to prevent their disreputable practices from becoming known, during the past few years these spying and scab-procuring agencies have rapidly multiplied, and as they increased in number they became bolder in advertising their degraded business. Like brazen prostitutes, these latest schools of criminals and degenerates boldly flaunt their viciousness and immorality in the public's face. They tell you straight that they are procurers and have thugs and Judases to sell at so much per job lot. I append a "confidential" circular letter that was recently issued to "the trade" by the Joy Detective Service, of Cleveland, O., one of the latest houses of ill fame that has entered the competitive field to bid for business. Those students of social questions who insist that the world is getting better and that the present civilization will be perpetual may find some food for thought in this offer to sell or lease traitors by wholesale. And, please remember, that scores of these agencies flourish throughout the country.

The circular, which was turned over to me by a friend, reads as follows:

This Service makes a specialty of handling labor troubles, either existing or contemplated.

We break strikes in all parts of the United States or Canada, and are prepared to submit a list of references from manufacturers and others who have employed us during the past five years.

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We have in our employ experienced guards for the protection of life and property during strikes and lockouts. These men are all over six feet in height, and selected for their ability to handle this class of work. All have seen strike service, many hold state and city police commissions, and should not be confounded with guards furnished by our imitators and recruited from slums of the cities.

We furnish secret operatives of all trades, Union or Non-Union, for work in mill, mine, factory, store, etc., for the purpose of securing inside information.

Is your shop being unionized?
Is your output being restricted?
Is the union running your shop?
Is material being wasted or stolen?
Have you a "shop committee," and who are they?
Do your foremen show favoritism?
Are you losing castings in your foundry?
Do you care to know what is being done at union meetings?
Let us place a mechanic operative with you, and find out.

In handling strikes we take entire charge of the same, furnish necessary guards to protect men while at work or escort them to and from work if boarding outside.

We employ, transport and deliver non-union men to fill up affected plants.

We charge no premium on such mechanics, but employ them at any price per day you wish to pay them, charging only for actual time agent may be engaged in securing them.

Men employed by us will be taken to affected plant by our guards and safely delivered and strikers not permitted to molest them.

We have found from experience that strikes are broken quickest where new men are boarded inside or adjacent to affected plant, and we are prepared to fit up and maintain temporary boarding quarters, furnishing colored cooks, waiters, etc. Our captains are thoroughly competent to handle such boarding quarters, making same practically self-sustaining. Sanitary arrangements are carefully looked after, and nothing is allowed to go to waste.

Secret men attend all meetings of strikers and report proceedings. This service possesses the necessary equipment, such as Winchester rifles, police clubs, cots, blankets, etc., to handle any sized trouble. We are represented in all of the larger cities of the United States and Canada, and a representative will call on you free of charge upon request.

The Joy Detective Service, Inc.,
Or J. D. Scott, Cleveland, O.
1110 New England Bldg.

At least one jurisdiction struggle in marine circles has been settled. For several years the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association and the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association were bitter rivals, and upon more than one occasion charges of scabbing were hurled back and forth to the great delight of the capitalists and their hangers-on. Under the agreement made in Buffalo during the past month the tugmen will have control of all harbor crafts, except those carrying passengers, and the M. E. B. A. will henceforth have jurisdiction over all outside crafts.

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It is within the range of possibilities that the jurisdiction war between the longshoremen and seamen, which has raged for a number of years, may also be settled this fall. In the recent arbitration conference between representatives of both organizations all the grievances and contentions were thoroughly considered. President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., acted as arbiter and he finally ruled that the longshoremen had no right to the title of "Marine and Transport Workers," which was a victory for the seamen. He also advised, however, that the two organizations amalgamate, and with that end in view representatives of both unions will hold a further conference in Norfolk, Va., next November, and endeavor to establish harmonious relations.

During the past month the longshoremen held their annual convention in Detroit, and, judging from the officers' reports, that organization is facing some severe problems. There has been considerable loss in membership for three reasons, viz.: the oilers and watertenders seceded and went under the wing of the seamen; secondly, the ore handlers have been greatly decimated by the introduction of loading and unloading machinery, a few men now doing the work that formerly required hundreds; thirdly, many lumber shovers have been thrown out of employment because the trust has greatly restricted the output in order to arbitrarily force up prices, which, in some instances, amounted to over one hundred per cent, which price advance is also diminishing consumption and reacting on the building trades.

Gompers' recommendation to the two organizations to amalgamate will be followed if good sense and wisdom prevails. In combination lies the safety of the marine and longshore unions, for it cannot be denied that a large percentage of the vessel and dock owners are antagonistic, either openly or secretly to trade unions, and at the very first favorable opportunity they are going to enforce the open ships and the open docks to the cheapest scab labor to be found and close the doors to union people. Some of the capitalists wanted to fight last year and again this year, but on account of the business activity they were overruled by some of the more important interests. If an industrial depression comes the plutes will declare war: that is, they will take advantage of the situation to cut wages, and if a strike is precipiated they will welcome it gladly in order to destroy the labor organizations if possible. If the unions remain split up into crafts and quarreling among themselves so much the worse for them.

It is notable, in this respect, that this is the second or third time that President Gompers has repudiated his autonomistic notions and displayed almost human intelligence during the past year. The mighty Sam'l advised the merging of the woodworkers and carpenters, and is credited with advising the Chicago metal trades to arrange their agreements with employers so that they would all expire on the same date, and all the unions could work or fight together, instead of scabbing against each other, as is frequently the case. If Gompers keeps on progressing he is likely to say or do things worth remembering.

The lithographers' strike for eight hours is off—lost in the association shops. The struggle began almost a year ago and has been bitterly fought. The bosses' association hoisted the open shop skull

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and crossbones and cried death to the union. They were able to hire a few scabs and just enough members turned traitor to enable the masters to turn out a portion of their work, and those capitalists who had contracts for lithographing that was delayed, declined to cancel the same or sue for damages and cheerfully agreed to wait until their orders were filed. It might be said, in passing, that the same policy was noticeable during the printers' eight-hour strike, and it goes to prove that there is a whole lot more class-consciousness among capitalists than among laborers, as a rule. The lithographers are a highly skilled lot of men and were inclined to have aristocratic notions of exclusiveness, the same as are nurtured by the railroad engineers. They are not identified with the A. F. of L. and seldom make common cause with other working people anywhere. At the same time it cannot be disputed that they sacrificed heroically and fought to the last ditch. At one time those members who were employed paid as high as 25 per cent of their earnings into the strike fund, but it was the old story of pitting empty stomachs against money bags. Anyway, the lithographers lost. And no class of barbarians ever treated their prisoners more brutally than the capitalists treated the strikers, who fought honorably throughout the contest. Scores of the active members have been blacklisted and driven out of the trade while all those who were re-employed were forced to sign away their rights and liberties as American citizens—they were forced to pledge themselves to join no union and participate in no strike in the future.

To crown the whole infamous business, that sweet-scented "workingman's friend," Secretary Straus, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has come to the support of the masters to make the blacklist effective. It was naturally believed by the lithographers that, in view of the immense amount of work that accumulated owing to the delays of the strike, the blacklisting threats would vanish into thin air. Here is where the journeymen made a wrong guess. They did not take into consideration their opponents' political power. When the strike petered out the capitalists sent their agents to Europe to employ foreign scabs. They ignored the men who were blacklisted, raised a loud howl about "scarcity of labor," and brought in their contract laborers. A test case was made and the state courts held that the importations were illegal. But along comes Secretary Straus, overrules the courts, spits on the immigration laws, and admits the foreigners in order to enforce the blacklist. In fact, the contract labor law is a dead one, and has been for months—ever since Straus handed down an "opinion" that Southern States could import all the laborers they desired.

The importance of gaining control of the powers of government is demonstrated once more in the lithographers' case. It is hard enough to fight organized bosses, backed by unlimited capital, without being attacked by government politicians as well. But nothing else can be expected under present circumstances.

After weeks of guerilla warfare, with the members on strike in San Francisco and threatening to walk out any day in New York, Chicago and other places, the contest between the commercial telegraphers and the Western Union and Postal Companies came to an end. The unionists claim to have gained partial recognition, that all employes are to be reinstated within thirty days, and that the

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wage question will be arbitrated. The company managers deny that the union is recognized, and declare that the strikers must apply for reinstatement as individuals, and that those who are "not objectionable" will be re-employed upon their promise to give good and faithful service and discontinue all agitation," etc. The bosses are silent regarding future wages, but it is probable that some increase will be made in order to avoid renewed friction and to cause members to become lukeworm toward the organization—it is an old trick.

Two very important lessons were taught by this struggle. The first is the action of the Postal Co. in displaying its loyalty to its class interests. The Postal is the powerful rival of the Western Union and there has been intense competition between the two corporations for business during the past decade. The Western Union was the devil and the Postal the good angel, from the organized labor viewpoint. The former corporation victimized a union operator whenever he or she was known and the employes were forced to organize in secret. The Postal, on the other hand, posed as "the workingman's friend." The A. F. of L. placed a boycott on the W. U. some half dozen years ago, and thousands of dollars have been diverted to the Postal, with the result that the letter concern has become rich and powerful. Now organized labor is receiving its pay. Throughout the recent controversy the Postal has displayed a more vindictive spirit toward the telegraphers, if such a thing was possible, than the Western Union. It is one of the ironies of capitalism that we frequently create Frankensteins that would turn about and devour us.

The second lesson is the "butting in" of the national administration. Ever since Roosevelt's action in enforcing the open shop in the government printing office and causing the loss of several hundred members, that gentleman has spoken gently to organizations in trouble and carried a big club. His anthracite coal commission placed a premium on union deserters, and today, according to the miners' officials, the Pennsylvania unions are in a demoralized condition because of the open shop policy that prevails. His open shop ideas were reflected in other instances that cannot be mentioned here. When indications pointed to a national strike of telegraphers, which would have resulted in big business being forced to sit up and take notice of labor's solidarity and power, and which would doubtless have quickened the agitation of government ownership of telegraphs, Roosevelt dispatched his trusty retainer, Labor Commissioner Neill, to repair to the disaffected districts and apply the chloroform. Mr. Neill rushed to New York, thence to Chicago and finally to San Francisco. Little has been given out of what actually transpired in the various conferences held. Nor was it necessary to make much hullaballo about it. Mr. Neill was reported to have left San Francisco "satisfied," after General Managers Clowry and Adams, of the telegraph companies, promised to reinstate the strikers if they are "good and faithful and discontinue all agitation." Unquestionably Mr. Roosevelt has cut another notch in his big stick, and his eminent and distinguished service in putting the quietus to the telegraphers' strike will probably afford a text for another brain storm on the relations of capital and labor in some future state paper.

Let no person underestimate the extraordinary ability and shrewd manipulations of the Messrs. Roosevelt, Taft, Straus, Neill, etc., etc., as arbitrators and adjustors in labor controversies. Gentlemen who

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are capable in palming off gold bricks on union people repeatedly and winning applause for so doing must be adepts in their peculiar line. If you are successful in securing somebody to participate in a shell game and making them believe they will get something for their trouble, you possess all the wonderful attributes that go to make up a great statesman. And if you can get your victims to actually pass resolutions of thanks and holler themselves hoarse for you, then you are in a fair way to be canonized as a saint and placed on a pedestal, to be gazed upon in awe and admiration by generations of yaps to come. Really, there isn't so very much difference between a king or a czar who throws his subjects a bone occasionally and statesman in a republic whose skill in phrasemongering is second only to his dexterity in adjusting labor disputes—with labor always and everlastingly holding the bag.

There have been three significant events showing the steady, regular progress of socialism in Europe. Two of these have taken place in England and offer proof that the parliamentary elections of a year ago were not part of a sporadic revolt but were the beginning of a great socialist movement. There have been two by-elections for Parliament, in both of which socialists have been victorious. The first of these landed Pete Curren, the well known socialist and trade union agitator, in the House of Commons. The second was in the Colne Valley district for West Riding, where, after a bitter fight against all other parties, Victor Grayson, the socialist, was elected by a plurality of 153. This victory is hailed with especial joy by the socialists and fear by the capitalist parties, because the issue was so clear cut and the victory so decisive. It is positive proof that at last England, the "classic land of capitalism," is well on the way toward becoming the classic land of socialism.

The other event of importance was the unexpected (by the capitalists, at least) victory of the socialists in Rome. Here again the opposition was bitter and firm. The Catholic Church took an especially active part in fighting the socialists, yet in spite of that fact 24 out of the 29 members to be elected at this election were socialists. This makes the socialists the strongest single party in the Municipal Council of Rome. There have been no other important elections held in Europe during the past month, and the socialist organizations have been largely occupied with preparations for the International Socialist Congress to be held at Stuttgart next month.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History, by Karl Kautsky. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, Standard Socialist Series, 206 pp., 50 cents.

About two years ago there was a sharp controversey in Germany over the management of the Vorwaerts. The editorial management had fallen into the hands of those who were inclined to lay less emphasis upon the class struggle materialistic side of Socialist philosophy, and more upon the sentimental phase of the subject. Against this management of the leading German Socialist organ Kautsky led a vigorious attack. This book is the result of that attack being based upon a series of articles written in criticism of the Vorwaerts management.

Kautsky is without doubt entitled to the title of the greatest living exponent of Marxian doctrines. As such he always commands a hearing, and repays reading, whether we may agree with him or not.

The present work is one of the most valuable of his many studies. In the method of work as well as in the subject matter it is an exellent exemplification of the application of Marxism. The comparative historic method is used throughout, which, as is sometimes the case with this method, gives a somewhat cumbersome look to the general plan.

Yet within the compass of these few pages he has condensed a remarkably large amount of fundamental philosophy. It is at once a history of ethical theories with their relation to industrial facts, and a discussion of the position of present day socialist thought to ethical problems.

We watch the various ethical concepts taking form from the "Ancient and Christian Ethics", and the "Ethical systems of the Period of Enlightenment", through the "Ethics of Kant" and "Darwinism" to the "Ethics of Marxism".

Each of these has made some contribution to that great body of ethical rules which has played so great and so valuable a part in social solidarity. Those who foolishly think to affect an extremely revolutionary radicalism by announcing that all morality is conventionality and that all convention is bad, and that therefore those who are least conventional are "best" will find no consolation in this work. Kautsky takes the position that "not only are the social instincts something absolutely not conventional, but something deeply grounded in human nature, the nature of man as a social animal. The connection between the tenets of morals and the social needs has

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been already proved by so many practical examples, that we can accept it as a general rule." To be sure he immediately adds, "If, however, this connection exists then an alteration of society must necessitate an alteration in many moral precepts."

The work covers a field on which there has hitherto been almost nothing in English and where much was needed. It bids fair to become one of those books which are essential to even a small socialist library.

The Industrial Republic, by Upton Sinclair, Doubleday Page & Co., Cloth, 284 pp., $1.20.

If the author of this book had said that he was writing as a dreamer and a genius, he might have been forgiven and even praised for some portion of it. But when he claims to write as a "scientist and a prophet," he cannot but expect that his credentials will be examined. Even a superficial reading of the book is enough to show that he knows very little about Socialism. There are many of the Socialist phrases but little of the substance. The philosophy which lies behind the book, in so far as it has a philosophy, is a combination of utopianism and Wilshire's catastrophic theory of crises and overproduction.

It is possible that the author has done all the reading that he claims upon the Civil War period, but he seems to have but illy digested what he read, for to him the Republican Party aims at Abolition and the whole interpretation which he puts upon events is the idealistic bourgeois one.

When he comes to treat of "Industrial Evolution" he is somewhat better, although what such a sentence as this means it is hard to tell, "Following close upon the heels of political society you have the evolution of industrial society." Industrial society has existed since there was a social unit. Political society has been formulated by industry, and the Socialists were the first to make known this truth. There is no conception of the class as a dynamic of social evolution, and he draws historical parallels between present capitalism and Roman society before the decline such as have been drawn by every alarmist since Rome fell. Neither is Rooseveltian race suicide "simply a popular term for that 'elimination of the middle class' which Karl Marx predicted half a century ago," and it is almost ridiculous to confuse them. Marx was speaking of a great industrial evolution which wiped out a certain industrial class, by destroying their industrial foundation, without necessarily affecting their numbers as individual units in the census. Race suicide may possibly be to some small extent a result of that industrial elimination, in that a decaying industrial class finds the struggle harder for its members and these seek to reduce the birth rate, but that is as far as the connection goes.

The whole point of view is idealistic, utopian, and the book reaches its fitting climax in a very silly tabular comparison between the Civil War and the present period, in which various individuals of the two periods are given fanciful names which are supposed to apply to identical types in the two periods. This table was first published something over a year ago and the intervening time has served to make it appear even more foolish than at the time of first publication. It is safe to predict that before a few more years shall have passed away the author will wish he had never penned this table.

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Following this comes a wild nightmare description of a terrible panic that is to come in 1913 to be followed by the election of Hearst and the inauguration of Socialism, by Hearst in spite of himself. Having produced the revolution the author proceeds to give the details of "The Industrial Republic," and makes it a very bourgeois paradise indeed in which "a man will be able to order anything he wishes, from a flying machine to a seven-legged spider made of diamonds."

There is much that is good in the book. Its descriptions of the evils of capitalism are strong, as might well be expected from the author of "The Jungle." The whole is far better written than the average Socialist work, but it is wholly misleading so far as Socialism is concerned, and belongs to the literature of the days of Populism and Nationalism, rather than to the age of scientific Marxism.

Socialism, Positive and Negative, by Robert Rives La Monte. Charles H. Kerr and Company, Cloth, (Standard Socialist Series), 150 pp., 50 cents.

La Monte writes with a brilliancy that sometimes enables him to cover up errors, and makes one feel a little suspicious of him. On the whole there is not much to complain of in this volume of essays, which are largely an exposition of what might be called ultra-Marxism, at least much of it is not Marx, though it may be none the less true for all that. He is perhaps at his best from a scholarly point of view in "Science and Socialism," and this notwithstanding the fact that Comrade Boudin has most severely criticisew this same essay. In this controversy both Boudin and LaMonte are right, in our opinion. Boudin is right that it is not Marxism, for Marx never set about applying the laws of biological evolution to society, notwithstanding his admiration of Darwin's work, and La Monte is right in that he is working out laws that are true and the foundation for which were probably laid by Marx.

The essay on "Marxism and Ethics" is one of those where La Monte is better from a literary than a scholarly point of view. To say that "morality is a class institution" is either meaningless, or false, or else words have been given a new meaning, or else, and we fancy this is the true explanation, in his endeavor to be ultra-radical the author has "met himself going back."

The majority of the rules of even present morality are far older than capitalism, many much older than a class society, some have their roots far back in the animal world. To assume that "in the free fellowship of the future there will be no morality" is playing with phrases, or else it is a complete rejection of the dialectic philosophy and an adoption of utopianism, tinged with "eternal truth" philosophy, — all of which things are comrade LaMonte's particular **betes noir.** The same criticism applies with even more crushing force to the essay, of which it is not hard to see the author is particularly proud, "The Nihilism of Socialism."

This is the chapter about which he chuckles while he warns the reader against its "unwise frankness," and that he is doubtless hoping will prove terribly shocking to all who read. In this he destroys religion, the state and the family. Unfortunately this has been done some thousands of times before in history, although not often in the name of dialectics, and these institutions are still with us. Changes

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there will certainly be in all these institutions, in the transition to a proletarian ruled society, but one can hardly accept the criticisms of a Shaw or an Ibsen as authoritative pronouncements on Marxism, or as inspired prophets concerning future institutions, no matter how much we may grant them as the greatest literary critics of bourgeois institutions.

The next essay "The Biogenetic Law" is written to explain just how the author evolved to his present highest possible stage of revolution. There is a condescending pity for those who have not evolved to his high station, but unfortunately once more for one who has reached the highest tips of evolutionary dialectics, he assumes that there is just such a finished point at which evolution must stop. Who knows but that on beyond LaMonte there may be yet other un-numbered higher stages of revolutionists in comparison with which he is the most moss-backed of conservatives.

After all the book really deserves a more favorable review than this, for it is strikingly suggestive, and thought compelling, but it is written in such a cock-sure superior way as to challenge criticism, no matter how much you may like it. At any rate every Socialist ought to read it. It will help to wake him up.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

CAMPAIGN BOOKS.

The acquittal of Haywood, so largely due to the persistent agitation of the Socialists, and the general sentiment in favor of his nomination as our presidential candidate next year, make it clear that the Socialist Party is on the eve of a period of rapid growth. The real problem is no longer as before how to get the attention and interest of possible converts. The development of the class war has solved that question for us and has brought us up against a new problem,—how to transform our new recruits into men with some real understanding of how things are evolving and a very definite idea of WHAT THEY WANT.

Very likely we shall have a million new voters when the next count is made; if we can educate one out of ten in this way, the chances are that the whole party will hold together and grow; if on the other hand it is all shouting and no study, our converts will be fair game for the next politician who promises "something right now."

The time to do the work of education is before the campaign shouting begins. Now while there are no special appeals to be made for campaign funds, and while capitalist prosperity is as yet undisturbed by the approaching election, is the time when inquirers and sympathizers can be successfully urged to buy and read books.

We have for several months been giving most of the space in this department to the description of bound books suitable for libraries; this time we shall give most of it to propaganda pamphlets.

Crime and Criminals. This speech by Clarence S. Darrow, whose splendid defense of Haywood has endeared him to every socialist, was delivered and first published several years ago, and is now in its third edition and selling faster than ever before. It was an address to the prisoners in the County Jail in Chicago. A good idea of the forcefulness of the speech may be obtained from the impression it made on the capitalistic editor of the Columbus Dispatch. He says:

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"A persual will convince any intelligent person of Darrow's standing as a fomenter of crime, a traitor to "labor," and an arch-enemy of law and common-sense.....No more damning indictment was ever framed against a public leader that Darrow thus brings against himself.....The man who tells murderers and burglars that they are 'just as good as any one,' and who declares that he 'could take 500 of the worst criminals and 500 of the most depraved abandoned women, and from them build up a community as good and as moral as any in the land' ought to be thoroughly known and plainly branded."

Strangely enough, an opposite impression was made on the editor of the Press-Post, published in the same city. This paper gives a highly favorable review of the book, occupying two columns, with a portrait of the author. Newspapers all over the country are now discussing the book, and it will undoubtedly have a rapid sale where ever offered at socialist street meetings.

Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism. This book is by Gabriel Deville, one of the foremost socialist writers of France. It has been translated into English by Robert Rives LaMonte, but has never been extensively advertised until lately. We have now printed a new and attractive edition, and can thoroughly recommend the book as one of the very best popular presentations of the principles of international socialism that can be had at any price. Moreover it is one of the strongest arguments that can be found in defense of the need of political action on the part of socialists.

Manifesto of the Communist Party. By Marx and Engels. This great document, fifty-nine years old and still circulated by the socialists of every country in the world, is the best possible answer to the charge that socialism has no definite meaning. The book is one that every inquirer should read and every one who expects to talk about socialism should read over and over.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. This is another of the indispensable books. This ten cent edition is the same, page for page, with our library edition sold at fifty cents. The difference is simply that this is on thinner paper with narrower margins and bound in paper covers instead of cloth.

Socialist Songs with Music. Compiled by Charles H. Kerr. The only book of socialist songs published in America which voices the spirit of Marxian socialism. It contains five songs by William Morris and thirty-one by other writers. Care has been taken to exclude such songs as tend to stimulate sentimentality rather than clear

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thinking. The price has lately been reduced from 20c to 10c to put the book within the reach of the less prosperous Locals.

Socialism, What it Is and What it Seeks to Accomplish. By Wilhelm Liebknecht. This is at once a history of the beginnings of socialism by one of the men who were doing things and a statement of the principles of the international party by one of its most trusted representatives. Liebknecht was a close friend of Marx and Engels, but put his own strength into the development of the political movement rather than the theory of socialism.

Class Struggles in America. By A. M. Simons. This is a condensed history of the United States in the light of the socialist philosophy, and will be found to contain many facts that are startling to those who have thus far received their information from school-books and capitalist newspapers. It is good propaganda for those who have not yet become students, since it deals in a concrete way with events often discussed.

Life of Frederick Engels. By Karl Kautsky. This book, written just after Engels' death, is not only a biography, but a condensed history of the beginnings of the international socialist movement, with which Engels was so closely identified.

The Socialist Movement. By Charles H. Vail. One of the best possible pamphlets to put into the hands of a beginner. It explains why the socialist movement is and must be proletarian, and gives a brief and clear summary of the theories of surplus value and economic determinism.

Not Guilty. By John Spargo. A play founded on the Haywood case. Though it was written and printed before the conclusion of the trial, the author guessed correctly at the outcome. The play brings out the conspiracy of the mine owners in a graphic fashion. It makes good reading, and is well suited for production on the stage by amateurs.

All of these books retail at ten cents each, and any of them will be sent postpaid on receipt of price. Our stockholders buy them at six cents each by mail or five cents if sent at purchaser's expense. For one dollar we will mail the ten books and a credit certificate good for 40c. at any time within a year toward the purchase of a share of stock. See pages 61 and 62 of last month's Review. We have here described less than half of our 10c propaganda books. For descriptions of the others see our Socialist Book Bulletin, mailed free on request.

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FINANCES FOR JULY.

The book sales for the month were $1,619.68, stock sales $267.68, Review subscriptions and sales $133.90. We also received a contribution from Eugene Dietzgen of $250, and from Dr. Heinrich Stinnes of $3.70, making the total receipts for the month $2,274.96. This is highly gratifying from one point of view, since in midsummer, when book sales are usually at a low ebb, the receipts were more than enough to pay the ordinary expences. But we have lately been making so many additions to our book list, including the publication of the second volume of Marx's Capital, that the unpaid bills still amount to about $2,000. Moreover the publishing house owes to Charles H. Kerr about $3,000, representing stock belonging to him which has been sold, the money being left in the business. He will be obliged to withdraw about $900 of this money at the end of August to pay a personal debt, and he has issued a circular letter to stockholders offering to donate the remaining $2,100 to the publishing house, provided that others will among them contribute an equal amount in sums of $20 or more. He does not ask for smaller contributions for the reason that they would be likely to come from those not able to buy all the socialist books they would be glad to have, and he suggests that those who wish to help in the present emergency who can not spare so much as $20 send as large orders for books as possible.

WHY CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NEEDED.

There are no deficits to make up. The whole trouble is lack of capital. This is a handicap that the manager has been struggling with from the start, and he would rather give the $2,100 to the publishing house than carry the burden longer. The business has been financed on his personal credit, add he has found it necessary to work for thirteen years without a vacation in order to keep the creditors satisfied.

The work of this publishing house is too important to the socialist movement of the United States to leave its future dependent on the life on any one man. A large majority of the stock is already in the hands of socialists holding one share each, but as long as there is any debt to non-socialists, there is always the possible danger of an unfriendly receivership in the event of the death or disability of the manager.

Out of our 1787 stockholders, there should be a hundred who could each afford $20 or more toward putting the publishing house on a solid and permanent basis. And there are a few who could easily give much larger sums. All contributions will be acknowledged

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in the Review unless the donors have special reasons for keeping their names in the background.

THE AMERICAN ESPERANTO BOOK.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The Stuttgart Congress.*

From every point of view the last International Socialist Congress was greater than any ever held. Not only in the number af delegates and their representative character, but in a host of different points, some of which will appear in the course of this report, the meeting at Stuttgart was one of which the International movement may well be proud.

There were about 900 delegates present. The exact number cannot be stated until the final report is accessible as there were several arrivals after the preliminary statement of the International Secretary Huysmans.

The preliminary arrangements for the Congress were marvelously perfect and were significant of that wonderful power of organization and attention to detail so characteristic of the German mind. Every convenience that could be devised to add to the comfort of the delegates and the effectiveness of the work had been foreseen and provided. All the little items in the way of stationery which had been prepared for the delegates were inclosed in a roomy portfolio that formed at once a great convenience during the proceedings and a valued souvenir when the Congress adjourned.

There was a machine-like character to some of the arrangements that amused the delegates who had been used to the free and easy (and confusing) way of conducting an American political convention. When the Germans make a rule they have the strange habit of enforcing it, and when they said that none but delegates would be permitted upon the floor of the convention they proceeded to effectively exclude all others. As a consequence most of the delegates soon became accustomed to going about with these "Legitimations" in their hands ready to display them to the ever vigilant ushers.

*) From report submitted to National Secretary, Socialist Party.

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THE GREAT MASS MEETING.

The first Sunday is one which it is safe to say will never be forgotten by any one who experienced its events. The *Volksfestplatz* (Peoples Festival Place), ordinarily used for military manouvers, had been secured for a great mass-meeting. This place is located on the banks of the Neckar a little more than a mile from the center of the city, and for two hours before the time set for the meeting every street and road leading there was filled with a solidly marching mass of men, women and children. Standing on the beautiful Neckar bridge which overlooks the place a wonderful sight presented itself. An almost perfectly level place, some twenty or thirty acres in extent was one solid mass of closely packed humanity. The estimates of those present varied between fifty and one hundred thousand persons and the latter figure was in all probability not far from the truth. At six different points on the place gayly decorated speakers' stands were located.

From these places the greatest orators of the Socialist movement, and some of these stand unrivalled among the world's orators of whatever political belief, sent forth the message of international solidarity and brotherhood to the vast multitude, that in turn sent great waves of cheering rolling across the mighty human sea. The very names of the speakers will convey an idea of what an event it was better than volumes of description. There were Bebel and Singer and Vollmar from Germany, Jaures and Guesde and Vaillant of France, Adler of Austria, Hyndman of England, Ferri of Italy, Vandervelde of Belgium, and so on through the list of those whose names are a part of the working class history of today.

In spite of the vast crowd and the great enthusiasm there was never the slightest disorder, and the German government found no cause to use the large body of police and troops which we afterwards learned had been assembled to meet the "emergency."

BEBEL'S REPORT.

The next morning the Congress assembled for its opening session, the principal feature of which was the speech of Bebel, which was largely a report of progress since the Congress of Amsterdam three years before. And it was a wonderful report of progress. At the previous Congress the quarrels of the French delegations had taken up a large portion of the proceedings and left a feeling of discouragement as to the future of socialism in France. But today the French delegation comes as a unit from a single solidified rapidly growing party. The Amsterdam Congress met in the midst of the Russo-Japanese war

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and with Russian workers almost motionless beneath the autocracy. Today the Russian revolution is in full swing and all realize that the days of Czardom are numbered. Austrian socialists have gained universal suffrage since the last International meeting and used it so well that they are now the first party in the Austrian government.

Finland was scarcely upon the Socialist map at the Amsterdam meeting, but took its place at Stuttgart close to the first rank, with the proud distinction of being the first European country to secure genuine *universal* suffrage, with even the distinction of sex abolished. It too had used its new gained privileges so effectively as to conquer a larger measure of power for the proletariat than is possessed by the workers in any save one or two parliaments of the world.

England too, that has so long been the discouraging exception to socialist progress has taken a great leap in the last three years and now bids fair to be henceforth one of the foremost countries in the socialist army. In Germany Comrade Bebel assured us that while the opponents of socialism spoke of the defeat of the Social Democrats at the last election, they spoke with fear in their hearts and a knowledge that a few more such "victories" would sound the doom of German capitalism. The United States, too brought its message of cheer by the victory in the Haywood case and the growing solidarity displayed in that struggle.

When all these advances were presented simultaneously it conveyed to the hearer a new idea of the resistless, world-wide, onward march of the proletarian army, and gave renewed confidence in the early coming of the day of international victory.

After a few other preliminary speeches, and the report of the International Secretary, the Congress set about its work. Before discussing this work, however, mention at least must be made of the splendid concert furnished to the delegates by the Stuttgart comrades on the evening of the opening day. Soloists that would have done credit to Grand Opéra, supported by a magnificent orchestra and Männerchor, provided an evening of musical enjoyment such as it would have been hard to duplicate in any country but Germany.

The real work of the Congress is done in the numerous committees, one of which is formed for each of the questions on the order of business. There were five of these committees at Stuttgart—one each on Militarism, Relation of Trades Unions and Political Parties, Immigration, Colonization and Woman's Suffrage. Each country was entitled to four members of each committee. This made the committees rather large, in fact they were each miniature Congresses, and their deliberations proceeded rather slowly, especially since each speech had to be trans-

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lated into two languages, after having been delivered in the original.

MILITARISM.

The main fight of the Congress centered around the military question. As this was one in which the American delegates were perhaps least interested, they could take the position of spectators and enjoy the battle. And it was a royal battle, into which the European countries sent their best representatives. Here were Bebel, and Jaurès, and Adler, and Vandervelde, and Rosa Luxemburg and a long list of other tried and able warriors on the socialist battlefield.

But the figure that attracted the most attention was one hitherto largely unfamiliar to the International Socialist movement, but one of which it is safe to predict much will be heard in the future. This was Gustav Hervé, one of those electric dashing figures of which France has produced so many. This man, almost unheard of at the time of the Amsterdam Congress, has added a new word to the Socialist vocabulary—Hervéism, and whatever we may think of his position and tactics, has given a sort of electric shock to the whole European Socialist movement.

It had always been taken for granted that while Socialists were opposed to war and militarism, yet that they favored an "armed people" democratically officered on something resembling the Swiss plan. But Hervé declared that socialists should declare immediate and relentless war on every manifestation of militarism, nor did he believe that this war should consist simply of official resolutions and editorial denunciation. Borrowing a leaf from the "direct action" tactics now so popular among a portion of French trade unionists, he called upon the soldiers in the present standing armies to desert, for the drafted to refuse to serve, while he demanded that in case of war the organized laborers should declare the general strike and use eevry other means in their power to prevent war. Such tactics as these were bound to produce some sort of result, especially in a country where the cry of revenge for Alsace and Lorraine is still a sure phrase with which to gain the applause of the populace, and Hervé was soon serving a term in prison.

So far from this dampening his ardor or weakening his influence it but placed the martyr's crown upon him, and gave him a ten-fold larger and more sympathetic audience. It was reported that disaffection was spreading in the French army and that the refusal of the troops to act against the wine growers and in some cases against workingmen was cited as an evidence of the growth of Hervéism.

So it was that he was able to secure what was practically

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an endorsement of his views by the French Congress which met at Nancy the week before the International Congress, and came to Stuttgart with a resolution demanding that the workers should use every means in their power, even to the "general strike and insurrection," to prevent war.

To all this the German Social Democracy offered a sharp antagonism. Groaning beneath the most perfect and most oppressive militarism the world has ever known, they felt that to offer a simple policy of opposition would be suicide. It would only serve to bring the mailed fist down upon the daring few who should seek to carry out the policy of Hervéism, while the magnificently and painfully built up organization of the party would be shattered and destroyed.

Hervé opened the discussion in the committee with a brilliant, witty, eloquent appeal that aroused his hearers now to anger and again to laughter and then to indignation. But it kept them continually aroused. He hurled the shafts of his ridicule not only at bourgeois patriotism and national ideals, but at what, in the minds of many of his hearers was far worse, at the German Social Democracy. He taunted the German Socialists with being sunk in the bog of parliamentarism, with being mere vote gatherers and doing nothing with the votes when gathered. He declared that German socialism had become conservative, had lost its revolutionary character and was more concerned with saving itself and its organization than the working class. So far his criticisms had just enough of the sting of truth in them to bring forth some applaus and much laughter. But when he went further and hinted at personal cowardice as a restraining motive on the part of the German party leaders he was met with a storm of "Nicht Wahr's" that told him he had gone too far.

Naturally Bebel was the next speaker, and it was a striking tribute to the power of Hervéism that the German Social Democracy thought it necessary to send their strongest champion against him.

Needless to say Bebel's speech was a magnificent effort. In every way a most striking contrast to Hervé, he began with a careful fundamental analysis of the premises upon which the question was based. He examined into the idea of patriotism and denied that it included nothing but the class-ruled state and capitalist institutions. In glowing words he painted the culture, education, art and literature of Germany and declared that these were the heritage of the race—the property of the proletariat to come—and that to love and defend them from attack was no false patriotism, no treason to the workers. He declared that to disarm at the present time was only to place the most advanced nations at the mercy of the more backward ones, and that vic-

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tory for socialism by an unarmed nation would be but a signal for other still capitalist nations to descend upon and subject the socialist-ruled state.

He declared that capitalism was being crushed by its own military load and that such a great war between Germany and France as Hervé had foreseen was impossible, or if possible would mean the downfall of both governments.

With careful statistical analysis lit up by brilliant oratory he showed the crushing cost of modern militarism. He pointed out that a peace footing was straining every energy of Germany and France at the present time. To put their tremendous armies in action, he declared, would not leave sufficient workers in the shops and mines and farms and factories to maintain a capitalistically organized society. The millions of women and children left behind in the families of the soldiers would be suffering and no relief could be furnished by local governmental institutions robbed of every source of revenue by the central military establishment. "That would give you things far worse than a general strike," he said, turning toward Hervé. "It would be a nation in desperation." Nor could the armies themselves be long maintained. Marshalling once more an array of figures on the cost of mobilization he demonstrated that no source of revenue accessible could support such an expense for more than a few weeks and that the averages of such an army upon the financial institutions of its own country would be worse than the march of a hostile army across its territory. "Each army would have whipped its own country before it reached the frontier, and such a war would be not only the last of wars, but the last of capitalism," he exclaimed amid thunderous applause.

He then protested against laying down rules in advance, that could not possibly provide for the unknown exigencies of such a possible situation, and showed that to adopt the tactics of Hervéism would be fatal to the German Social Democracy.

For nearly three days the battle waged on in committee, and the capitalist press began to talk of a possible split on the Congress. Of course this was the veriest nonsense, as Hervé had not expected an endorsement of his views, but was only seeking to secure their consideration and discussion, while the well drilled German Social Democracy would as soon think of deserting International Socialist movement as of joining the German Clericals.

Finally a sub-committee was appointed to draft a resolution which should most nearly express the common sentiments. The result was, as is generally the case, a rather long somewhat indefinite and unsatisfactory product. As a matter of fact it leaves rather more to Hervéism than anyone in the Congress had expected in the beginning. It has no definite endorsement of the

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citizen army, although it is indirectly endorsed. It does not advise the general strike, insurrection, or desertion, but denounces militarism unreservedly, makes no concession to Bebel's "patriotism," or his necessity of armament, and leaves the methods to be pursued in case of war to the Socialist parties of the nations concerned.

As the resolution was adopted unanimously by the committee, it was decided to permit no discussion on the floor of the Congress and to move the previous question upon the presentation of the resolution. To this Hervé strenuously objected, and in a ten-minute speech nominally upon the question of adopting the closure of debate, gave another refreshing shock to the Congress. He declared that the Germans had been opposed to nearly everything in the resolution, and expressed a desire to have them explain their sudden conversion. He declared this would be an excellent opportunity for some of the foreign delegates to speak their minds openly without fear of police interference since it was the last day of the Congress and all the delegates were going home, and the worst the police could do would be to close the Congress summarily and order the delegates beyond the frontier of Germany, two things that would be already accomplished by the time the governmental machinery could be put in motion.

But while the delegates were moved to laughter and interest by his wit and brilliancy they decided to vote for the previous question, and the following resolution was accordingly unanimously adopted:

MILITARISM AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.

The Congress confirms the resolutions passed by the former International Congress against militarism and imperialism, and it again declares that the fight against militarism cannot be separated from the socialist struggle of classes as a whole.

Wars between capitalistic states are as a rule the consequence of their competition in the world's market, for every state is eager not only to preserve its markets, but also to conquer new ones, principally by the subjugation of foreign nations and the confiscation of their lands. These wars are further engendered by the unceasing and ever increasing armaments of militarism, which is one of the principal instruments for maintaining the predominance of the bourgeois classes and for subjugating the working classes politically as well as economically.

The breaking out of wars is further favoured by the national prejudices systematically cultivated in the interest of the reigning classes, in order to turn off the masses of the proletariat from the duties of their class and of international solidarity.

Wars are therefore essential to capitalism; they will not cease until the capitalistic system has been done away with, or until the sacrifices in men and money required by the technical development of the military system and the revolt against the armaments have become so great as to compel the nations to give up this system.

Especially the working classes from which the soldiers are chiefly

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recruited, and which have to bear the greater part of the financial burdens, are by nature opposed to war, because it is irreconcilable with their aim: the creation of a new economic system founded on a socialistic basis and realizing the solidarity of the nations.

The Congress therefore considers it to be the duty of the working classes, and especially of their parliamentary representatives, to fight with all their might against the military and naval armaments, not to grant any money for such purposes, pointing out at the same time the class character of bourgeois society and the real motives for keeping up the antagonisms, between nations, and further to imbue the young people of the working classes with the socialist spirit of universal brotherhood and with class consciousness.

The Congress considers that the democratic organization of national defence, by replacing the standing army, will prove an effective means for making aggressive wars impossible, and for overcoming national antagonisms.

The International cannot lay down rigid formulas for the action of the working classes against militarism, as this action must of necessity differ according to the time and conditions of the various national parties. But it is its duty to intensify and to co-ordinate as much as possible the efforts of the working classes against militarism and against war.

In fact, since the Brussels Congress, the proletariat in its untiring fight against militarism, by refusing to grant the expenses for military and naval armaments, by democratizing the army, has had recourse with increasing vigor and success to the most varied methods of action in order to prevent the breaking out of wars, or to end them, or to make use of the agitation of the social body caused by a war for the emancipation of the working classes: as for instance the understanding arrived at between the English and the French trade unions after the Fachoda crisis, which served to assure peace and to reestablish friendly relations between England and France; the action of the socialist parties in the German and French parliaments during the Marocco crisis: the public demonstrations organized for the same purpose by the French and German socialists; the common action of the Austrian and Italian socialists who met at Trieste in order to ward off a conflict between the two states; further the vigorous intervention of the socialist workers of Sweden in order to prevent an attack against Norway; and lastly, the heroic sacrifices and fights of the masses of socialist workers and peasants of Russia and Poland rising against the war provoked by the government of the Czar, in order to put an end to it and to make use of the crisis for the emancipation of their country and of the working classes. All these efforts show the growing power of the proletariat and its increasing desire to maintain peace by its energetic intervention.

The action of the working classes will be the more successful, the more the mind of the people has been prepared by an unceasing propaganda, and the more the Labor parties of the different countries have been stimulatd and drawn together by the International.

The Congress further expresses its conviction that under the pressure exerted by the proletariat the practice of honest arbitration in all disputes will take the place of the futile attempts of the bourgeois governments, and that in this way the people will be assured the benefit of universal disarmament which will allow the enormous resources of energy and money wasted, by armaments and by wars, to be applied to the progress of civilization.

In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be

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bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturaly vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

In case war should break out, notwithstanding, they shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilizing the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downbreak of the predominance of the capitalist class.

TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIALISM.

Perhaps the second most important question before the Congress, and the one of greatest interest to the United States, was the one on the relations between Trade Unions and Socialist Parties. This committee also found considerable difficulty in arriving at an agreement. Three separate points of view were presented: (a) The French, strongly tinged with syndicalism and suggesting the general strike and direct action and almost complete independence of the unions, and no direct connection between the unions and political parties; (b) the Belgian, advocating almost complete amalgamation of the two forms of working class activity, and (c) what might be called the German and Austrian view calling for co-operation with a large amount of autonomy.

On the whole, it was the latter view which prevailed, although the resolution presented by the German and Austrian delegates was very much modified before its final presentation and adoption by the Congress.

To this committee the Germans sent Kautsky and Legien; the Belgians, Ansele and Broukere; France, Renaudel, and others the men who have helped to make the history of labor in their various countries.

Here it was that De Leon made almost his only appearance in the Congress and presented a resolution filled with references to the A. F. of L., "Labor Lieutenants," the Civic Federation, and other matters having only the most local reference and utterly meaningless in an International Congress. He presented a minority report and addressed the Congress in a soap-box speech on the evils of the Socialist Party and filled with more personalities and personal allusions which served only to mystify the Congress in so far as they listened to him at all. It so happened that some of the French syndicalists were opposed to a portion of the minority resolution, so that some 19 votes were cast against it. Some of the S. L. P. delegation were claiming these as votes *for* their resolution. But a hasty inquiry among these delegates revealed the fact that none of them were in the least interested in the S. L. P. resolution and had no idea of voting for it. Of course De Leon's resolution never came to a vote, so it is impossible to say how many were of his way of

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thinking; but three votes in addition to his own delegation would be a reasonable estimate.

The resolution itself is so lengthy as to be self-explanatory and is given herewith:

RESOLUTION ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIALIST PARTIES.

I.

To enfranchise the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political and economic serfdom, the political and economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the Socialist Party is exercised more especially in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The Unions and the Party have therefore an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action. But there is an ever widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the classes in which they can only reap advantages by concerted action and by cooperation between the Party and Trade Unions.

As a consequence the proletarian struggle will be carried on more successfully and with more important results if the relations between the Unions and the Party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the Trade Unions.

The Congress declares that it is to the interest of the working class in every country that close and permanent relations should be established between the Unions and the Party.

It is the duty of the Party and of the Trade Unions to render moral support the one to the other and to make use only of those means which may help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organizations as to the suitableness of certain tactics, they should arrive at an agreement by discussion.

The Unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thoroughly Socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the Party to help the Unions in their work of raising the workers and of ameliorating their social conditions. In its parliamentary action the Party must vigorously support the demands of the Unions.

The Congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing alliances of employers, the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeous society would reduce Trade Unions to impotency if, concerning themselves about nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between Labor and Capital.

The Congress is of the opinion that the Unions will be able more successfully to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organization is more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, and as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and conditions and are inspired by the socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion.

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II.

The Congress invites all the Trade Unions that accept the conditions laid down by the Brussels Conference of 1899, and ratified by the Paris Congress of 1900, to be represented at the International Congress and to maintain relations with the International Socialist Bureau. It charges the latter to enter into relations with the International Secretariat of Trade Unions at Berlin so as to exchange information respecting working-class organization and the workers movement.

III.

The Congress directs the International Bureau to collect all documents which may facilitate the study of the relations between trade organizations and the socialist parties in all countries and to present a report on the subject to the next Congress.

IMMIGRATION.

The immigration question was another in which the United States is most deeply interested—much more so, in fact, than any other single country, and well nigh as much as all other countries combined. Yet on the whole the resolution was formulated by other countries which really have no immigration problem and who approached it almost wholly from a doctrinaire point of view.

The Congress was decidedly opposed to all restrictions of immigration based upon racial or national distinctions, and favored restrictions only for contract labor and professional strikebreakers. The resolution as finally formulated was unanimously adopted and provides for a positive program of action toward immigration and emigration rather than any negative prohibitive or restrictive features.

The resolution as adopted follows:

The Congress declares:

Immigration and Emigration of workingmen are phenomena as inseparable from the substance of capitalism as unemployment, overproduction and underconsumption of the workingmen, they are frequently one of the means to reduce the share of the workingmen in the product of labor and at times they assume abnormal dimensions through political religious and national persecutions.

The Congress does not consider exceptional measures of any kind, economic or political, the means for removing any danger which may arise to the working class from immigration and emigration since such measures are fruitless and reactionary; especially not the restriction of the freedom of migration and the exclusion of foreign nations and races.

At the same time the Congress declares it to be the duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life which frequently results from the massimport of unorganized workingmen. The Congress declares it to be their duty to prevent the import and export of strikebreakers.

The Congress recognizes the difficulties which in many cases confront the workingmen of the countries of a more advanced stage of capitalist development through the mass immigration of unorganized workingmen accustomed to a lower standard of life and coming from countries of prevalently agricultural and domestic civilization, and also the dangers which confront them certain forms of immgration.

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But the Congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite nations or races from immigration, a policy which is besides in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity.

The Congress, therefore, recommends the following measures:

I. For the countries of Immigration:

1. Prohibition of the export and import of such workingmen who have entered into a contract which deprive them of the liberty to dispose of their labor power and wages.

2. Legislation shortening the workday, fixing a minimal wage, regulating the sweating system and house industry and providing for strict supervision of sanitary and dwelling conditions.

3. Abolition of all restrictions which exclude definite nationalities or races from the right of sojourn in the country and from the political and economic rights of the natives or make the acquisition of these rights more difficult for them. It also demands the greatest latitude in the laws of naturalization.

4. For the trade unions of all countries the following principles shall have universal application in connection with it:

a. Unrestricted admission of immigrated workingmen to the trade unions of all countries.

b. Facilitating the admission of members by means of fixing reasonable admission fees.

c. Free transfer from the organizations of one country to those of the other upon the discharge of the membership obligations towards the former organization.

d. The making of international trade union agreements for the purpose of regulating these question in a definite and proper manner and enabling the realization of these principles on an international scope.

5. Support of the trade unions of those countries from which the immigration is chiefly recruited.

II. For the country of Emigration:

1. Active propaganda for trade unionism.

2. Enlightenment of the workingmen and the public at large on the true conditions of labor in the countries of immigration.

3. Concerted action on the part of the trade unions of all countries in all matters of labor immigration and emigration.

In view of the fact that emigration of workingmen is often artificially stimulated by railway- and steamship companies, land-speculators and other swindling concerns through false and lying promises to workingmen, the congress demands:

Control of the steamship agencies and emigration bureaus and legal and administrative measures against them in order to prevent that emigration be abused in the interests of such capitalist concerns.

III. Regulation of the system of transportation, especially on ships. Employment of inspectors with discretionary power who should be selected by the organized workingmen of the countries of emigration and immigration. Protection for the newly arrived immigrants, in order that they may not become the victims of capitalist exploiters.

In view of the fact that the transport of emigrants can only be regulated on international basis, the congress directs the International Socialist Bureau to prepare suggestions for the regulation of this question, which shall deal with the conditions, arrangements and supplies of the ships, the air space to be allowed for each passenger as a minimum, and shall lay special stress, that the individual emigrants contract for their passage directly with the transportation companies and without intervention of middlemen. These suggestions shall be

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communicated to the various socialist parties for the purpose of legislative application, and adaptation as well as for the purposes of propaganda.

The colonial question was the only one on which the actual struggle took place on the floor of the Congress. All the others were settled in the committees, and the reports of the committees were adopted after a short or no discussion. This did not mean that the Congress accepted the work of the committees without knowledge or criticism, but the work of the committees was closely followed by all the delegates, and frequent national gatherings gave an opportunity for those interested to affect the work of the committees.

But the colonial committee could not agree and presented a majority and minority report. The majority, largely under the influence of Van Koll of Holland, presented a resolution which was taken as at least a condemnation of capitalist colonization, and which spoke of a possible socialist colonial policy, which might "become a work of civilization." This aroused strong opposition from many points and a minority resolution from Ledebour, one of the most able and revolutionary members of the German Reichstag, and other members of the committee, was presented. A somewhat heated discussion followed, in which Kautsky, Ledebour and others opposed Van Kol's resolution, which was supported by Vollman, Bracke and others.

The result of the vote, which was one of the very few roll-calls of the Congress, showed that Van Kol had been defeated and that the Socialist movement was unalterably opposed to all colonization. On this point the entire United States delegation voted as a unit with the majority of the Congress.

The other question before the Congress was on Woman Suffrage. Here the only difference of view was presented by some of the English delegates, who wished to defend a limited woman suffrage bill which is now before Parliament and which gives the right to vote to rate payers under the same conditions that the ballot is now granted to men. Against this position the Congress set its face with the greatest firmness and denounced all bourgeois woman's suffrage movements in no uncertain terms. It was the universal testimony of all the speakers that in every nation as soon as the proletariat began to show signs of class consciousness the middle class woman' movement showed a hostility to granting the suffrage to the working woman.

The report of the committee was presented by Clara Zetkin, and the appearance of this veteran of the Socialist movement was greeted with resounding cheers. She pointed out the industrial evolution that had taken woman from the home and placed her in the factory, compelling her to become a part of the wage-working proletariat. This had created a class struggle between

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possessing and non-possessing women that broke across sex lines. As this class struggle grows sharper and takes on various forms there comes ever greater and greater need for the co-operation of the proletarian women on the political field. "We do not look upon a limited woman suffrage," she declared, "as the first step in the emancipation of woman, but as the last step in the emancipation of property. It will not free the great majority of propertyless women. It will only cause the propertied few who are enfranchised to lose all interest in the struggle for universal suffrage, while it will strengthen the forces of reaction."

After some further discussion the following resolution was carried with but one dissenting vote:

RESOLUTION ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

The International Socialist Congress resolves as follows:

The congress greets with the utmost pleasure the first International Socialist Women's Conference, and expresses its entire solidarity with the demands concerning Woman's Suffrage, put forward by it. The congress, in particular, declares:

It is the duty of Socialist Parties of all countries to agitate most energetically for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage.

The Socialist Party repudiates limited Woman's Suffrage as an adulteration of, and a caricature upon the principle of political equality of the female sex. It fights for the sole living concrete expression of this principle, namely, Universal Womanhood Suffrage, which should belong to all women of age and not be conditioned by property, taxation, education, or any other qualification which would exclude members of the laboring classes from the enjoyment of this right. The Socialist Women shall not carry on this struggle for complete equality of right of vote in alliance with the middle class women suffragists, but in common with the Socialists Parties, which insist upon Woman Suffrage as one of the fundamental and most important reforms for the full democratization of political franchise in general.

It is the duty of the Socialist Parties of all countries to agitate strenuously for the introduction of Universal Womanhood Suffrage. Hence, the agitation for the democratization of the franchise to the legislative and administrative bodies, both national and local, must also embrace Woman's Suffrage and must insist upon it, whether it be carried on in Parliament or elsewhere. In those countries where the democratization of manhood suffrage has already gone sufficiently far or is completely realized, the Socialist Parties must raise a campaign in favor of Universal Womanhood Suffrage and in connection with it put, of course, forward all those demands which we have yet to realize in the interest of the full civil rights of the male portion of the proletariat.

Although the international Socialist Congress cannot dictate to any country a particular time at which a Suffrage campaign should be commenced, it nevertheless declares that when such a campaign is instituted in any country, it should proceed on the general Social Democratic lines of Universal Adult Suffrage without distinction and nothing less.

The regular order of business having been finished, a number of miscellaneous resolutions were adopted of a more or less formal character and without debate. These included resolutions

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of sympathy with the Roumanian and Russian revolutionists, and, what is of especial interest to American readers, of congratulation to William D. Haywood on his fight and victory. The trial of the Western miners is something which the European socialists have followed with the closest interest and which they rightly believe to be an epoch-marking event in American working class history.

A. M. SIMONS.

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First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

I have been impressed this year abroad with nothing so much as the influence of Socialism in the various parliaments. I had thought before coming abroad that that conspiracy of silence, which is used with such effect against us in America, was also general throughout Europe. But I have seen that no matter how much the press may wish to ignore Socialism it is forced by the trend of events to give it the most conspicuous place in its columns. Even the most reactionary journals dare not ignore the progress of the movement. It matters not what journal one may pick up in Paris, in Berlin, in London or in Rome, one is sure to find the latest news of the Socialist movement in the various countries of Europe. One reads of the latest action of the Labor Party in England, the last manifesto of the Social-Democrats of Russia, some extracts from a speech of Bebel or Jaurès. Whenever there is an election in one of the countries, columns of the press are filled with the subject and with speculations as to the effect of the election upon the Socialist movement. Indeed so much is written that it is quite impossible, if one wishes to do anything else, to read all of the news concerning the movement.

In France and Italy one can say, quite without reserve, that Socialism occupies the foremost place in the thought of the entire community. Its influence is out of all proportion to its actual strength. The fear of socialism on the part of the upper classes in these countries is almost a mania. Even in talking with well-to-do men one frequently hears it said that socialism is inevitable and among the masses it arouses the most extraordinary enthusiasm. As the movement is usually badly organized in these countries and as the mass of its adherents rarely read socialist books or pamphlets, it is difficult at first to account for its extraordinary influence. But one sees that the real basis of the fear of the capitalist class lies in the revolutionary tradition of the Latin peoples. There is hardly a capitalist in Italy or in France who does not fear that the slightest change in events may bring the Socialists into power.

But while Socialism exercises a more dramatic effect among the Latin peoples it is really in Germany that it wields its most powerful influence. Nothing is more unjust than to picture the Social Democrats as a ponderous mass, inert and aimless. To demonstrate the enormous influence of Socialism in Germany, it would be necessary to write the history of the political

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life of the last forty years. If Germany occupies the first place in the world in social reforms, it is due solely to the power and influence of the working class movement. Any one seeing superficially the Germany of to-day with its model institutions for social welfare and for the protection of labor might feel, if he were not a socialist, that the social problem is largely solved. Municipal and national ownership of public utilities exists to such an extent that little remains to be done in this field. The Governmental Compulsory Insurance has reached out until now its benefits are felt in every working man's home. The vast slums which existed in Germany twenty years ago have been destroyed and new ones will never be permitted to grow up. Parks, gardens, open spaces, and clean streets are as plentiful among the poor as among the rich. Tuberculosis, that disease of poverty resulting from insanitary homes and workshops, will very likely be as rare in Germany thirty years from now as Cholera or Smallpox are at the present time. In other words Germany has become almost a model country where everything is done for the working classes except the abolition of their industry! dependence. This is certainly a most extraordinary achivement and I do not exaggerate when I claim that it is due entirely to the growth and development of the Socialist party.

It must be remembered that the parliamentary influence of socialism is older in Germany by far than in any other country. In 1867 there were eight representatives of the working class in the Reichstag. In 1884 there were twenty four representatives. One may not realize the age of the German party unless one considers that France did not begin to exercise a parliamentary influence until 1887, that the Belgian movement obtained some seats only in 1894 and that Holland gained its first representation as late as 1897. The beginning in England was really made only two years ago and in America we have not yet commenced. Over thirty years ago the German capitalists began to fear the rising tide of socialism. Prince Bismark told the Reichstag in 1878 "I will further every endeavour which positively aims at improving the condition of the working classes ..... As soon as a positive proposal comes from the socialists for fashioning the future in a sensible way, in order that the lot of the working man might be improved, I would not even at any rate refuse to examine it favorably and I would not even shrink from the idea of State help for those who would help themselves."

This quotation shows the influence of the Social-Democratic party in the very beginning of German social reform. With this statement of Bismark came a proposal for the Compulsory Insurance of the working class. In 1884 Bismark proclaimed the doctrine of the "right to work". He said on that occasion "Give the working man the right to work as long as he is healthy, assure

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him care when he is sick; assure him maintenance when he is old; if you do that, and do not fear the sacrifice, or cry out State Socialist, directly the words 'provision for old age' are uttered, — if the State will show a little more Christian solicitude for the working men, then I believe that the gentlemen of the Wyden (Social Democratic) program will sound their birdcall in vain, and that the thronging to them will cease as soon as workingmen see that the Government Legislative bodies are earnestly concerned for their welfare."

Referring to Bismark's political manoeuvring Bebel said in the Reichstag at that time "I will frankly tell you something. If anything has furthered the Social-Democratic agitation and the Social-Democratic tendency, it is the fact that Prince Bismark has to a certain extent declared for socialism and social reform; only we are in this case the master, and he is the scholar. People are saying everywhere: when to-day Prince Bismark with his great authority comes forward and not only acknowledges the existent of a social question — which was a few years ago emphatically denied by the ruling parties — but declares for socialism, and regards it as his duty to introduce measures on the subject, then it may well be concluded that Social-Democracy is at bottom right."

At this time the German Social Democracy had two wonderfully able parliamentary leaders. Liebknecht was of course the older and ablest. He was a man of exceptional education and had from his youth fought in the revolutionary movement of Germany. Bebel on the contrary was a workingman. He was a master turner, and his education is almost entirely the result of his own efforts. He is an incomparable agitator, and many years in prison have given him ample time for study. But in the early days of Bebel's parliamentary career his unpolished language and his occasional grammatical errors were invariably hooted at by his opponents. To face the scorn and ridicule of the representatives of the educated classes demanded that bravery and fearlessness, which are characteristic of Bebel. That crude, rough, working man of forty years ago is to day one of the best debaters and orators in Europe. Certainly no one will deny that Bebel is the ablest parliamentarian in Germany. He is now one of the oldest and most experienced men in the Reichstag. One of his most fortunate gifts is an extraordinary memory and few men in the Empire know better than he the details of its history. When he debates he is always followed with interest not only by those in the Reichstag but by all Germany. Despite the fact that he represents at present a small minority no one exercises a personal influence equal to his. When he arises in debate a thrill of excitement passes through the Chamber and everyone moves forward to follow every word.

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It would be impossible in a short paper to treat in detail of the great debates that have occured in the Reichstag between the socialists and their opponents. It would be even more impossible to show fully the influence of the socialist movement upon the old parties, and the way in which legislation for the benefit of the working class has been forced upon them by the Social-Democratic Party. As I have said the German movement is the oldest and therefore it has more to its credit; but the influence of the Socialists in Parliament is quite as clearly seen in other countries. In my article upon the British Labor Party I have told of the remarkable power exercised by that party during the last two years. The gain for labor is considerable even in this short time. During a debate on the unemployed the lack of all real consideration on the part of the Liberals and the Tories led Hardie to call out to his opponents, "You well-fed beasts." The mere phrase in connection with the subject under discussion had a dramatic and powerful effect, significant in itself of the class struggle.

On anoter occasion, when a bill was before the House for the feeding of school children, the superior gentlemen of the old parties said over and over again that children were hungry not so much because of poverty as because their mothers did not know how to cook or preferred gossiping and drinking in the saloons to their household duties. After some time of this sort of discussion Hardie arose and said that it was embarrassing for the Labor members to sit quietly in their seats while hearing their wives described as slatterns. One can imagine the electric effect of this quiet remark of Hardie. Another striking instance of the effect of Labor representatives are words of Will Crooks in answer to the Liberals and Tories who said that the unemployed were mostly lazy, lounging vagabonds who did not want work. With fire in his eyes Will Crooks retorted that he had observed numerous worthless vagrants about Rotten Row, (a fashionable English promenade) but he said "they were dressed in top hats and spats.' These are of course the merest incidents of the debates, but they show that the working class in England begins to have some defenders.

It is unnecessary for me to repeat here what I have said in a previous paper about the influence of the Belgian Labor party in Parliament. Probably no man exercises a more irritating effect upon capitalist politicians than Edouard Anseele. At the same time Vandervelde has for years taken part in all the great debates in the Belgian Chamber. His energy is extraordinary and his record in at least one debate — that concerning the Congo — will give him a place in the history of his country among its foremost men. An even greater influence is exercised by Victor Adler in Austria, while Ferri in Italy has at times

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wielded a greater power than any other Socialist in Europe. About ten years ago his exposure of fraud and corruption among the officials of the Government, his passionate statements of the demands of the woking class and his bitter denunciation of the crimes of the capitalist class threw all Italy into a state of intense revolutionary feeling. Passionate in debate, careless of consequences to himself, he has again and again routed the whole of the opposition.

But of all countries France seems the most fortunate. Both Guèsde and Jaurès are skilled parliamentarians. Unfortunately Guèsde was forced last winter because of ill health to be away from Paris so that I did not see him at work in the Chamber. I was fortunate enough however to hear Jaurès many times and it would be difficult to imagine a person who possessed in a larger degree the necessary qualities of a parliamentary leader. Jaurès is not a small man among small men, he is a big man among big men. I mean by that, that the French Chamber contains more brilliant orators and debaters than any other parliament in the world. First and foremost among them is Clémenceau. He has a remarkable attraction for the French people. He is radical and fearless. He is personally disinterested. He has always fought the popular fights. No one is better informed than he upon the traditions of the French people or more sympathetic with their aspirations. He has led them again and again on their never ceasing quest in search of their holy grail of liberty. He has destroyed government after government. His record in the Dreyfus affair was brilliant and not to be forgotten. He is a man of education and cultivation; of skilful phrase and powerful epigram. His burning satire is his best weapon and his worst enemy and he uses it quite as often against his own courtiers as against his enemies. He seems given to cynicism. In other words he is the kind of a man that a genial, golden-hearted idealist like Jaurès might well fear. But again and again these two extraordinary men, as different the one from the other as the poles of the universe, cross swords in battle. Debate after debate takes place between them and last winter I sat day after day in the Chamber watching the battles of these two parliamentary giants.

I once heard Jaurès speaking to an audience of perhaps 7000 people. In that great hall he seemed a different man from the one I knew in the Chamber. His voice had the power of a great organ, with endless changes of tone and expression, with modulations without limit and with a sustained emphasis and climax that seemed to me as extraordinary as anything I had ever heard. His finished oration has the roundness and perfection of a poem. On another occasion I heard him speaking to the men of the street. His power in this instance was of quite a different cha-

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racter. He became a mob orator equal to John Burns in his best days. The power he exercised over his audience was such that if he had desired to lead this small group of men to storm the streets of Paris, I think not one would have failed to follow him.

In the Chamber Jaurès is a different man. He is clever and adroit. For years he has been in the very midst of every important parliamentary crisis. He knows the secret of parliamentary influence and he uses his knowledge of parliamentary tactics and his skill as a debater in a manner that attracts and fascinates the whole of Paris. When it is known that Jaurès will speak, the galleries are crowded and hundreds and sometimes thousands will beg for admittance. During the few last years he has fought in every fight that has arisen in the Chamber. His interpellations have covered a wide range of subjects and in every case he has demonstrated to the public the desire of the Socialists to support the Radical Ministry in all the reforms that it can be induced to carry through. At the same time with extraordinary skill he has put forward the difference between the Radical and the Socialist program.

It is hardly too much to say that Jaurès has done as much as any man in France during the last few years to lead the French people from the Kindergarten through the University of Politics. The French are convinced now that the Royalists, the Bonapartists, the Liberals and the Nationalists are their enemies, but they still feel that the Republicans, the advanced section of the Capitalist parties, and especially those which call themselves Radical Socialists wish to bring relief to the nation and to carry out certain fundamental reforms. The last elections placed the Radicals in control of the Government by an enormous majority. The present government is the most radical that France has known. I was in Paris at the time it was formed and its first utterances were so much of a Socialistic nature that it seemed as if the Socialist Party itself could not have done more.

It declared for the separation of the church and the state; for the suppression of martial law; for the abolition of the dangers of the white-lead industry; for the nationalisation of the Western Railway; for the strict enforcement of the law providing one days rest in each week, and finally for old age pensions and a graduated income tax. Besides the program, Clémenceau invited three Socialists to take positions in the Cabinet. Millerand refused an important post, but Briand and Viviani both accepted responsible positions. It wuld be difficult to convey an idea of the immense popular enthusiasm that reigned in Paris at the announcement of the program and the composition of the new Ministry. The situation seemed critical for the Socialist Party, for, if the program were carried out and if the Ministry were fearless and uncomprmising in their support of the work-

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ing classes, the Socialist Party might have been forced into a position where it would be impossible for the people to distinguish between its immediate work and that of the Radicals.

It would be difficult to imagine how any party could have met the situation better than the Socialist Party. Without expressing confidence in the Ministry it definitely held that it would support all reforms of a truly fundamental character. In the Chamber it has pursued a most skilful course. The Socialist group has forced the fighting. The Ministry has been prodded and goaded. Its program, which now it almost wishes to forget, is placed before its eyes and before those of the country on every possible occasion by the Socialists. The Socialists want to keep the Radical Ministry in power. On one or two occasions it would have fallen if it had not been for Socialist support and assistance. The French Socialists see that nothing is so important at the present moment as to prove to the French people that the Radicals will not carry out a program of fundamental reform. It is necessary to keep them for a considerable period in a position of responsibility so that they may be tested in the most thorough and definite manner.

So long as Radicals are always in the opposition (as for instance Hearst and Bryan are with us) they appear almost as revolutionary as the Socialists themselves. But now that the French Socialists are fortunate enough to have them in power it only remains to demonstrate the impossibility of their accomplishing any important reform. In other words the French people are being conducted through the last stage of their illusions. When it is once proved that the Radicals will not carry out its wishes, the people will turn to the Socialists. Even now the French party is beginning to expose the barren record of Radicalism. *Le Socialiste* in its last number has asked: "Where are we now?"

The suppression of Martial Law? Multilated! The Law about White Lead? Stillborn! The nationalisation of the Western Railways? In danger! The Law about Sunday closing? Nerveless and weak! Old age pensions? Adjourned! Graduated Income Tax? Proposed! But so absorbed are the Radicals in fighting the working men that they can not spare the time or effort to transform the proposition into an act."

If the Radicals can be kept in power for a few months more and if they fail, as they have failed up to the present, in carrying out a single one of their economic reforms, it seems as if the Socialist Party will be the only one that can hope to win the adherence of an actual majority of the French people. The situation in France, from the point of view of the parliamentary power of Socialism, is at the present moment the most dramatic in Europe.

What I have been saying may give my readers an exaggerated idea of the actual numerical power of the Socialist

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movement in Europe. As a matter of fact the Socialist parties are in a great minority in all parliaments; but with the exception of Spain and Switzerland, every European parliament has now a group representing the working class. At the moment I am writing our Austrian comrades are gaining victory after victory, and at one stroke they have taken the second position in parliamentary representations. The following table shows the present power of the Socialist representation in the European parliaments:

Russia	132	Italy	24
Austria	84	Sweden	14
Finland	79	Norway	10
France	52	Holland	7
Germany	43	Luxemburg	7
Belgium	32	Bulgaria	6
England	30	Switzerland	2
Denmark	24	Servia	1

In Belgium the Labour Party has also 7 representatives in the Senate, and little Denmark has 4 socialist Senators.

What is true of the national parliaments is also true of the Municipal Councils. In a few cities the Socialists are in control and almost everywhere in Europe there is a strong minority representation. But when one considers that nearly all the parliaments of Europe have as many representatives as our Congress it will be seen that the Socialist representation is up to the present very small. For this reason it is all the more astonishing that the Socialist movement should create such widespread interest and be considered; as I can say without the slightest exaggeration, the most important political movement in Europe.

It is generally thought in America that a third party is powerless to accomplish anything of consequence. In the big way that we Americans have, we feel that anything short of capturing the entire Government is unimportant. This theory is perhaps the most difficult that Socialists have to meet. It has been the cause of the destruction of almost every popular movement that has arisen in America. In our own time we know that the Henry George movement and the Populist movement were so destroyed. Hearst's Independence League was destroyed at the moment it compromised in the State of New York with the Democratic Party. In all these instances the independent movement grew in power. As soon as it began to exercise a really important influence one of the old parties adopted its program with the result in every case of destroying the independent movement. But unfortunately we Americans have learned no lessons and therefore we have not been wise enough to see that an independent movement which could compel one of the old parties to take its program, might continue to exercise a similar power in

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other directions. But at the very first victory the independent reform movements have been taken into camp and destroyed. In every country of Europe similar tactics have been pursued for the purpose of destroying the Socialist movement but as I have shown in the case of Germany and in the case of France, the tactic has utterly failed. The Socialist movement has forced the old parties to adopt nearly all of its immediate demands but it has nevertheless remained independent and as a result the power it exercises, even when in a small minority, is almost equal to that of the older parties.

I can illustrate what I mean by a conversation that I had last winter with the secretary of the Minister of Labor of France. I told him that I wanted to study the influence of socialism upon legislation. "The Socialists have had no influence whatever" he immediately declared. "But," I asked, "how can that be? Surely the laws for reforming present industrial conditions are a result of the socialist movement." "No" he maintained, 'that is not true. Let us take the laws passed in the last ten years. For instance, this law was introduced by Mr. so and so, a Royalist, and this law was introduced by a Nationalist, and this law," he continued pointing to another, "was introduced by a Progressist, and this law," pointing to still another, "was introduced by Millerand. You see", he said, "the socialists have had no influence upon labor legislation." "But surely you will grant", I said, "there are two necessary causes of tuberculosis. The first and most important is a state of health. Unless a person is in a certain physical condition tuberculosis makes no headway. Then there is a second cause which is the tubercula bacilla which introduces the disease into a physical state suitable for its acceptance. To my mind it is much the same way with legislation. The socialist movement produces a political condition which makes labor legislation, to say the least advisable and Millerand and similar men are merely bacilli. Is it not a fact that the restlessness of the proletariat and its dissatisfaction with the monstrous conditions of our present day life, are forcing the capitalists to become the bacilli of their own destruction?"

But I need not dwell on the point. The game is clear to every one. The capitalist parties first take over the program. If that fails to destroy the independent movement they then introduce a few laws, so that they can come to the people with the question; who is responsible for this legislation for the benefit of the working class? They then proceed to demonstrate that it is Mr. so and so, the Progressist, and Mr. so and so, the Royalist, and Mr. so and so the Radical. In this way they try to prove to the workers how generous the capitalist class is in its measures for the benefit of the workers. There is no question but that this often has an effect chiefly because the socialists, being in the minority,

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can very rarely pass measures upon their own initiative. The power of the Socialist movement lies in the fact that it is really independent and that it works for the destruction and not for the permeation of the old political parties.

Let us contrast for a moment this political policy with that pursued by the American Trade Unions. It is almost incomprehensible how men who have learned so well the lesson of their industrial battles should find it so difficult to see the value of the same tactic in their political struggles. The Trade Unions do not elect as their secretary some clever lawyer or one of their more benevolent appearing bosses and yet this is what they invariably do in politics. As a result let us compare what the Unions have gained in America and what their brothers have gained in Europe. Take Germany for instance. The Imperial Government Insurance distributes each year to the working classses about a hundred million dollars to assist them in making provision against accident, old age, invalidity or death. With us this entire burden rests upon the Unions. Every possible provision is made against dangerous machines and insanitary workshops. A legal working day has been established in almost every country and in England during the last year picketing has been legalized. All of these gains have been made by labor in "the old country" where Industrial conditions have been at their worst. If a like political movement existed in America there is almost no limit to the benefits which might be obtained for Labor. Yet we all know that during the last ten years Labor has lost almost every legal battle, and instead of getting advanced legislation they find themselves at an even greater disadvantage in their industrial struggle.

It is unnecessary to continue the comparison which after all is not strictly in keeping with my subject. Besides it would be absurd to think that the Trade Unionists of America will not soon see the importance of indepedent political action. So far as the political movement of the working class in Europe is concerned it is safe to say that its leaders rank in ability with the ablest of its opponents. The number of socialist adherents is growing year by year. The little minorities in each parliament slowly but surely increase both in number and in power. As a result Europe is beginning to wonder, if the day is not near when the Socialists will be called to the power of Government.

The most beautiful thing in the whole movement is its solidarity and to the governing class that is the most fearful thing. The capitalists begin to appreciate that somehow, and they can not understand how, this new movement seems to represent the aspiration of the masses. They see it take hold of the working people. They see, no matter how dimly, that it has the significance of a new religion. It passes from man to man in the shop, it unites in bonds of brotherhood the men in the field, in the shops,

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and in the mines. The capitalist class begins to realize that as soon as the masses comprehend socialist ideas, it loses the power to attract or to retain their adherence. The power of its political leaders, of its press, of its conception of life and social order seems no longer to wield an influence. The morals of yesterday are the barbarisms of to-day. Their power over the people wanes, so that now we see the day not far distant when the leaders of the politics of Capitalism will be generals without an army.

ROBERT HUNTER.

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The Russian Revolution.

IV.

THE ELECTIONS.

The immediate results of the suppression of the proletarian uprising of December was to transfer the center of political interest from the workingmen to the middle class. Thought centered on the Election and the Revolutionists sank into relative insignificance beside the Liberals and Radicals.

Out of the numerous political parties which had been announced during the Days of Freedom only a few kept the field and principal among these were "The Party of October 17th" and "The Constitutional Democratic Party".

The Octobrists, as the members of the first party were called, expressed their absolute loyalty to the Tsar and, for a program, restated the reforms, which had been promised in The October Manifesto. They maintained that the Tsar had been sincere in his desire to regenerate the Empire, but that his benificent intentions had been thwarted by the Revolutionary agitation among the masses. They wished to aid the Tsar to realize his "liberal" policy. Their force was drawn from the officials, prosperous nobles and big landlords.

The Constitutional Democrats—nicknamed the Cadets—require a closer analysis as they later dominated the Duma. They were never a homogeneous party with clearly defined ideals. They stood for opposition to the Government by Constitutional and parliamentary means as distinguished from Revolutionary action. And they numbered among themselves all grades of The Opposition between the loyal Octobrists and the Socialists. But from all their various and often conflicting elements, two main streams can be disentangled—the land poor gentry and the professional men.

Scattered all over the Empire there were thousands of landlords on the verge of bankruptcy. The fiscal policy of the government in the last quarter of a centur yhas been increasingly hostile to agriculture. An dthe peasant disorders—more threatening every year— have done much to decrease the income of the landlords. The Cadets proposed to expropriate all land and divide it among the peasants. Church and State domains were to be confiscated and the private estates bought by the Government. This was very attractive to those landlords who wished to sell out but could find no private buyers, and almost all of those Liberals, who had been

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prominent in the Opposition of the Zemstvos Councils, joined the Cadets.

But the preponderating influence in the Constitutional Democratic Party came from the professional men. They wanted a progressive and prosperous country; it mattered little to them whether it was a Republic or a Constitutional Monarchy. The Technical professions wanted a government strong enough to develop the immense reserves of national resources. The Liberal nation rich enough to support them. These men—whom I have professions—lawyers , doctors, teachers, journalists—wanted a called Radicals—had little interest for, or against, the economic propositions of Socialism. They were not hostile to any demands made by the workmen or peasants which would increase the common-wealth, but their main interest was Political Reform.

Being more fitted for public utterance, on the platform or in the press, they dominated the conventions of their party and gave it a more radical tone than its membership warranted. They were, however, inveterate compromisers—opportunists to the extreme. In order to win the support of the Mohamedan voters they struck woman suffrage from their program. In order to conciliate the Government they relegated the Republic to the dim future and contented themselves with a demand for a Constitutional Monarchy.

Besides these two main parties there were a host of lesser ones. "The Polish National Party" carried great weight in its district. "The Party of Law and Order" and "The Merchants' Party" were of general organization but of no great importance. The first, supported by the Capitalists, wanted a government strong enough to put down the labor movement as effectively as the United States handled the Pullman and, more recently; the Colorado strikes. The Merchants also wanted Law and Order so that their shops might keep open.

The Socialists were of little weight in the campaign. They had decreed a "boycott" on the Elections. They did not nominate candidates. And their only activity was obstructive.

There was only one issue before the Nation, should their support go to The Government or to The Opposition. At last the statement, so often made, that the Revolution was the work of a few malcontents and that the vast body of the people were loyal would be tested by fact. It was the first general election in Russia, and the people had too litttle political experience to interest themselves in the minor parts of the various programs. The candidates made their appeal directly on this issue. And they stood before the voters on the sharply drawn line of opposing or supporting the old regime. The result of the election would be either a vote of confidence in or condemnation of the Government.

The Cadets were the most active party during the campaign.

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Even while the workmen were dying on the December barricades, the Cadets were holding Committee meetings. Wherever and as often as the police allowed they held public meetings. Their efforts were centered on the intelligent middle classes. And it was here that they won most of their support. They made some efforts to reach the workmen or peasants, but with little success. Lacking in political experience the Cadets did not understand popular agitation. Their speakers were learned professors or scholarly journalists who failed to reach their hearers. Those of the common people who understood the long words they used or the intricate subjjects they discussed, owed their education to the Socialist agitators and were sure to be disgusted by half-way opportunist measures, which the Cadets urged.

The Octobrists and other parties published manifestos and posted up placards asking for votes; but did little more. The Socialist through their illegal press and secret meetings were active in their propaganda of obstruction.

Early in March the Government began to worry about the results. If they were to win at the polls, it was evidently necessary for them to do something. They organized "The League of Real Russian Men".

In almost every city there are bands of toughs—hooligans—who for the price of a few drinks are willing to do dirty work for the police. They had served the Government in the Jew slaughters and in mobbing the students so often that they had won for themselves the name of "The Black Hundreds". As a matter of fact popular rumor had given them more importance than they really deserved. They were generally regarded as definitely organized and I have often heard detailed statements as to how much wages they received, one ruble for each Jew or revolutionist they killed, and so forth. But it is improbable that any such organization existed previous to this time. The police knew, as they do in every large city, the haunts of these toughs and how to get their services in any particular matter. But now the Government brazenly organized these gangs into "The League of Real Russian Men". They were allowed to have public meetings, and their speeches were more violent than any the most desperate Revolutionists ever gave vent to. Their papers advised the killing of Jews and urged the loyal adherents of the Tsar to rid the land once and for all of the Tsar's enemies —and murder was the method generally suggested. In many places they were armed by the police with army revolvers. Their Central Committee was received and decorated by the Tsar, and thanking them for their loyal services in the past he urged them to continue their good work in defense of "God, The Fatherland and The Tsar". They took active part in the campaign, breaking up liberal meetings, clubbing leaders of The Opposition and

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trying to frighten the rank and file of the voters. The ballot was not secret, which of course increased their power in this effort of intimidation.

The police also took part in the campaign, Constitutional Democratic meetings were forbidden, their papers confiscated, their pamphlets suppressed. The election law said that no one under arrest could stand as candidate. So the police locked up every one they thought dangerous. At one time there were fifteen prominent lawyers in jail in Moscow for this cause.

On the eve of the elections, the forces were aligned as follows:

The Left—Socialists—for obstructing the Elections.

The Center—The Cadets—for utilising them.

The Right—Government—for emasculating them.

As a measure of police precaution—to allow the movement of troops from one district to another, and under pretense of preventing disturbances, the better to intimidate the voters—the voting took place at different times in different districts. The elections were spread over all of March and the first half of April.

The results came in slowly, but by the end of March the victory was evidently to The Center.

The Boycotters had failed dismally. In the cities their influence was confined to the factory workers. In some cases the men stayed away from the voting places or indulged in such pleasantries as electing deaf mutes or cows. But in general they voted. "The Duma won't amount to much", they said, "but it is better to have honest men in it than police spies". The peasants, almost without exception, took the elections very seriously and chose their best men. They had not interested themselves in party politics and voted for personalities rather than for principles. Their delegates were not attached to any party.

The Right—considering the forces which the Government had put at its disposal—had surprisingly little success. In a few places The Black Hundreds succeeding in pushing their candidates into office. But of the city deputies two thirds were Cadets.

But even in the first flush of their victory; the Constitutional Democrats themselves realized that their votes had been won not because of any general love or understanding of their program, but simply because they were the party standing furthest to the Left. (The Socialists not having any candidates). It was not so much a Cadet victory as a Government defeat.

When the results were all in, the delegates were divided as follows, 10 per cent. reactionary, who wanted the Tsar to retract his October promises, 15 per cent. Octobrists, 40 per cent. Cadets, and 35 per cent. unattached peasants. There were so

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many insignificant parties with one or two delegates that it is impossible to give the exact division but this was approximately the complexion of the Duma. If either the reactionaries or the Octobrists won the support of the Peasants, the Cadets would be in the minority.

The Peasants suddenly sprang from age-long obscurity into the very center of the political limelight. The balance of power was in their hands. They were wooed by every faction. The Government started a club for them in Petersburg and gave them a picture of the Tsar and hoped in this way to win them. Silver tongued orators from reactionary police to violent Anarchists addressed them. Every minute a new deputation presented itself at their headquarters armed with an engrossed memorial or an invitation to dinner. At last the peasants, out of self-defense, hired a doorkeeper and excluded all outsiders from their club. Gradually, as the day for the opening of the Duma approached, news of the peasant party,—"The Labor Group"— leaked out through their closed doors and began to fill the papers.

The Labor Group was the child of The Peasant Union.

Shortly after the October Manifesto—in the first flush of the Days of Freedom—a group of intellectuals were attracted to a peasant named Kurneen. He had educated himself and was a clerk in the Moscow branch of the Standard Oil. It was his idea to develop a Union of Peasants like the Union of Unions. The organization was to avoid the didactic form of the political parties, it was to seek information instead of giving it. Its aim was not to tell the peasants of what they theoretically ought to want, but to find what they really did want; and as far as possible to correlate these wants and help the peasants to realize them. Before the December Insurrection had ended the Days of Freedom, the Peasants had enrolled over a million members. It had many times as many sympathizers. And by this sane and tactful attitude the leaders of the Union had won the respect and trust of the peasants to a much greater extent than had the Socialists.

So in the fury and excitement in the first days in Petersburg when everybody was giving conflicting advice, the peasant deputies turned to their known friends in the Peasant Union. Much preliminary advice they got from this source; but once on their feet, the Labor Group was able to stand alone.

The dignity with which the raw and inexperienced peasants carried themselves in the new, strange life of the Capital was remarkable. Those were trying days, on all sides seducers were trying to deceive them or to buy them or to coax them aside, but they kept straight on their way. They kept their own counsels, and not until three days before the Duma opened did the public know what to think of this infant party. But then

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when their program was published, the hoary old lie—that the peasants were loyal and contented — was killed. The program of the peasants' deputies placed The Labor Group at the Extreme Left of the Duma.

VII.

THE DUMA.

On the 27th of April, fifteen months after the slaughter of Father Gapon's men, all eyes were turned once more to The Winter Palace. The Tsar had returned to Petersburg — the first time since the massacre — to receive the newly elected deputies and to formally open The Duma. The red stains of Bloody Sunday had long before disappeared from the pavements, but the memory of that slaughter must have been fresh in the minds of the Deputies as they crossed the square.

Twenty thousand soldiers were massed about the palace, with the grandeur and power of the Tsar. By two o'clock all were in their places. On one side of the Throne Room were stationed the most loyal supporters of The Crown — generals and admirals, privy councilors and high officials — clothed in all the splendor of an oriental court. Down the center of the Hall was a narrow lane left for the royal procession. Beyond it was the dense mass of the people's deputies. The contrast was striking. On one side the scarlet coats, gold lace and jewelled decorations of the Autocracy. On the other side somber suits of black mingling with the dark gray cloaks of the peasants. The contrast in the faces and attitudes was even greater. The supporters of the old regime — faces puffed and eyes bleared by excess of luxury — exchanged loud flippancies or stared insolently and cynically at the commoners across the room. There clean-cut intelligent-faced deputies conversed gravely with their colleagues. The peasants mostly were silent, their serious—almost mystical—eyes questioned everything. No word, no greeting crossed the Hall. The emnity between the two sides of the room was too apparent to permit even a semblance of courtesy.

With a flare of trumpets the Tsar entered and walked down the narrow lane dividing the two factions. There was a tedious religious ceremony and then the Tsar read his Speech from the Throne.

It was barely three minutes long, — not one word of weight. The Tsar loved his people and trusted in God. That was all. Not one word of amnesty, not one word about the land, not a word about any of the hundred odd questions which were burning in the hearts of the people.

"And may God bless Me and you". So he ended. Officialdom cheered but the Duma was as silent as Death. If any deputy

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was there who had been able to keep his faith in the benevolence of the Tsar as he crossed the blood soaked ground in front of the Winter Palace, he could no longer hold the illusion. A few words of sincerity would have put Nicholas firmer on his throne than hed had ever been, but e let the opportunity pass.

The deputies filed out in sullen silence and went to the Tavride Palace where their sessions were to take place. On its way to the Palace, the boat which carried them up the river, passed under the shadow of the Central Prison. From each window the prisoners — those who by their heroism had made the Duma possible — waved handkerchiefs and cheered the deputies as they passed.

Under such auspices Russia's first Parliament met. Sneered at by the officials, snubbed by the Tsar ---- cheered by the prisoners.

Evidently the first thing for them to do was to make a Reply to the Throne Speech. A commission of thirty three was appointed for this work, eleven from the Right, eleven Cadets, eleven from the Labor Group. Every one expected that the Cadets would control the peasants and that the Reply would be moulded by them. But the report of the Commission when it was delivered was a surprise. It was an astounding document. Never in history has so respectable a body of men put their names to so revolutionary a paper. Beside it our own "Declaration of Independence" and the French "Rights of Man" sink into pallid conservatism. It demanded, besides the liberties promised by the Tsar in the October Manifesto, the abolition of the Upper House, the responsibility of the ministry, complete amnesty for all political prisoners, the expropriation of all property in land, and a new assembly elected by universal suffrage with power to constitute a democratic-republic. It was an elaboration of the program of the Labor Group. The Cadets, instead of managing the peasants, had been managed. The Reply was unanimously adopted by the Duma, the eleven members of the House opposed to it left the room not daring to vote against it.

The document having been adopted, several days were spent in discussing how it should be sent. One peasant deputy suggested telegraphing it to the Tsar, who had returned to the seclusion of his Palace at Tsarski Celo. Another proposed a resolution binding the deputies not to leave the House, nor take any food, until Amnesty had been granted. But in the end, more moderate and roundabout methods were adopted and The Reply was despatched with due formality.

The following days were spent in oratory. It is not the custom in Constitutional Monarchies—like Germany or England —for the Sovereign to answer the Reply to the Throne Speech. And no one knew what the Tsar would do. Speech making was

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the order of the day. Deputies from all quarters of the Empire, from the Baltic Provinces and Siberia, from the frozen districts of the North, and from the shores of the Black Sea, exposed the grievances of their constituents. One after another they had their say, but the prisons were not opened, the crops were no better, and the clamour of the "unemployed" increased steadily. At length, to the surprise of every one, Gouremekin, the Prime Minister, took the floor and outlined the policy of the government. His tone was that of an irritable school master lecturing unruly boys on their deportment. His speech, denying point by point, the demands of the Nation, poured fresh oil on the fire of oratory and the Tavride Palace rang with angry eloquence. It became the custom to hiss down Ministers when they rose to speak. And once the Prime Minister of Agriculture replied to the demand of expropriation by offering to sell some fragments of the Crown Lands, The Labor Group left the Chamber in a body.

Denounciations of the Government waxed daily more bitter and came to a climax over two points. While the deputies were at work elaborating a law to abolish capital punishment, the news came that eight men had been condemned to death in the Baltic Provinces. Despite the protests of the Duma, the men were executed. At the same time there was a slaughter of Jews in Bialostok. The Duma sent a commission to investigate the affair, and their careful report traced the blame of the disorders to high officials in the central government.

During all this fruitless cursing of officials, the peasants deputies were becoming restless. They had been sent to the Duma with one main mandate — to get the land for their constituents. Week after week slipped by and no progress was made. The peasants began to send new deputies to see what was the matter, some 20,000 letters and telegrams from village meetings and groups of electors came to the members of The Labor Group, asking why the new law giving land to the peasants had not been passed.

As the pressure from without grew, they became more and more insistent on the floor of the House for the immediate discussion of the land question. This was a dangerous point and the Cadets wished to avoid it as it threatened to cause a split between them and The Labor Group. The Cadets were pledged to repay the landlords from the public coffers. The peasant, having always considered the use of the land as a natural right and the landlords as having cheated them out of it, were loath to pay for what they thought their own. Therefore the Cadets sparred for time and enforced more delay.

Not being able to accomplish any of the objects for which they had been sent to the Duma, The Labor Group decided on

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"An Appeal to the People". Their proposed Appeal stated that the Duma was an impotent body, without power to get the reforms demanded, and as they were unable to accomplish anything against the Goverment, it devolved upon the people to overhrow the Government. It was a call to arms.

It was treason on the face of it. And the Cadets were faced by a dilemma of an open breach with the Labor Group or the abandonment of their constitutional tacties. They tried, as always, to avoid the crisis by compromise; and proposed a "statement" to the people, telling of their efforts to gain reforms and their failure to do so, but without any appeal for a revolt. What the outcome of his debate would have been nobody knows.

The scene shifts to Vibourg, a little town over the border, usual one night, and the next morning they found the Tavride Palace occupied by troops and the Dissolution Manifesto nailed to the door.

The sceneshifts to Vibourg, a little town over the border, in Finland beyond the reach of the Russian police. Hither flocked most of the expelled Deputies. The Dissolution was a surprise and no plans had been made. Some wanted to declare themselves a revolutionary government — *the* government, — and to call the people to their support, others said more could be accomplished by returning to their homes and explaining conditions to their constituents. Several sessions were held and no plan adopted, when news came that the Finish Government had decided to cooperate with Russian authorities and that arrest was imminent. What they were to do had to be done in haste. They decided on a Manifesto.

It was decidedly revolutionary in its tone, but incoherent and weak. It displayed the crimes of the government, the vain efforts of he deputies to get reforms and described the act of dissolution as treason against the Nation. It declared the Government outlawed, and in the name of the people repudiated all debts which it might acquire in its war against the nation. But it made no suggestion of a combined effort to overthrow the government. It called for passive resistance. It urged the people to refuse to pay taxes or to give recruits to the army. It ended with the pompous phrase. "Russians, in the approaching struggle your deputies will be with you".

The concrete suggestions were two: to refuse taxes and recruits. Very few people were foolish enough to act on these suggestions. The people as a whole do not pay taxes or enter the army — these are individual acts. And each person who refused was pitting his strength single handed against the whole force of the Tsar. The general verdict now on this Manifesto is decidedly adverse. The Deputies should have either found some issue on

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which the people could have risen en masse or should have advised patience till such an issue arose.

In the Duma the Constitutional Democrats were weighed and found wanting. They controlled the Duma but accomplished no single reform. And it is not fair — as has been done in many foreign papers — to account for their failure by the interference of the Labor Group.. During the first two months of the Duma's life, the peasant and the workingmen deputies cooperated heartily with the Cadets. And it was not until two long months had demonstrated the impotence of the Cadets that they broke away from them and turned to their own leaders — Aladin, Anikin and Jilkin. They had not been sent to listen to academic essays or pretty speeches. And when long inaction proved that nothing better could be hoped for from the intellectuals they began to do things themselves.

The Cadets — representative of Russia's bourgeoisie—failed to develop a "leader" — what Carlyle calls a "king-man". A glance over the names of their best known deputies shows their impotency to face an active crisis. Muromsev, the President of the Duma, was a university professor, mild, kind and lovable. Roditchey and Betrunkevich were orators of a high quality, brave and upright men. Hertzenstein; murdered after The Dissolution, by the henchmen of the government, was a scholar, an undisputed authority on the agrarian questions. But none of them were leaders. Outside the Duma, Milikoff, Struve and Kovalevski were their strongest men, editors all of them; but not leaders. In the face of the gravest political crises they read scientific papers, deliverde glittering orations, or wrote rhetorical editorials. There was no Mirabeau amongst them.

But besides having no leaders, a graver weakness was that they had no conscious, well defined class behind them. The deputies at their right spoke clearly for all the forces of privilege and reaction, to the Left the Labor Group voiced unanimous demands of eight millon peasants. But what did the Cadets represent? Russia has no bourgoisie like that of France in the Great Revolution; no capitalist class such as we have in America. The large part of the capital employed in Russian industry is owned by foreigners. The Constitutional Democrats in the first Duma had no class consciousness; some spoke in behalf of the poorer nobles, others voiced the discontent of the "intellecutals" and they had nowhere near the power back of them which a middle class party has in Western Europe or America.

Long before The Dissolution, the Cadets must have realized that their own strength was insufficient to force the granting of their demands. They had two courses open to them; to give up their program and support the government or to admit their own impotence and step aside. But they did neither and clung to

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the opportunity to hear themselves talk. And when at last the peasants, impatient of vain words, said: "This farce must stop. We will appeal to the people," the Cadets neither made way for them nor went with them, but hung obstructingly about their necks, crying "Peace, Peace" when there was no peace.

As the suppression of the December Insurrection showed the insufficiency of the industrial workers to overthrow the government single handed, so the Vibourg fiasco demonstrated the incapacity of the Russian equivalent of a "Bourgoisie".

The Peasants have not yet tried conclusions with the government.

VIII.

THE KRONSTADT MUTINY.

The week following the Dissolution was a week of arrests. The police drew in their nets quickly about all the Revolutionists who had come out into the open during the sessions of the Duma. Papers were suppressed and the whole of their staffs were arrested.

There were intermittent peasant disorders but no general uprising and the officials were beginning to congratulate each other on the calm — which they considered a sign that the Revolution was dead—when the flames of revolt sprong up at Sveaborg.

Sveaborg is a group of fortified islands, off the coast of Finland,—the Gibraltar of Russia. The soldiers and sailors, under the leadership of the Revolutionists had mutinied and a large part of the fortifications were in their hands.

Of even greater importance than Sveaborg is the Fortress of Kronstadt at the mouth of St. Petersburg Harbor. The police at this moment discovered a gigantic military conspiracy of which the Sveaborg mutiny was only a part. Kronstadt and the Military Encampment to the north of the city; together with many other garrisons were involved. A soldier from the Military Encampment turned states evidence and told all he knew. The date set for the uprising was two or three weeks later. Sveaborg had exploded ahead of time. Cossacks were rushed to the Military Encampment and the disaffected regiments were broken into small sections and scattered to distant parts of the country.

Kronstadt was a more difficult problem, as there was no way of telling which of the vast number of troops stationed there were implicated in the conspiracy. Under pretext of being needed to supress the Sveaborg uprising, the most suspected regiments were ordered to move. The revolutionary soldiers were fooled and intending to join forces with their Sveaborg comrades as soon as they got there they went willingly. Their places were filled by loyal Guard Regiments. Then the Government falsified the news

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from Sveaborg. In reality the revolt there had been short lived and was already suppressed. But the report was circulated that the mutineers controlled all the forts and had captured the war ships in the harbors, and that these vessels were on their way to help the revolutionists to secure Kronstadt. Police spies, pretending to be revolutionists went among the men at Kronstadt and told them the news, saying that it would be a shame for the men from Sveaborg to see the Russian flag flying when they sailed up the harbor in the morning. They urged the men to revolt at once and to raise the red flag. Some of the more intelligent of the soldiers suspected a trap, but the big majority were inflamed by the news and at the ringing of a church bell—the signal agreed upon—they rushed to their barracks to seize their arms. The firing pins had been removed from their rifles, the ammunition for the machine guns had been hidden. The artillery men found that the breeches had been taken from the cannon.

The loyal troops then began the slaughter. The revolting soldiers fought with desperation, with their clubbed muskets and bare hands they captured two of the group of forts. But, as their cannons would not work, they were helpless against the concentrated fire of the loyal forts and battle ships at anchor. For two days the rumble of the cannonade could be heard in Petersburg. The noise of the infantry fire as squad after squad of the prisoners were executed did not reach so far. But for weeks afterward the fishermen in the harbor brought gruesome tales of mutilated bodies floating out to sea. And fresh fish did not appear on the menus of restaurants for many months.

The real details of this conspiracy have never been published, but fresh information comes to light from time to time, which shows the breadth of its reach. Similar agitation had undoubtedly been made in the fortresses of the Black Sea — Sebastopol and Odessa, and it had penetrated in very many of the inland garrisons. It was the biggest military conspiracy which has yet been tried.

The Army has an importance in the life of Russia which is hard for an American to understand. It is the chief bulwark of the Autocracy and more and more the Revolutionists are centering their attention on winning the Army.

Never before has so deep a revolutionary movement grown in a country where there is compulsory and universal army service. Modern times have developed two military systems —the volunteer and the conscript.

The vounteer system—as exemplified in England and America — produces a military caste. The officers and men are soldiers because they want to be. They tend to look upon the Army as their career and so losing all economic interest in other walks of life, become more or less consciously a military class.

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A conscript army, as in Russia and most European countries, has much greater numerical strength, but less "esprit de corps". Army service is not looked upon as a career, but as a necessary segment from each man's life, and generally a very distasteful home and "do time" for the government. He gets no more joy out of his military service than out of his civil taxes. It is just so much time and energy — so much earning capacity — confiscated by the State. And in all the interlude he never learns to think of himself solely as a soldier. His memories and affections are centered in his home, as are all his hopes of the future. Born a peasant or a factory worker, he stays so — in spite of uniform and army discipline. The fact of solidarity with his particular class is of little or no importance in a foreign war. But it immediately becomes a dangerous weakness in an internal struggle — especially in the suppression of a popular revolutionary movement. Logically the sympathy of a conscript army lies with the people rather than with the government — and in Russia with the rank and file of the Revolution. All the wrongs and miseries which are stirring the great mass of peasants are buried just as deeply in the hearts of the soldiery.

The Government tries to counteract this weakness in many ways. By calling the Revolutionists traitors and enemies to the Fatherland, by insinuating that their funds are received from the Japanese and other hostile nations, it tries to give the present crisis the appearance of a foreign war. The placing of the army is the result of carefully developed plans, the recruits from Poland being placed in the heart of Russia — their hereditary enemies. The peasants of the South are garrisoned in the North, the intention always being to make each recruit serve as far as possible — geographically and psychologically — from his home. The great variety of races which go to make up the Empire aids the Government in this policy.

Then by bribes and promises of special privileges the Government tries to buy the loyalty of the troops. During the Insurrection at Moscow, for instance, some soldiers were paid two rubles a day — an increase of 150 per cent. on their regulation war pay. There are also innumerable tempting semi-military appointments, such as door-keepers in official buildings, place servants and museum custodians. All these inducements are held out to foster loyalty.

But the high card of the government is "Fear". In the hands of the officers there is absolute disciplinary power. There are some, theoretic limits of their brutality, but these limits are never enforced when they are dealing with mutiny. Fully half of the mutinies have been — if not caused — at least precipitated by the brutality of the officers. Paragraphs are common in the newspapers telling of such circumstances as these. In some garrison

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the troops are discontented because of bad food or the unjust arrest of some comrades and draw up a petition. Some one is chosen to hand it to the Commandant. The officer interrupts the reading of the petition by shooting the delegate in his tracks. For a few minutes the soldiers "see red", kill some of the officers and wreck the barracks. Such disorders are so common that they hardly attract notice.

The mutinies have always been stamped out with the utmost cruelty. Beside the anger of the officers, there are not only court-materials and executions, but, what is far worse, years of service in the "disciplinary regiments". George Kennan has written with relentless accuracy of the horrors of the political prisons in Siberia, but no one has yet uncovered the fearsomeness of these disciplinary regiments. Since Kennan told the world about Siberia, the Government has hidden its atrocities. Stories of horror creep out from time to time of these places. In 1905 the soldiers—with a fury of despair—revolted in one of the disciplinary camps of the Far North, and the hideousness of their revenge brought to light the hideousness of their servitude,—orgies of cruelty arranged by degenerate officers to inflame their jaded mistresses. The fear of the Disciplinary Regiments is as the fear of the Seven Hells.

For a civilian to join a Socialist party in Russia demands a degree of courage utterly uncalled for in the orderly life of Western Europe and America, but for a soldier to become a revolutionist requires a three fold allotment of courage.

The army propaganda of the revolutionists takes the form of combating these efforts of the government. They carry on an active campaign to demonstrate to the soldiers their basic solidarity, telling them that if they shoot the peasants in one village, other soldiers will murder and burn in their own homes. Everywhere and always the revolutionists are telling the soldiers that after their term of service they must return to their fields and factories to face the same conditions which are driving their brothers to revolt, that if they obey their officers to-day, other soldiers—following their example—will shoot them a year or so later. In reply to the Government's offer of bribes and benefits, they hold out the Social Dream, the Nationalization of the land, the substitution of a voluntary militia for compulsory army service—a life of sane organization instead of the existing moil of misery. In reply to the threats of the Government they give examples of unexcelled heroism. For the work of agitating in the Army is the most dangerous which falls to the lot of revolutionists.

The Russian army is divided into three main sections: the Cossacks, the Guards and the Line Regiments.

The Cossacks are the ideal police. This branch of the army

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was organized long before the Government was faced by a revolution, but if the present crisis could have been foreseen by the early Tsars they hardly could have devised a better safeguard for their dynasty. From time to time in the Middle Ages military guards were formed on the frontiers to resist the raids of the Tartar hordes. Prisoners were given their liberty and outlaws and bandits pardoned, if they would go to these camps. Following the oriental custom these frontier guards stole women from their enemies and so generation after generation the blood of the Cossacks became more and more crossed with Mongol and Tartar strains. They were given standard land, freed from all taxes, and all government service except fighting—which they were taught to love. As the borders of the Empire extended beyond these encampments, the Cossacks were embodied in the regular army, but under special conditions. Each Cossack serves five years and then has five years free and can be called out as a reserve, alternate five years throughout his life. Having little Russian blood in their veins they have little sympathy for the Russian peasants, their ample allotments of land free them from any economic discontent, they are bred to fight, to love the Tsar and to butcher his enemies.

Next the Cossacks come the Guard Regiments. They are selected from the general draft of peasants for their unusual height. They are better paid than the Line Regiments, are generally stationed in the big cities, with fine uniforms, good food and light service. The soldiers of the Guard as a rule enter the Police or personal service after their discharge, and have less community of feeling with the common people.

The Line Regiments—by far the greater part of the army—have none of these favors, their barracks are vile, their food abominable, their service the hardest. They serve only through fear and their sole desire is to return to their homes.

The fact that the army as a whole has not gone over to the Revolution does not prove its loyalty to the existing regime. All over the Empire in almost every garrison and army station, mutinies—spasmodic and resultless as they have been — show that there exists in the army a turmoil of discontent far greater than in the life of the people at large. There is hardly a regiment in Russia which has not, during the last three years, shown itself disaffected. Despite the greater risks of mutinies, the revolts in the army have been, at least, as general as in the civilian population.

The Cossacks are on the whole loyal to the Tsar and probably will remain so. But a number of revolts have broken out among the Guard. Half of the "Tsar's Own Regiment"—the Preboyjenskaia—had to be dissolved last year on account of its mutinous spirit. And the situation in the Line Regiments is one of general

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discontent and especially of hatred toward their officers. Their sympathy with the demands of the Revolutionists have been repeatedly proclaimed.

But!

No general revolt can be expected under the present circumstances. They are ready to desert the flag of the Tsar, but they must have some other flag around which to rally.

The revolt on the battleship Potyomkin is a case in point. During the summer of 1905, the revolutionists had been agitating among the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet and had made such progress that a date had been agreed upon for a general revolt. It was to have been in the end of August. But things came to a crisis on the Potyomkin ahead of time. A special graft of the naval authorities is to feed the sailors cheap food, and one day a consignment of maggot-filled meat came on board. The sailors who handled it told of its condition to their mates. The next day they refused to eat the soup made from the rancid flesh. The Commandant construed this into mutiny. The crew was called to quarters and the officers ordered those who would eat what was offered them to step forward. A few stubbornly hung back and he ordered their immediate execution. This caused a real mutiny. Almost before they knew it, the sailors had control of the ship, the officers who resisted were killed or thrown overboard.

The mutiny was successful. What was to be done? The news reached the Admiral of the Fleet and he sent several ships to capture the Potyomkin, but the new sailors, although they did not join the mutineers, refused to fire on them. The Potyomkin was as safe as if it had been in dry-dock. But what to be done? They did not want to be pirates. They could easily have blown Odessa or other harbor towns off the map, but they had no desire to do so. They cruised about aimlessly for a week and deserted the ship in a Roumanian port. The Government of course "made examples" of all the mutining sailors they could lay their hands on, and the Black Sea mutiny was crushed.

But the fact remains that the sailors of the Potyomkin easily got control of their ship, and that in all their Fleet not a sailor could be found to fire upon them. If the revolutionary forces could establish an insurrectionary government and so raise a standard to which the revolting soldiers and sailors could transfer their allegiance, a practical army mutiny could be a possibility. The action of the troop during the December Insurrection in Moscow shows the same temper. Although none of them joined the revolutionists, the Infantry, almost without exception, was passively on their side. Their disloyality was so apparent that their officers locked most of them in their barracks without their arms. The cavalry acted against the revolutionists, but in a most listless way, losing their cartridges or firing into the air. It is

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almost certain that if the Revolutionists had captured the City Hall, or by any striking victory shown a probability of definite success, the soldiers would have come over in a body.

That discontent and the spirit of revolt are rife in the rank and file of the army and navy is too plain to be denied. The ease with which the Revolutionists have fomented the mutinies which have already taken place shows with what eagerness the soldiers accept their teaching. But the frightful cost and uselessness of sporadic and premature rising has become so evident to the troops, that no great or decisive army revolt can be expected until the Revolutionary Movement has crystallized into some form of government—until a new flag for them to follow has been raised.

IX.

THE ATTEMPT ON STOLYPINE.

Once more the country was "pacified". By bloody fusilades at Kronstadt and Sveaborg; the Government had crushed the army revolt. The revolutionary workmen were buried beneath the December Barricades or were rotting in the faraway mines of Siberia. The middle class protest of the Duma had been silenced by the Dissolution and the suppression of all liberal papers. There was nothing more to be feared—except The Terror.

All down the history of the ages tyranny when pushed to the extreme has been answered by assasination and acts of individual violence. It has not been different in Russia.

Immediately after the Dissolution, the Ministry had been changed and Stolypine was appointed Premier. He was a man of iron and undoubtedly the ablest official whom Nicholas has found among his servants. He asserted the principle that no concessions could be forced from the Autocrat. The Tsar could, in his good pleasure, grant reforms; in fact, by his October Manifesto had shown his inclination to do so, but they must come as free gifts and not as concessions to a revolt. "There can be no talk of reforms", he said, "until the country is pacified. When the last spark of revolution is crushed out, the Tsar may, if he wishes, throw you certain crumbs". And he went right vigorously to the work of pacification. He put three quarters of Russia under martial law, so many arrests were made that the prisons could not contain the crowd and in Rostovon-Don, the "pest-house"—every board of it saturated with cholera and the plague—was turned into a prison. It was Stolypine who inaugurated the field court martials, taking, not only the liberty but the life of the citizens out of he hands of the civil authorities and turning it over to irresponsible army officers. These courts were required

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to render a verdict within twenty-four hours of the crime and to execute it within forty-eight. The average of their victims varied in different months from éve to fifteen a day. And it was during Stolypine's Premiership, that Hertzenstein, one of the Cadets, was attacked by thugs of the League of Real Russian Men and done to death. The Moscow News—the paper of the League—announced his death three hours before it took place. But no one was punished.

After a few months of this regime of Governmental Terror, four young men went to Stolypine's villa—on his reception day—to kill him. For some reason they were detained in the anteroom and their bomb exploded prematurely. Fortunately or unfortunately, according to your point of view, the Minister escaped. But the four men, dying instantly themselves, took with them twenty odd of the throng of visitors—army officers, officials, police and spies. The foreign correspondent stationed in St. Petersburg moaned over the affair and sent to their papers gruesome accounts of the twenty-three victims. The Russians regretted this bloodshed as any civilized people regret the carnage of war. But they talked more of the supreme heroism of the four young men who had carried the bomb and had gone so willingly to death in their effort to rid the country of its most blood soaked tyrant. A quiet old gentleman a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, said to me: "It is abhorrent—all this slaughter—and yet if the Revolution can continue to produce such heroism, the Autocracy must fall sooner or later". And the last part of his speech was the uppermost thought in the minds of most Russians. The Government can practice its terrorism to the utmost and yet not stamp out the heroism of revolt. And with such heroism and devotion to Liberty, the success of the Revolution is only a question of time.

Much has been written about Terrorism, but most of the arguments—for or against—are weakened by sentimentality. On the one side there is horrified talk of the lawlessness of it and its innocent victims. On the other side harrowing tales of the government's provocation.

Revolutions are in the very essense—lawless. Stolypine—the Premier—has himself admitted that a state of war exists in Russia. And war always claims its innocent victims. A person who is shocked with these things has no business with revolutions. On the other hand no serious minded revolutionist has a right to waste himself nor his energies on personal vengeance. Two wrongs do not make a right. And the barbaric atrocities of the Government—while perhaps explaining—do not in the least justify terrorism. A great revolution like this in Russia rises far above personal considerations. And the fact that a comrade or a blood brother has been killed, or a wife or sister

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outraged by the janisarries of the Government does not justify a Revolutionist, he belongs to The Cause, and Terrorism can only be justified as it aids that cause.

At the bottom is the ethical question: is violence ever justified? Has a man a right to resort to violence to defend or to establish an idea? Not the most blood-spattered Terrorist in Russia will praise violence for itself. Violence is abhorrent to every right thinking individual, instead of convincing an opponent, it annihilates him. It is no argument. And yet is it never justified? Leo Tolstoi says "No". A few hundreds, at most thousands of his disciples, feebly echo "No". But all the rest of the world loudly answers "Yes". This is no place for a philosophic discussion of non-resistance. It is enough if everyone, who would judge the Russian Terrorist; will ask himself if he believes in violence. If he believes in the right of the United States to uphold the principles of popular government by force of arms, if he believes in police and prisons, if he believes, even, in compulsory education or sanitary laws, he can not deny that violence—the use or threat of force—has its legitimate place in human society. If he glories in the military exploits of our forefathers in our Revolution, or in any of the violent acts which go to make up the history of the past and the life of to-day, he can not condemn violence in the abstract.

And the question becomes "when is violence justified?" In the popular conscience it is not only justified but allowed when it is used in favor of the Rights of Man and against Tyranny. It is really a matter of expediency—of profit and loss. Has all this loss of life and blood in Russia resulted in a compensating increase of human freedom? However, in asking this question it must be borne in mind that the failure of terrorism to overthrow the Tsar is no more an argument against it than the same failure of the proletarian movement and of the Duma is an argument against economic or parlimentary action.

While failing in the ultimate aim of the Revolution—the freeing of Russia from Tyranny—the advocates of Terrorism claim that it has two very distinct and beneficial results: (a) the checking within certain limits the acts of despotism (b) encouraging and heartening the whole revolutionary movement.

Terrorism as an accepted revolutionary tactic was started thirty years ago by a young woman Vera Sassoulitch. A man named Trepov was then the military commandant at St. Petersburg. Some of the students of the University made a demonstration in favor of constitutional government, and to punish this treason, several of them were flogged in one of the public squares of the city. If some of the students of Columbia University had been publically flogged by the New York police,

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it would not have caused more indignation in America than did this brutality in Russia.

Vera Sassoulitch lived in one of the small provincial towns. She was not a member of any political organization, she had lived a secluded and quiet life, but on account of these floggings—an insult to all civilized Russia—stirred her to action. Without consulting any one she traveled to St. Petersburg and shot General Trepoy on the street. She was tried by an ordinary court—the Government had not yet invented its administrative punishment, and its field court-martials—and such was the force of public opinion in her favor that the jury acquitted her. The flogging of students stopped.

The revolutionary tactics of this young woman were adopted by a section of the Socialist conspirators and many instances can be cited of terroristic acts which rank side by side with this deed of Sassoulitch, as eminently just, approved by public opinion and having a direct influence in creating a more liberal regime.

Finland is a private estate of the Russian Tsars, it has no organic connection with the rest of The Empire. Nicholas II. was the first to violate its ancient Constitution and to deprive the Finns of their accustomed liberties. To carry out his policy of Russification and oppression, he appointed Bobrikov to the Governorship. The Finns tried every constitutional and legal way to preserve their national life. And when these failed, a young man—the son of a senator—assassinated Bobrikov. And the oppression of Finland ended. To-day, thanks to this young man, who has become a national hero, his countrymen enjoy one of the most liberal Constitutions in the world.

The assasination of Von Plehve put an end to his oppressive regime, and Russia was ruled liberally until the access of Count Witte to the Premiership again plunged the land into reaction.

The psychological effects of these acts of Terrorism on the minds of the people at large is hard to define or foretell, but it is none the less important. The assasination of the Grand Duke Sergius had no noticeable effect on the policy of the Government, but it was good news to the revolutionists throughout the country. Every one was depressed by the period of governmental reaction and revolutionary inaction, which followed the suppression of the Gapon movement. And suddenly the news flashed all over Russia that Sergius, the most reactionary of the Tsar's advisers, Sergius, the most hardened and cynical of the Court Circle, had been killed. It was the news of a victory and put heart into all the scattered forces of Revolt.

The act of Marie Spiridonova is even a better example. In the Province of Tambov the peasants were suffering under the brutalities of an unusually vicious Vice-Governor. Three months before I had gone through this district and the famine

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was so bad that the peasants were tearing the straw thatch from their huts to feed their horses. And with the coming of Winter they had need of fuel to keep themselves alive, and they had stolen wood from the landlord's forest. This was their crime. And the Cossacks had come to "pacify" them. In each village the men, hungry and smitten with cold, were lined up and the officer in command of the troops demanded the names of those who had stolen the wood. If the peasants refused to deliver the guilty ones, every tenth man was flogged. The next day the process was repeated, only every fifth man was flogged and so till the stealers of the wood were given up. It seemed like the Wrath of God, the peasants unarmed, unorganized, were as helpless against this brutality as against an earthquake. And Marie Spiridonova—a member of the Socialist Revolutionary Party—shot the Vice-Governor—the author of it all. She was brutally treated by the Cossacks, stripped naked in the public street and afterwards ravished in prison and is now dying up by the polar circle in faraway Siberia. But she became a saint among the people, a name to conjure with. And now in their distress the peasants pray God to send them another Spiridonova.

Although much can be said in favor of Terrorism, much can be said against it. It is the tactic of despair. It is fighting the Devil with fire. And therein lies its weakness. To win in this fight you must be as bad or worse than the Devil. And in this respect the Russian Revolutionists fail.

The following incident is one of many which show the Revolutionist's ability to use fire as effectively as the Government. During the spring of 1906, there was a congress of one of the smaller terorrist organizations—the Maximilists. They met—the better to avoid the police—in a secluded forest near Moscow. There were about forty deputies, and coming from distant cities most of them were unknown to each other, their introductions were by pass words and signs. During the course of the meeting, while matters of great secrecy were under discussion, one of the deputies became suspicious of two of those who were pesent. He went from one to another of his comrades and found that no one knew these two. They were told to produce their credentials and these not being satisfactory, they were searched. Papers were found on them which proved beyond all doubt that they were membrs of the secret police. Their death was demanded, not only because of their past careers, but because of their present knowledge. Their continued life was a menace to the forty odd revolutionists who were present. They were tied to trees and two men were chosen to kill them. The Committee disbanded and left these two men to their work. One did his duty thoroughly. The other after having fired several shots into his prisoner was so affected by the horror of the

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situation that he turned away without making sure of his work. The spy was seriously wounded but not killed. The next day his cries attracted a passing peasant. He was carried to a hospital and on his recovery was able to cause the arrest of almost all those who had attended the meeting.

No one likes to shoot a man tied to a tree. But the agents of the Government would not have faltered under such circumstances. And unless the Revolutionists can bring the same degree of brutality and callousness to the work of Terrorism, they can not hope to beat the Devil at his own game.

The net results of Terrorism are hard to estimate. On one side many of the best and noblest Russians have lost their lives in this struggle. Numerically they have lost more than the Government. No one can doubt that the arrest and execution of those who caused the death of Alexander II. was a greater blow to the Revolutionary movement than the loss of the Tsar was to Autocracy. On the other hand the dread of assasination holds many an official in check. And time and again an act of individual heroism has given fresh life and enthusiasm to the whole movement.

And this last—the psychological effect on the nation at large —is to my mind the most important. And the question of its value is one impossible for a foreigner to estimate. To judge it rightly one must be native to the country and familiar with all the circumstances of the combat, familiar with all the subtle changes —of increase and decrease, in the intensity of the evolutionary sentiment in the mass of the people. And the Russian Comrades, almost without exception, believe that Terrorism, by its benecial results, is amply justified.

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EDITORIAL

Some General Tendencies.

From the reports of the various nations and the proceedings of the Congress three significant currents can be seen in the great international socialist movement as especially characteristic of the last few years.

Nearly every country had something to say of the progress of organization among the young,—and generally with especial reference to militarism. Dr. Karl Liebknecht, son of "Der Alte," is throwing nearly all of his energies into this movement. His work on "Militarism and Anti-Militarism," for the writing of which he is already under indictment, with almost a certainty of at least a year's imprisonment hanging over his head, is a brilliant and scholarly presentation of the deadly advance of militarism and the subtle ways in which it has pervaded every portion of modern society. It is a work which should be translated into English, for the increase in naval appropriations, the effort to enlarge the standing army, the nationalization of the state milita, the introducion of the features of the Deck Bill, and the whole Rooseveltian programme of increasing militarism foretells the coming of the same problem in the United States at an early date.

The method by which he proposes to meet this is by an organization of the young workers and their education in anti-military ideals. It is the young man and to almost an equal degree the young woman to whom the military ideal appeals. If these can be made to realize that militarism is but another name for organized butchery of human beings then militarism is doomed.

Within the last three years organizations of the young have sprung up in almost every country, and the list which he gives of these organizations and their membership and work is one of the most encouraging things presented to the International Socialist move ment. If the men and women in the days of youth can be drafted into a self-governing thinking class-conscious army to fight the battles of their own class the proletariat will have wrested from capitalism

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one of its most powerful weapons in the class struggle. If in the stirring times that are before us the same enthusiasm and devotion, that through the years have been given to the battles of capitalism can be turned into intelligent fighting for the working class a long step towards victory will have been taken. There is going to be need of daring and heroism and class patrotism (if such a phrase is not a contradiction) in the class struggle, and it is these batallions of the young who must furnish these elements.

A second and to a certain degree a somewhat analogous movement is the wide spread organization and the renewed activity of the women of the working class. For years the declaration for universal suffrage unrestricted by sex has stood as a sort of Platonic phrase in all Socialist platforms. But the party as such has taken little active interest in pushing this demand. It is significant that in all the wealth of socialist propaganda literature that has appeared in the United States during the past three years there is not a single pamphlet or leaflet bearing principally upon this point.

Moreover many Socialist women who were ardent woman suffragists have been inclined to give their energies to the support of bourgious "Women's Rights" organization rather than to the campaign within the Socialist Party. This was true not only in the United States but in many other countries.

But the last few years has shown a striking change in this respect. As the army of working women grew larger and began to organize economically into unions and show a growing solidarity with the working-class movement it became apparant that the women who were going to make the first and most effective use of the ballot were working women,—and that they were going to use that ballot in the interest of their own class.

At once there was a striking change of front on the part of the bourgeois woman's movement. In every country they began to ask that a partial suffrage be granted,—generally with some sort of a property qualification. For a very short time some of the working-women, and even a few socialists were mislead. This new move was held out as a "first step," as "something right now" which would make easier the attainment of universal suffrage for women. But quickly the whole scheme became apparant. Whenever such a suffrage was granted it at once became another bulwart of reaction,—not a stepping stone to better things, but an almost insuperable obstacle to further progress. The class struggle entered the woman's movement.

At once new life arose in the genuine working woman's movement. The rise of working-class organizations of women demanding complete and unrestricted suffrage regardless of sex has been a striking feature of almost every country since the Congress at Amsterdam three years ago. The remarkable result of the Finish elections, which enabled that country to send the first woman delegate to an international Socialist Congress, who was also a member of a national

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parliament had an electric effect on this phase of the Socialist movement throughout Europe, and indeed throughout the world.

As a result there are few reports to the Congress that do not tell of multiplied activity in this field. Sweden has succeeded in obtaining suffrage for women in municipal elections and has sent some women into municipal offices upon the Socialist ticket. England is convulsed with the struggle for the right to vote for women and although with the well known English characteristic to compromise there is still some alliance with the former woman's movement yet on the whole it is a distinctly working-class and Socialist agitation, and must necessarily be still more so since the Congress rejected all the compromise proposals of the English delegation.

In all countries it is the women themselves who are carrying on the battle and who no longer **ask** for **favors,** even from a socialist party but are **demanding** and **taking** what is theirs and who are forcing the socialist organizations to recognize and work for this long neglected plank in their platform.

The third, and perhaps most striking general phenomena which appears in almost every country is one which is more difficult to define, but which is none the less equally certain and perhaps even more significant than the other two. This is what might be designated as a general revolt against pure parliamentarism and a demand for more immediate definite and direct revolutionary action. Almost every delegation came to the Congress with one or more delegates who were looked upon more or less as **enfants terrible,** or if they were not represented in the Congress there was some complaint of, or at least a reference to, their existence in the written reports submitted.

In France it was Herve and the syndicalists who gave repeated electric shocks to the proceedings and who were generally promptly rebuked, but were ever unabashed and sometimes found an amount of support that was unexpected. These same forces displayed considerable strength in Italy and indeed in all the Latin countries and undoubtedly influenced the wording of the military resolution at least, to a far greater extent than had been anticipated.

But this movement is not confined to the Latin countries. Even Germany, where the revolution itself has been made almost conventional, with all its metes and bounds most carefully staked out with clearly drawn Marxian premises, is feeling the new movement. There are many of the older ones who look with something of disapproval upon "young Liebkneckt's" daring attack on militarism and there is still much talk of general strike and other things that would scarcely have been mentioned in polite Socialist circles five years ago.

In Holland, where the socialist deputies have been largely elected from country districts and where all has been decidedly reformist, a new revolutionary movement within the Party has gained such strength that it is only a question of a year or so when they will

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be in control of the party. Here too the general strike has been tried and although it is claimed by its opponents to have failed, there is still much talk of such methods and of the ineffectiveness of purely parliamentary methods.

Sweden too has been trying new weapons in the class struggle since the last international Congress and has a movement within the Socialist ranks calling for more direct revolutionary action.

But it is from Russia, the nation where the revolution is even now in progress that the greatest inpulse has been received. Russia has not only added overwhelming proof to the already great mass of evidence tending to show that the old maxim of Socialist action—"General strike is general nonsense" is in itself a good deal of nonsense, but Russia has also demonstrated by the Moscow insurrection that Marx was wrong when he said that the coming of the machine gun marked the end of barricades and violent popular revolutionary uprisings. Russia has shown that there is no weapon which the proletariat can afford to lay completely out of its reach as inapplicable in its battle for freedom. Russia has also shown that these various weapons so far from being contradictory or mutually exclusive are to a certain extent complementary and may be co-ordinated into one general tactic of class warfare.

Instead of the revolutionary army being split up into unionists, terrorists, parliamentarians etc. the best minds in Russia are seeking to co-ordinate organize and utilize all these methods,—each in the place and time for which it is suited.

It is still too early to generalize with any certainty concerning these tendencies and especially to give any definite explanations as to the manner in which this movement will affect us in the United States. Yet some tentative suggestions may be offered.

The Socialist movement in the United States, as in many other countries, has to a certain extent got away from the class struggle. It may hold to all the theories of the class struggle as firmly as ever, indeed it may repeat the phrases more glibly than at any period in its history, yet when there is a real battle on between the forces of capitalism and the laborers, few look to see the Socialist Party play any prominent part. The one great and gratifying exception to this has been the fight for the Western Federation of Miners, and this exception is most brilliant proof of the general rule. This fight has done more for socialism in the United States than anything that has taken place since there has been a Socialist movement on this continent.

Yet we are still far from the stage where at the outbreak of every strike, or on the occasion of every outrage against the working class, the first question on every lip will be "What will the Socialist Party do?"

Yet we must reach this stage before we can claim to be the real leaders in the class struggle. It may be still true in military circles

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that the directing powers sit aside upon a hill, but it is not true of the class struggle. If the Socialist Party is to earn the right to lead it must learn by doing,—it must lead wherever the fight is hottest. Revolutions are never fought by phrases,—they demand deeds, action. We shall not attempt to elaborate this point further at this time, but believe that if these facts are carefully thought over we may find the reason why, when Socialist sentiment in America is growing by leaps and bounds, the Socialist Party is almost standing still.

Owing to the absence of the editor in Europe this number is not only somewhat delayed, but contains no department of Book Reviews or Foreign News. The latter, however, is amply covered in the body of the magazine, while the former will be resumed in succeeding issues. While in Europe arrangements were made for numerous articles on current subjects by leading writers. These will appear in early issues and will add to the value of the Review even above its present standard. It was interesting to note that the International Socialist Review was the only American publicaion with which European Socialists are familiar to any great degree.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The acquittal of W. D. Haywood upon the charge of being implicated in the assassination of ex-Gov. Steunenberg was very gratifying to the working people of the country, irrespective of what organization they were members or whether identified with no union. From the very beginning of the persecution—the lawless kidnaping episode—those workers who endeavor to keep abreast of the times became imbued with a strong suspicion that the mine-owners and their politicians and Pinkertons had hatched a conspiracy to take the lives of the three men, and it was not very difficult, therefore, for the Socialist party and progressive trade unions to arouse the country and prevent the murderous plot from being executed. This incident of the class struggle also shows how easily and naturally the workers can cease their petty bickerings and present a solid front when a crisis approaches, and proves conclusively that there need be no fear that labor will fail to rise to every occasion when the hour strikes. We may have our family troubles, disputes and hairsplitting over details, yet when labor fully understands matters it is loyal and true to its class interests.

But while the termination of the Boise trial may be satisfactory to the country as a whole, what about the outrageous and vindictive treatment that is still being meted out to George Pettibone? When Haywood was placed on trial the persecutors declared they had the strongest case against him. The signal failure of the conspirators to convict him led to the logical conclusion that the other two defendants would be discharged from custody. But to the surprise of everybody the disappointed politicians of Idaho demanded a $25,000 bond before setting Moyer at liberty, although it is generally admitted by the persecutors that they had no case against him, and poor Pettibone is being made the object upon whom the conspirators may heap their reptilian venom and revenge themselves. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone suffered imprisonment for a year and a half while their persecutors reveled in graft. Is there to be no compensation for the miners? Apparently not. On the contrary Pettibone is to remain incarcerated for an indefinite period, innocent of crime though he undoubtedly is.

It must not be supposed that because the persecutors are quiet and refrain from giving out daily interviews, as was their policy up to close of the Haywood trial, that they are not continuing their plotting. They demand a sacrifice, and if McPartland, Gooding and Borah can take the most damaging testimony given in the Haywood trial and use it as a basis to verify the stories that may be told by some of their dastardly perjurers, they are going to "get" Pettibone. Their inglorious defeat has made Gooding, Borah and

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McPartland more desperate than ever. Unless they can get some sort of vindication their race is run. Gooding is fighting for his political life, and so is Borah, and likewise to keep out of jail for land grafting, while the Pinkerton thugs have not been hit so hard a blow since Homestead when Haywood was acquitted. The longer Pettibone can be kept imprisoned, the longer the powers at Washington may be prevailed upon to obstain from proceeding against Borah upon the charge of land thievery; the longer time Gooding may have to fix his political fences, and the more boodle the Pinkertons can feed upon. Furthermore the conviction of Pettibone upon the charge of second degree murder or manslaughter would be hailed as a vindication by the conspirators, while the moral, or rather immoral, effect would give the plutocratic press the prayed-for excuse of continuing to denounce the Western Federation as a lawless and criminal organization. It is not unlikely that a jury can be selected in advance to agree to disagree, or since the miners won a victory in the Haywood case the said jury may be prevailed upon to give the other side a "square deal."

Because Secretary Haywood was acquitted is no reason why the working people of the country should enthuse and then go to sleep. The very act of keeping Pettibone in prison is conclusive proof in itself that the malevolent scoundrels who conspired to railroad innocent men to the gallows do not intend to acknowledge themselves defeated.

But what a travesty upon justice that three innocent men can be kept imprisoned for eighteen months and upward without recompense while their persecutors fairly riot in graft and enjoy the highest honors! Truly capitalism is the devil himself personified; it stamps the innocent guilty and the guilty innocent.

The expected has happened. The various employers' associations that stand for the open shop policy and refuse to recognize organized labor have formed a national federation for offensive and defensive purposes. A secret conference was held in New York the latter part of the past month at which the representatives of a score of associations made preliminary arrangements to combine to establish "industrial peace." President Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, was in the chair, and, according to his declarations, the utmost harmony prevailed and all delegates were enthusiastic in their determination to build up a powerful "peace federation." The plans discussed and adopted, subject to ratification of affiliated bodies, include the collection of a huge war fund to be placed at the disposal of the organization in any trade that engages in a contest with the unions. Labor bureaus—or, more correctly, scab supplying agencies—will be operated in all the important industrial centers, and through such bureaus complete records will be kept of employers, union and non-union, as well as organizers, agitators and other undesirables. Another matter under consideration dealt with the legal and political phase of industrial affair. Certain national and state labor laws are to be attacked in the courts, and bills that are presented to law-making bodies will be closely scanned and defeated if possible where they aim to give labor an advantage. Plans will also be formulated to control candidates for office and to deliver their employes to the party or nominees most satisfactory.

Simultaneously with the New York conference a legal battle was precipitated in the District of Columbia by Van Cleave's attorneys which is destined to become one of the greatest contests that ever took place in this country and that is fraught with tremendous signi-

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ficance to organized labor. Van Cleave moved that President Gompers and other A. F. of L. officials be prohibited from publishing or circulating the Federation's unfair list. Van Cleave is president of the Bucks Stove & Range Co., of St. Louis. About a year ago he locked out the metal polishers because they refused to go back to a ten-hour system from the nine-hour day. The concern was placed on the "We don't patronize list," and Van Cleave says he was injured by the boycott. The action is regarded as a test case, and no matter which side wins in the lower courts it is practically certain that the United States Supreme Court will have to pass upon it finally. The open shoppers maintain that many state and district courts have declared the boycott illegal and unconstitutional, but they forget that still other courts have ruled that boycotting is lawful. There is no doubt that the new employers' federation will make the litigation as expensive as possible to organized labor, and that the plaintiffs' attorneys will twist and stretch every law and decision bearing upon this question to win their battle, and the union people might as well prepare for a long contest. Van Cleave and his tribe understand full well that if the boycott can be outlawed they will have delivered organized labor a stunning blow between the eyes, for it is only through the fear of reprisals that many employers are compelled to treat their workers decently. On the other hand, if labor wins unions and individual members need not greatly fear injunctions, damage suits and imprisonment in the future. From every viewpoint this case is epoch-making and should be carefully watched by all union workers and students of industrial affairs.

In this connection it might be stated that when the United States Supreme Court meets next month it will be confronted with a case that is closely related to the action brought by Van Cleave, the suit for $240,000 damages brought by D. E. Lowe, a hat manufacturer of Danbury, Conn., against officers and members of the United Hatters. Lowe charges that boycott circulars have been sent to his customers and that his business has been greatly injured. The case brings on the question whether the plaintiff can maintain an action under the Sherman anti-trust law.

You have probably read of injunctions to prevent men from going on strike, as in the Ann Arbor railway and other cases; to prevent unions from paying strike benefits, as in the Chicago press feeders' and Boston teamsters' strikes; to prohibit striking girls from "making faces" at scabs at Paterson, N. J.; to prohibit persons from organizing a union, as in the case of the electrical workers at Wheeling, W. Va., and similar freakish edicts that only tend to bring the courts into contempt; but the craziest distortion of justice that has ever come under my notice occurred at Tarentum, Pa. The non-union glass bottle blowers went on strike in a local plant, and against the advice of union men. Then the district court jumps to the fore and issues an injunction against the union and officers restraining them from doing everything that they didn't do or want to do. The strikers are not in the union or in any manner connected with the organization or its officers. The courts have been so much in the habit of hitting union heads whenever they bob up that this Pennsylvania judge naturally hurled his edict against the organization because the non-unionists revolted.

On the first of next month another national struggle for the eight-hour day will begin. The Brotherhood of Bookbinders will follow the example of the printers and order a general strike in all of-

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fices that refuse to concede the shorter workday. About 85 per cent of the journeymen in the trade are organized, and it is believed that the union printing establishments will inangurate the eight-hour system without much trouble. The fight will come in the so-called open shops. Up to the present the eight-hour day has been conceded to the binders in about 25 cities and towns. It is likely that a heavy assessment will be levied upon those members who gain the demands to support their fellow-workers on strike.

In all probability the printing pressmen the country over will also go on strike for the eight-hour day in the near future. At this writing the international officers are in conference with representatives of the employers' association known as the United Typothetae, which body as been waging desperate war upon te Typographical Union during the past two years to enforce its open shops and long hour policy. The pressmen had an agreement with the Typothetae conceding the open shop and the introduction of eight-hour day in 1909, but at the recent convention in New York that compact entered into by the officers was repudiated and those responsible for it were turned out of their positions. Now the pressmen demand not only the eigh-hour day, but the closed shop as well. To grant those concessions would mean that the employers' association had completely reversed its former policy, and it is hardly probably that the bosses will yield to what they naturally regard as a humiliating position. It would mean the disruption of their organization, or what is left of it, for the printers drove many bosses out of the Typothetae.

Cornelius Shea was defeated for re-election as president of the Teamsters Union at the recent Boston convention, Daniel J. Tobin, of the latter city, being chosen as his successor. . In fact the Shea administration was almost completely wiped out. .An effort is now being made to harmonize the factions and build up the organization to its old-time strength. Shea is an able man in many respects and a hard fighter. Being only human, he made some mistakes, the crowning error being his support of Mayor Busse in Chicago at the last election. They say he was actuated by revenge because of Mayor Dunne's policy in sending the police against the teamsters during their strikes, just as though Busse won't do the same thing at the very next strike. It is this childish politics of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies" that has caused the downfall of a good many union officials and will undoubtedly do so in the future. Their opponents are bound to arouse suspicion against them and soon their influence is gone. If a man is conscientiously a Republican, Democrat or Socialist he is usually respected, whether we agree with him or not. But when he flaps around boosting a "friend" here and knocking an "enemy" there it is quite natural that the average person asks, "How much?" There are hundreds of ward-healers and bums in every city who play that game the year around and have no other visible means of support. Why should union officials attempt to compete with ward-healers and not only destroy their own usefullness, but bring disgrace upon the whole labor movement? Shea can thank the Gompersonian policy of "rewarding our friends and punishing our enemies" for his undoing.

The impression is steadily growing that there will be another showdown in the anthracite mining region next spring, when the present agreement expires. A district convention was held at Wilkesbarre, Pa., recently, and there it was shown that under the present open shop system dictated by Roosevelt the miners' locals are getting

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an "unsquare" deal. The delegates complained that good union men are being constantly discharged and blacklisted, while non-unionists and backsliders are favored, openly and deliberately, in order to dishearten the union men and win lukewarm members away from the organization. An effort was made to secure the adoption of a plan whereby members in good standing were to refuse to work with those in arrears for dues until the latter paid up. But it was shown that such action would violate the open shop agreement, and consequently the plan was dropped. In the debate it was declared that the hands of the unionists are tied; that the operators can victimize union members, put a premium on scabbery, and yet nothing can be done. Hence there is plenty of talk of trouble next spring. But meanwhile Baer & Co. are having mountains of coal piled up in anticipation of a strike —and the dear people will pay the cost.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

HOW TO MAKE SOCIALISTS.

The raw material for socialists is being turned out as a by-product of capitalist production, a great deal faster than organized socialism has been able to use it. With dividends increasing, prices rising and wages about as before, it is not hard for the average laborer to grasp the idea that he is not getting all he produces. With one fight or another always on between trade unions and employers, and with the courts and police always at the service of the capitalists, it is easy for the trade unionist to get some glimmerings of the class struggle. The work of "agitation" is done for us; it is a useless task for us to duplicate it.

In other words, the non-socialist laborer already knows something is wrong with capitalism. We need waste no breath telling him. Many of our treasured arguments have thus become obsolete. What we need to do is to help him to see how things are evolving, and why a revolutionary class party is the most effective instrument to help HIM get what HE wants.

As the Stuttgart congress has definitely recognized, we can not overthrow capitalism with a party alone. There must not only be a clearly revolutionary party; there must also be a clearly revolutionary trade union movement to work with it, and there can be neither one nor the other without clear-headed revolutionists.

These revolutionists will not evolve without study. They can not study without books. To circulate these necessary books is the work of the eighteen hundred men and women who are organized in the co-operative publishing house known as Charles H. Kerr & Company. Eight years ago when we published the first American editions of Liebknecht's Socialism and Engels' Socialism Utopian and Scientific, the writings of European socialists were practically unknown to American workingmen, and there was no American socialist literature worth mentioning. Today we are publishing over a hundred different socialist books in permanent binding for libraries, besides more than a hundred pamphlets. Our list includes all the greatest books on socialism by the ablest writers of all countries,

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and our co-operative plan puts them within the reach of workingmen at a fraction of the prices usually charged for sociological works. And all this has been accomplished practically without capital, except such as has been painfully raised in small sums from the people who want the socialist books circulated.

BOOKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

During the last year we have had exceptional chances for securing books of the utmost value to the movement on favorable terms, and we have therefore added to our list more rapidly than ever before. The consequence is that our sales, though larger than ever, have not been enough to cover the heavy outlay required by bringing out so many new books at once. Moreover, many of the comrades who have been accustomed to buying each new book as fast as published have not been able to keep up with us. The consequence is that though our total sales have been large the sale of each new book has been somewhat less than we had counted on. We will here name over the principal publications which we have added to our list during the last year, since many readers of the **Review** have doubtless overlooked some of them, and will want to send for them at once upon being reminded.

Marx's Capital. The first volume of this great work was published by us last December. Previous to that time we had been importing and selling the London edition, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels. Our own edition is an accurate reprint of this, except that it has been revised by Ernest Untermann so as to include the additions and changes made by Engels in the fourth German edition. It also contains a complete topical index, a feature never included in any previous edition, English or German. Typographically it is far superior to any previous edition, and the price is $2.00, remarkably low for a book of 869 large pages. We issued 2,000 copies, and they are nearly all sold, so that a new edition will soon be needed.

We published the second volume last July. This is an entirely new translation, by Ernest Untermann. The volume, although published in the German language in 1885, has never until now been within the reach of American readers. The London publishers of the first volume have given us an advance order for 500 copies of the second. The sale of this volume up to the present time in the United States however, up to this time, has been small, considering the great importance of the work, and we hope that every reader of the Review who has not yet ordered the volume will do so at once. The price is $2.00, the same as the first volume.

Comrade Untermann has nearly completed his translation of the third and final volume, which we hope to publish early in 1908. The

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translation is paid for by Comrade Eugene Dietzgen as a gift to the American socialist movement. The printing will, however, involve an outlay of about $1500, since the third volume is even larger than the first. A considerable addition to our working capital will therefore be necessary in order to bring out this volume.

International Library of Social Science. This series of important socialist works in large and handsomely printed volumes at a dollar each was started at the beginning of 1906, and we shall mention here only the later volumes, since the earlier one are more than a year old. **The Positive Outcome** of Philosophy, by Joseph Ditzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann, is a work only second to the masterpieces of Marx and Engels in its importance to the student of socialism. **Socialism and Philosophy,** by Antonio Labriola, is far simpler in style and expression than the author's earlier work, "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." It continues the discussion of the subject in the form of familiar letters to Sorel, a prominent socialist of France. **The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals,** by M. H. Fitch, is noteworthy in that the author, with no knowledge of the literature of socialism, has reached substantially the same conclusions as Marx, Engels and Dietzgen by an entirely different route, starting with the data furnished by Herbert Spencer and pointing out the errors of his bourgeois followers. **Revolutionary Essays,** by Peter E. Burrowes, is a well known work by a well known socialist writer, which has been added to our list within the last year. **The Rise of the American Proletarian,** by Austin Lewis, is a strong clear application of Marx's historical method to the recent history of the United States. Lafargue has lately pointed out that socialists have thus far been too ready to talk **about** historical materialism rather than to use the principle in a scientific way to explain facts and throw light on social problems. Austin Lewis has in this book done a work that was greatly needed, and his book is interesting enough and easy enough for a new inquirer, while it is original and searching enough to repay the study of the best informed socialist. **The Theoretical System of Karl Marx,** by Louis B. Boudin, is a statement of the Marxian system in the light of recent criticism. He shows how the various parts of the system are related so that the acceptance of one part involves the acceptance of the rest. The book forms an admirable introduction to the study of "Capital." **Landmarks of Scientific Socialism,** by Frederick Engels, is a translation by Austin Lewis of all the valuable portions, hitherto unpublished in English, of Engels' great work "Anti-Duehring." This is one of the indispensable classics of socialism.

Standard Socialist Series. This series includes the best obtainable socialist books that can be printed in convenient pocket form and retailed at 50c. They are handsomely bound in cloth in the same style as the larger volumes. Twenty-two of those volumes

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are now ready, but we mention here only those published within a year. **Social and Philosophical Studies,** by Paul Lafargue, explains why the capitalists tend to be religious and the wage-workers otherwise, and also explains the origin of the ideas of Justice and Goodness. **What's So and What Isn't,** by John M. Work, is one of the best popular answers to the objections usually urged against socialism. **Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History** in the latest work of Karl Kautsky, the foremost Marxian writer in Germany. **Class Struggles in America,** by A. M. Simons, is a revision of the author's popular pamphlet by the same title, and includes references to authorities which give ample proof for the startling assertions made. **Socialism, Positive and Negative,** by Robert Rives LaMonte, is in many respects the clearest and most brilliant exposition of socialism yet written by an American author; it is a book for those who are not afraid to know the truth. **Capitalist and Laborer,** by John Spargo, is a courteous yet telling reply to the arguments recently offered by Prof. Goldwin Smith and W. H. Mallock against socialism. **The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies,** by Paul Lafargue, is a new translation by Charles H. Kerr of the first study in the book, with five other studies now for the first time offered in book form. **Revolution and Counter-Revolution,** by Karl Marx, is the first American edition of one of Mark's easiest and most popular books, heretofore sold only in an imported edition at a higher price.

Ancient Society. This great work by Lewis H. Morgan has hitherto been kept out of the reach of workingmen by being held at the price of $4.00. We have published an excellent edition at $1.50.

The Ancient Lowly. A little over a year ago we purchased the remainder of the old edition of this great work of Osborne Ward from the author's heirs. We closed out the old editions, and within the last year we have published new and uniform editions of the two volumes at $2.00 a volume, either volume sold separately.

The American Esperanto Book. There is an increasing demand from socialists for a text-book in the new international language, and we have lately published at $1.00 an admirable book by Arthur Baker which will enable any student to master the language without the aid of any other book.

Pocket Library of Socialism. We have during the last year enlarged this series of five cent booklets from 45 numbers to 60 by the purchase of the pamphlets formerly issued by the Standard Publishing Company of Terre Haute, Ind. Some of these are exellent books, while others are of an opportunist or sentimentalist character. As fast as the supply of such booklets is exhausted we are replacing them with better ones. Among the new booklets thus issued lately are **Science and Socialism,** by Robert Rives LaMonte, **Marx on Cheapness,** translated by LaMonte, **What Socialists Think,**

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by Charles H. Kerr, **From Revolution to Revolution,** by George D. Herron, **Why a Workingman should be a Socialist,** by Gaylord Wilshire, and **History and Economics,** by J. E. Sinclair. Any one of these will be mailed for 5c, and we are for a short time offering the full set of sixty 5c books postpaid with the International Socialist Review six months, all for a dollar.

Ten cent Books. We have within a year added considerably to our list of ten cent books by buying out the Standard Publishing Co. We mention here only the books of which we have printed editions within a year. The latest of these is Hillquit's official report on behalf of the Socialist Party of America to the Stuttgart congress. This is published under the title **Recent Progress of the Socialist and Labor Movements in the United States.** Other recent books are **The Right to Be Lazy,** by Paul Lafargue, **Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism,** by Gabriel Deville, and **Not Guilty,** a play in three acts by John Spargo.

Twenty-five Cent Books.. Of these we have lately added to our list **The Civil War in France,** by Karl Marx, **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,** by Karl Marx, **Science and the Workingmen,** by Ferdinand Lassalle, and **The Passing of Capitalism,** by Isador Ladoff.

What Are We Here For? This book by F. Dundas Todd was originally published by another house at $1.00. It is a book on ethics from the socialist view-point but with much of the old-time phraseology, which may make it all the more acceptable to some who are just beginning to break with capitalistic ideas. The author has contributed several hundred sets of sheets to the publishing house, and to get the books into circulation quickly, we have decided to offer them in paper cover at 50c, subject to our usual discounts.

AS TO FINANCES.

One copy each of the new books we have named would come to $23.70 at retail prices. But we have issued on an average at least 2,000 each of the books during the last year, not to speak of many other titles which we have reprinted. This gives some idea of the expenditures we have had to make. There are many other books such as the movement needs that we want to bring out within the next few months, but to do this more money must be raised. Moreover, as we explained in the **Review** last month, we need to raise about $2,000 immediately to put the business on a cash basis and avoid paying seven per cent interest, which the banks are now charging. These same banks are paying their depositors only three per cent. We can afford to pay four per cent, and to comrades lending money on thirty days' call at this rate we offer security good enough

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for a bank. But we hope in a short time to have enough new co-operative stockholders to make borrowing unnecessary.

What $10.00 Will Do.

Send us $10.00 and we will send you a full-paid certificate for a share of stock and will also send you books to the amount of $5.00 at retail prices by express at your expense or books to the amount of $4.00 at retail prices by mail or express prepaid. The stock draws no dividends, but it entitles you to buy all books published by us, in small or large quantities as you want them, at a discount of fifty per cent if you pay the expressage, or forty per cent if we send by mail or express prepaid.

CONTRIBUTIONS ACKNOWLEDGED.

On page 127 of last month's **Review** Charles H. Kerr offered to contribute to the publishing house $2100 provided an equal sum be contributed by other stockholders for the purpose of paying off the floating debt. He has decided to modify that offer so that if the contributions do not reach the sum of $2100, he will contribute an amount equal to that given by all the others. The contributions thus far received are as follows:

D. P. Deely, Pennsylvania	$ 1.00
William Bross Lloyd, Illinois	20.00
Henry Crab, Idaho	20.00
Mrs. Adam Patterson, Scotland	20.00
Dr. R. T. Burr, Panama	20.00
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois	81.00
Total	$162.00

The other receipts of the month were excellent considering the season of the year,—$154.72 from subscriptions and sales of the **Review,** $220 from the sale of stock and $1707.35 from book sales. But September's receipts must be far larger if we are to get through the month without serious embarassment. The thing to do is for YOU to write us as soon you have read this, enclosing what money you can as a stock subscription, a contribution or a loan, or in payment for a **Review** subscription or for books. The time we need the money is not next month or next year but NOW.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The Russian Revolution.

X. THE PEASANTRY.

The Russian Government has weathered the storm caused by the revolts of the workingmen and middle classes, by the mutinies of the army and the Terroristic acts of individuals. It has not yet come to conclusion with the peasants.

Each of these movements, as I have tried to show in the preceding chapters, has some inherent weakness which has prevented its success in the past, the workingmen are too few, the middle class too divided within itself, the army revolts have had no definite goal, and the Terrorists—unaided—can not hope to overthrow the Government. There is no immediate probability that any of these movements can succeed. The hope—,all the hope there is—for the future lies with the peasants.

Eighty million out of the one hundred and five million of Russian citizens are peasants. If these eighty million should act together, by sheer weight of numbers they could get what they want. Those who do not believe that the Revolution will succeed say that the peasants do not know what they want, that they are too dumb and stupid to be an active force even if they did and that anyway they could not act together. All other classes having failed in their efforts to get reforms, interest centers on the peasants and especially on these questions.

What do the peasants want?

Have they brains enough to become a political force?

Will they act together?

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Innumerable books have been written about the peasants—yet few of them are of strict scientific value. Some show such an absolute lack of sympathy with the peasants that they demand little attention. Some are superficial after the manner of the endless books written in America by adventurous authors after a week's stay in a factory or slum district. And others, evidently inspired by deep sympathy and long study are marred by a visible prejudice on the part of the writer.

There are two broad schools of thought in Russia, the one that holds that Russian development has been and will be unique, the other that the progress of Russia must follow the course of Western Europe. These two conflicting philosophical principles have, not only caused the main split in the Socialist Movement—the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party—but are apparent in all branches of thought. According to the first school the organization of the peasant communities on co-operative and communistic principles is a distinctly Russian institution and this socialistic tendency is on the increase and holds the germ of the future Russian evolution. According to the other school, these co-operative phenomena are only survivals of a prehistoric communism which existed the world over and which are and ought to be disappearing in order that Russia may take her place as an industrial, capitalistic country side by side with other European nations. In the desire to support one or the other of these theories many able Russians have given years to the study of peasant conditions. But they have generally observed the facts through the medium of a preconceived theory instead of following the only scientific method of building their theory on observed facts. It is always easy to find facts to prove a theory and hard to notice ones opposed to it. So these studies of peasant life are extremely contradictory. It is probable that the error lies with both sides and that the truth is somewhere between them.

However, it is no longer necessary to go to books for information about the peasants. In the last two years they have found voice and have spoken for themselves. "The Peasant Union" and "The Labor Group" have framed their demands in a manner which clears away all doubt. I have spoken about both of these organizations before, but will discuss them now in a different light—as mouthpieces of the peasantry.

The Peasant Union was started in November of 1905 and in the first convention assembled some hundred odd peasant delegates from different parts of the Empire. The Union presented itself to the people not as a Political Party asking adherence to a certain definite programme, but as a class organization with the aim of formulating a class platform. With this end in view the convention drew up an appeal to the peasants which they

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circulated widely. In this appeal they explained, in the simplest language, the object of the organization, called on the peasants to organize locals in their village, to send the names of members to the Central Committee, and above all to formulate their demands. A suggested set of demands accompanied the appeal—to act as a basis—but the peasants were urged to consider them carefully, to strike out any which did not appeal to them, to add others according to their local needs, or to substitute entirely different ones if they wished. The collecting of responses was interfered with by the postal strike which preceded the December Insurrection and was definitely ended by the repressive measures of the Government which followed it. But before the outbreak the Central Committee had already received several thousands and over a million peasants were enrolled. These documents coming as they did from the most widely separated parts of the Empire, showed a wonderful similarity in the wants of the peasants. There were some special demands—the peasants near the rivers wanted certain restrictions removed from fishing etc. But in the main the demands were surprisingly uniform. Most of these papers have been scattered by successive police raids on the Central Bureau in Moscow. The loss is incalculable, on account of their resemblance to the reports of their grievances with the French Peasants sent to the States General in 1798. and which gave such a vivid picture of the condition in that country previous to the Revolution.

The same surprising solidarity of the immense peasant class was shown by The Labor Group in the Duma. The deputies gave voice to the peasant demands at every opportunity. In order that their delegates should not forget anything the peasants took ample means to keep their minds fresh. During the session some 20,000 letters and telegrams were received by the peasant deputies reminding them of the needs of their constituents. And besides this nearly a hundred "Overseers" were sent from different localities to overlook the actions of their representatives and see that they did their duty. The peasants often selected young and educated men for their deputies, teachers, village clerks and the like, but these "Overseers" were invariably old men, typical big-bearded, wise-eyed peasants. They thronged in the lobby and tea room of the Duma building. They were willing to talk and who ever wished, could know the minds of the peasants.

So in these two ways the peasant has found his voice and his wishes are plain.

The demands of the peasantry fall into two classes, the basic and unanimous demands and those which are subsidiary or ununanimous.

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The basic demands were summed up in the peasant cry, "Land and Liberty."

Land, with the peasant, ranks with air and sunlight. It is a necessity to all and can be owned by none. On this principle they are as nearly agreed as eighty million people could be. Even in those districts where the communal form of holding has died out, or never existed, large numbers of peasants, — legal owners of land, —subscribe to this idea of the un-ownableness of the earth. Now the peasants realize that while there is enough air for everybody to have all he wants, there is not sufficient earth, and so that some sort of organization for the distribution of land must exist. Here again we come to an almost universally accepted principle, — that the land must be held by him who cultivates it with his own hands. All beyond this is matter of detail and of course there is much divergence of oinion, some few accepting the socialistic proposition of central landownership and management, others desire the perpetuation of the existing communal form and some are more closely allied to the Henry George scheme. But all unite again on the principle that these details must be decided locally. So the peasant's theory of land — and it is not a vague theory but the most vital concept in his life — is that: the land can not be owned, it can only be held by him who actually tills it, the details of distribution must be arranged locally.

The peasants demand for liberty is equally concrete. The peasant knows little and cares less about the central government at Petersburg. A great many people have been telling him that he ought to want a democratic republic and he is beginning in a vague way to think so too. But having slight ability to read, what he reads about does not seem half so real to him as what he sees. So his demands are fundamentally local. And when he demands liberty he means local liberty. The peasants who came to the Duma as deputies and those who share the rare gift of reading have a broader conception of liberty but all their political ideas have the local unit for a center and gradully broaden out to national and international affairs. The peasant is fundamentally a federalist. And they are much more concerned with the abolition of tyranny of the local officials than they are with the overthrow of the Tsar. The peasant community is much more democratic in its working than even a Massachusetts town meeting. All they ask of the central government is to keep its hands off their local affairs. This decentralised idea is part of their programme of land distribution. They want the land — all the land — given into the custody of the local committees to be distributed by them. Connected with this demand for Liberty is the demand for an Amnesty of all political prisoners. The peasants

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do not always understand the agitators, and are not always understand by them, but they realize in a genral way that the political prisoners were arrested for trying to get "Land and Liberty" for them and therefore are their friends.

The subsidiary demands are manifold and are not so unanimous, principally because the local economic conditions differ widely. The principal ones are liberty of the press, freedom of speech and public discussion, the abolition of the passport system and the right of free change of residence, radical reform in taxation, the reduction of the Army service, Jewish equality and Woman Suffrage. It will be a surprise to many Westerners, who are in the habit of thinking of the Russian peasants as Jew haters, to know that when the subject came up for duscussion in the matter of a platform for the labor Group (peasant deputies) in the Duma, the vote in favor of Jewish equality was 96 to 1. The peasants are more ready to give equal political right to the Jews than to their own women. The last demand perhaps being the least unanimous of those I have mentioned.

There is a legend, generally accepted in the West, that the Russian peasants are absolutely unintelligent, very little better than brute beasts. And this popular fable is widely believed by the Russians of the class which calls itself "The Intelligenzia". Because his knowledge of Hegel's philosophy is very limited, because he crosses himself before a holy picture, because his ideas of foreign countries are vague he is supposed to be stupid. And yet I have met a college professor in Moscow all of whose ideas about America were taken from Bryce's "American Commonwealth". He would not believe me when I said that our "primaries" did not work very satisfactorily, — it was all so beautiful according to Bryce. A good many Russian peasants have never heard of America, but nine out of every ten know more about practical, applied democracy than this college professor — or Bryce himself. They are not unintelligent, they are ignorant. One generation of primary education would put them on par with any peasantry of Europe.

A comparison of the demands of the peasants with those of the Intelligenzia is exceedingly interesting. It throws valuable light on the nature and development of the peasant mind. In general the demands of the peasantry are local, practical and definite, while those of the Intelligenzia are general, theoretic and indefinite. The chief interest of the peasant is the raising of a crop—essentially local. The interest of the Intelligenza centers in such things as the organization of commerce and transportation, essentially general. The demands of the peasants are based on their daily life—practical. The College Professor of Economics may have a great deal of information about railroads and industrial organization, but having no practical knowledge of these things his demands will be theoretic. The demands of the peasantry are

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concrete and definite. The demands of the Intelligenzia are — if not indefinite — at least abstract. The very definiteness of the peasant's ideas and his methods of attaining them points to a very high degree of intelligence. Modern science is for his method — the inductive rather than the deductive method.

The Intelligenzia get their ideas by abstract logic.

The Peasantry by concrete experience.

No other country has produced a class of such broad cosmopolitan culture as the Russian Intelligenzia. A command of three or four foreign languages — and this coupled with extensive travel — has made them familiar with the literature, philosophy and science of all Europe. And yet their ignorance of the vast majority of their countrymen is appalling. I have in mind a young woman, a university graduate and the daughter of one of Russia's best known educators, who speaks several languages and is a Socialist. She told me that during the last summer she visited friends in the country and attended one of the village meetings. "I couldn't understand what they were talking about," she said, "they speak such bad Russian." This intellectual snobbery is typical of the Intelligenzia. The real Russian language, the speech of ninety percent of the people, is "bad Russian" to the few thousand cultured people who corrupt their language by foreign words and archaic forms. Not understanding the words of the peasants, they pronounce them stupid. It is like the Irish Sergeant in India who accused an intellectual Hindoo of stupidity because he could not say the multiplication table in English.

The evidence of the mental strength of the peasant is too voluminous to cite in detail, and I will only discuss one phase of it — their legal system.

The wisdom of the peasantry is social, rather than individual. It is the aggregate of the mass-mind, not the teachings of individuals. And this is clearly shown in their administration of justice. The Russian peasants have no legend of a law-giver. No Moses or Solon, who, inspired by God, gave them a ready made system of laws. Their law — just grew. The Romans had the Code of Justinian, the French the Napoleonic Code, but in Russia there is — the peasants law.

No other institution so closely reflects the mental development of a people as their judicial system. And in this regard the peasants of Russia have a right to be proud.

The Russians have two words which are translated as "law." "Zakon" meaning an edict or a human law, and "pravda" meaning a natural law, as we speak of a physical or astronomical law. The peasants only use the last word "pravda". Their laws are not written nor formalized,—but live in the minds of the people

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as principles of simple justice. Each case is decided on its own merits.

In a class in the New York Law School the Professor was explaining an important decision and one of the students objected.

"Professor," he said, "that doesn't seem just or fair."

"It's the law", the professor replied, cynically, "If you are interested in ethics young man, you had better go to a theological seminary. This is a law-school."

The Russian peasants could not understand that view point. Law to them is nothing but ethics — its only function is to deal out justice. The law being unwritten, there is no "letter of the law" to smother the spirit.

Another point in favor of the peasant system is that it is informal — they have developed no legal caste of lawyers and judges. The judge is elected for three years among themselves. His salary is not sufficient to support him and except on the two or three court days a week, he tills his allotment of land with the rest of them. There is no fear of him, therefore no need of intermediary lawyers. There is no ignorance of the law — because the simple principles of honor and justice are known to all — so here again there is no need of legal specialists.

And the justice of these simple democratic courts is the wonder and despair of the educated. "It is not uniform," they cry out, "You can not tell beforehand what the law is." No. You can not sit down and plan out how to injure and cheat your neighbor to within a hair's breadth of the legal limit, as you can where law is written and administered formally. But unless you try to cheat your neighbors you have nothing to fear.

One instance came to my notice where a dispute between two neighbors ended in a fight and battered faces. They were hailed before the court and after the judge had given them a kindly lecture on brotherly love and pointed out that men had a better way than brute beasts to settle discussions, he sent out for a bottle of vodka and they all shook hands and drank to uninterrupted friendship. It was on the whole a much better, if less classical, solution, than to have perpetrated the ill-feeling by sending the aggressor to jail.

But the most interesting and significant phase of their legal idea is the way they distribute a man's property after death. It is only the land which is held in common and so personal property exists in all other things, horses, farm-implements, animals, etc. Now the law of inheritance has caused the jurists of the world more trouble than anything else. Practically everywhere else the basis of distribution of inheritance is birth. Among the Russian peasnts it is labor. The little estate is divided among those who helped to create it, and according to the amount they have helped. If the eldest son has left home early to find fortune in

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the city and has led his own life, not contributing to the family purse, he has no claim at its distribution, and the younger sons who have worked side by side with the father will get it all. If, by chance, a son-in-law, has lived in the house and contributed his labor to the family wealth, he shares alike with the sons. This theory of the basis of property right being labor which the peasants have pronounced so forcibly on the land question — runs through their whole life. What a man has made is his.

This — the basic principle of Socialism — is more generally accepted among the Russian peasants than anywhere else in the world.

Almost all these peasants institutions are undergoing a severe strain. Each and all are threatened by the pressure of economic forces or direct governmental interference. The "artel" — the co-operative manufacturing groups — are dying out in competition with the artificially stimulated "Grand Industry." The Government, after years of repressive laws directed against the village communes, has at last abolished them. The police officer stationed in each village often succeeds in corrupting the peasant judge. But the spirit of democratic communism which inspired these institutions is baffled, not killed. The natural social intelligence by which the peasants have developed themselves has been thwarted, not extinguished.

This has been amply demonstrated the few times, when, by some chance, the peasants have freed themselves from the governmental oppression. In December of 1905, the officials were driven away from a half a dozen districts, and until the Cossacks came "to restore order", in many instances, after a space of two months, the peasants governed themselves with a stability and liberality, which was above praise. Some years ago some explorers in Siberia came across an unknown village. Most of the inhabitants were fugitives from the prison camps, but left to themselves they had lived a clean orderly contented life, electing their officials by the simplest democracy and arranging their affairs according to the inherent conception of justice which is part of each Russian peasant's soul. The explorers reported their discovery. And the village was put on the official map. Police came to the village, and priests and prostitutes. Bribery, thievery, army service and all the fruits of civilization were thrust on the villagers. But the explorers had been sufficiently interested in this little "uncivilized" village to write about it at length—and enthusiastically. From their account it is possible to see — with a large degree of accuracy — what Russia will be like when the governmental exploiters are driven out and the peasant can organize things to suit himself.

So much for the description of the peasant's mind and for his needs and his ideals. It is evident, on the face of it, that these demands are revolutionary. No government in the world —

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much less the cabal who rule in St. Petersburg — would consent to the nationalization of the land, or to the Socialist doctrine that labor is the only basis of property. In order to realize these demands the peasants will have to fight.

Every Russian newspaper publishes a regular column of "Peasant Disorders", — often several columns. Sometimes the peasants kill the local police master. Sometimes they burn the landlord's barns or cut wood from his park. Sometimes the young men refuse to enter the army. Sometimes it is necessary for the government to flog the villagers to extort taxes. It starts in these ways or some other. Often it is shortlived and put down by the local police, sometimes it is more serious and takes days to suppress. There is very little of the Empire where blood has not flowed from these peasant uprisings. But they have all — sooner or later — been crushed out. The revolt of single villages is hopeless.

We are confronted by the last question: Will the peasants unite in revolt?

If this question could be answered definitely the Bonds of the Russian Government would either spring up way above "par" or sink off the stock exchanges. No one but a prophet could answer this question.

The best that can be done is to cite some of the many forces which draw the peasants together or hold them apart.

The centrifugal forces are appalling.

The expanse of the Empire is so great that unity of action seems impossible. The distances are so vast that half the country is already in the grip of the frost while the shores of the Black Sea are still warm. This difference in season is very grave. If the peasants rise—everyone says—it will be after the harvest. But that time differs by months. Railroads are scant and the telegraph and mail is in the hands of the government. Communication—naturally hard in an undeveloped country—is impeded by police spies. Add to the great distances and the lack of means of communication, the differences in languages, races and customs. The disintegrating force of this social difference is hard for an American to realise. The Dakota woodsman is different from the Alabama cotton raiser, but the difference is gradual, South Dakota differing little from North Dakota, and so on South through Illinois, Tennessee to Alabama. And even the extremes talk the same language. But the difference between Great Russia and little Russia is like the difference between Arizona and Mexico.

All, however, is not so pessimistic. There are centripetal forces as well. The Peasants Union, the Revolutionary Parties, The Labor Group have been ceaselessly preaching uited action. They have, as far as possible, overcome the difficulty of distance

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and lack of communication. Their proclamations and brochures have been scattered with ceaseless energy. The smuggling in of arms has never before been on so large a scale. In many localities fighting organizations have been formed, and everywhere the most advanced and thoughtful peasants are preparing for a last struggle. Famine and desperation have done much to break down the wall of race difference. Great Russian; Little Russian, Lithuanian, Lett, Armenian, Tartar, all the vast assortment of races are ground down in the same depth of misery. And hunger is more potent than creed or language. Everywhere the agitators report that the peasants want organization and arms, but the workers are few and the money scant, the ground to be covered is vast and the whole force of the government on the alert to impede.

The peasants, like the soldiers, have learned the cost of sporadic revolts. If one travels through Russia and wins the confidence of the peasants, he hears everywhere the same story. "Oh, yes," one peasant told me "our village has revolted — twice".

"What did you do?" I asked.

"Oh, we killed some of the soldiers and took the arms from the rest, we elected our commune and divided up the land."

"What then?"

"After a while, the soldiers came, some of us were killed, some exiled and all of us were flogged."

"Will you revolt again?"

"Oh yes — some time."

"When?"

"When all the peasants do."

Nobody knows just when this will be. But in almost every village in the Empire the peasants are looking forward to this time. The revolts in the past have been bloody lessons, but they have been well learned. They have learned that it is easy to dispose of the soldiers in their locality — it is only the outside troops they must fear. And if all the peasants rise at once and disarm the local forces, there will be no troops left. They have thought it all out in their deliberate, certain way. Of course it will help, if they destroy the railroads. If you ride over the country with an intelligent peasant, he will point out just which bridges will have to be blown up. And as you drive through his village he will point out the police station. "There are twenty rifles there and lots of cartridges", he will say, "some night we will take them. Every morning when I see the police polish them, I laugh, they are keeping the rust off of them—for me." In these words or similar ones the peasants all over the Empire will tell you of their plans. The time will come, they think, when they will all revolt together.

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It is only a question of time. This year it may be, or next. I would not be surprised if it started tomorrow.

There is no one organization which has sufficient influence to "call" this simultaneous uprising. The pessimists are correct when they say that the peasants are unorganized. But there is one phase of Russian life which must not be overlooked, and which, to my mind, is full of hope. Time after time psychological waves have swept over Russia and have produced united — although unorganized — action.

In the early seventies there was "The Peasantist Movement." Suddenly, without any prearranged plan, it came into the hearts of several thousand young people — all over the Empire — to throw aside their books, to leave their homes and the ease of wealth, to go "to the people". It was an intensified social settlement movement. There was no "Central Committee" back of this movement, no very concrete idea of what was to be done. The educated young people of Russia wanted to know about the peasants. The idea of living among the people was so contagious that family influence, even police persecution, could not restrain this strange crusade. No explanation of this movement is satisfactory. It remains a mystery in spite of many books. It simply happened. But it demonstrated a social solidarity which is quite unknown outside of Russia.

The first general strike shows the same phenomena. It was not organized. It was not "called" by any committee. Ten days, a week, three days before it was an accomplished fact, no one could have foretold it. It came suddenly—without the least preparation. Like a tidal wave it swamped Russian Industrial Life. All at once, everybody stopped work—*at the same time.*

The peasant revolt will come in the same way. The City workmen will help them and so will the revolutionary element of the army and the middle class. And before their simultaneous rising the Autocracy will disappear like a house of cards. Socialization of the land, and local liberty, will be facts. And out of the resulting chaos of burned manor houses and slaughtered officials, some sort of government will take form. And founded as it will be on the democratic and co-operative spirit of these eighty million Russian peasants, it is like to be a government of simple justice and equity, such as this old world has scarcely dreamed of.

ALBERT EDWARD.

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The Parlor Socialists.

The designation "parlor" has been attached to those Socialists who are of sufficient importance in the financial and social world to attract to themselves and their movements a considerable degree of publicity. As ordinarily used in the public prints, the phrase carries with it an insinuation of dilettanteism or faddism or oftentimes of downright insincerity.

But there is a deeper significance to the Parlor Socialist, a meaning vastly more profound than the daily newspaper, whose editorials and headlines are written in a hurry to catch the edition, is accustomed to go, even if the average newspaper reader, who is essentially a hasty skimmer, demanded expositions more penetrating and consistent. That is to say, for various complex reasons, more or less familiar, the attitude of the average newspaper, as such, towards current topics is apt to accord very closely with the attitude of the general public toward the same topics. The very existence of a newspaper depends upon an approximate agreement between its views and the views of its reading or advertising patrons or both.

The general conception of Socialists in this country has been that they are a body of malcontent agitators, with a great preponderance of good-for-nothing aliens, advocating a highly-colored exceedingly fanciful and totally impracticable governmental, economic or industrial scheme. This conception only the most superficial examination can justify. It is not the purpose here however to enter upon an exposition and defense of the principles of Socialism only in so far as it may be necessary to throw light upon the particular phenomenon indicated by the title hereof.

Socialism, as the natural and logical evolutionary successor of capitalism, attracts attention most readily where capitalism has given the greatest evidence of its ill effects and therefore of its decadence; where tyrannous industrial and commercial aristocracies have unmistakably been formed and where class lines are most sharply and indelibly defined. These beginnings are found in the commercial and industrial countries of the old world, most conspicuously in Germany, England, France and Italy. In these countries, class lines have, to be sure, long existed but within the century there has been a change in the color of the chalk with which they were drawn. Formerly in England, merchants and others "in trade" belonged to the lower classes and were generally looked down upon by the landed and hereditary aristocracy. Now however the aristocracy has become largely industrialized while

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the lower classes consist almost exclusively of the proletariat, with an admixture of pseudo-bourgeois, leading ever a more precarious and dependent existence, the slaves of the wages system. The temporal power has tended to follow the possessors of wealth, transferring itself to these from the hereditary kings and potentates. The reference is to England because its social fabric is more familiar to American readers. The same is true of the other countries, any difference being one of degree and not of kind.

The industrial development of the United States was no less rapid in the absolute than in those countries but our country, being vast in extent was able to absorb it, and no pressure was felt. Furthermore class lines in this country had to be formed anew rather than merely transformed as in the older countries. But class lines were forming insidiously, even if they were not an easily discernable phenomenon. During the greater part of a half century therefore, while Socialism in Germany was rife, while it was there a leading question exerting an appreciable influence on the government and the laws which all historians recognize, it was in this country taken practically no notice of. When considered at all, it was summarily dismissed as something peculiarly foreign, a product probably of monarchies to disappear with the establishment of a democracy or a republic. This indeed was more than a hasty or superficial view. Even such careful analysts as Henry George and Herbert Spencer speak of Socialism as comparable to the autocracy of Russia. How they reached that conclusion is not clear although it is likely that they mistook for real Socialism the efforts of Bismarck to forestall and impede real Socialism by instituting a modicum of state socialism. They possibly noticed that state socialism was of no benefit to the proletariat and accordingly uttered their comprehensive disapprobation.

At any rate, until the last five years, Socialism received scant notice in this country. News items, much less editorial comment, pro or con, were rare. Magazine articles were rarer, if not entirely absent. During this time and before, there were however the beginnings of Socialism in this country, beginnings which were made largely by immigrants who, being already familiar with the tenets of Socialism, had no difficulty in recognizing its applicability to all countries. Many of our cities had German or Italian Socialist organizations, where a native American Socialist could hardly be found. Even these organizations were few in number and in membership and the average editor passed them by as not worthy of serious academic consideration and as too insignificant to consider from a circulation standpoint. They touched neither his mind, his heart nor his pocketbook.

But what, you ask, has this to do with the Parlor Socialist?

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From the standpoint of America, it has everything to do with him, for the phenomenon which the paragrapher lightly dubs Parlor Socialism is nothing more or less than an unmistakable sign of the Americanization of Socialism, leading the paragrapher gently but powerfully and relentlessly past the point where he can define Socialism as the unintelligible ravings of a handful of unnatural and unnaturalized bomb-throwing aliens plotting against recognized and duly constituted authority. The paragrapher finds plenty of satisfactory reasons for the socialistic product of the German revolution or the German military system without abating one jot or tittle his own intense jingoism, but when he finds men advocating Socialism for this country, men who were born on American soil, bred in American homes, enriched by American methods and educated at American universites, then he grows a little more serious about it, ceases for a moment his strenuous waving of the flag, ponders and possibly evolves a derisive epithet.

Opponents of Socialism frequently say as an objection that there are different kinds of Socialists and different kinds of Socialism. Let them use the following statement as ammunition if they can. There are as many different kinds of Socialists as there are different Socialists. In using that statement however, let them take notice that it is necessarily inconsistent with the "equality of men" theory, an impossible condition which Socialists are often charged with attempting to bring about. There are also varying expressions of the details and ramifications of Socialism, but they all rest on one fundamental principle, the collective ownership and democratic administration of the social tools of production and distribution of wealth. State ownership of railroads in Germany or Russia, for instance, is therefore not Socialism for, while, by an elasticity of meaning, they may be considered as collectively owned, that is, not privately owned, they are certainly not democratically administered.

Socialists who are sincere (for we even recognize that such a thing is possible as an insincere or self-seeking Socialist) are striving for the same goal, their methods, powers, opportunities may and do differ. They may be classified according to any arbitrary standard, color of eyes, mental caliber, material possessions, etc. For the purposes of this paper, it is convenient to divide them, not invidiously, into two classes; the ordinary workman and the "intellectual".

Bearing in mind that no classification is absolute, it may be said in general that the former, the ordinary workman, who is a Socialist is so because his own immediate economic necessities forced him to give it attention. The struggle for existence, in its most virulent form, lies at his very door and he is ready to give ear to any propaganda that promises alleviation. His is the in-

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ductive method. That he is likely to be relatively unintelligent, goes without saying. Manifestly he has not had the advantage of a college education, often not even of common schooling. Even the skilled workman has acquired his skill at the neglect of wider intellectual pursuits. Obedient to a specialized brain, his hand performs the work assigned, but he has not been trained to think, to think widely and profoundly, to generalize, to deduce, to follow a consistent and logical abstract mental process. The unskilled workman is still more incompetent mentally. Being an unskilled workman, he often hasn't even the social advantages of the labor union. He must work long hours for small pay. His time, even if he had the inclination to study and the mental capacity to learn readily, will not permit him to do much more than follow the dull and tedious daily round of toiling, eating and sleeping. His whole time, like that of a chicken, is spent in getting a living. To get out of a job is to him often a blessing in disguise, for it gives him time to think.

On the other hand, the intellectuals are Socialists deductively. They are men, not necessarily better men in the absolute, who have had the opportunity to pause for a general prospective and retrospective view, as the traveller pauses at the crest of the hill and contemplates in a large way the road he has just seen in detail as he journeyed over it, and maps out the course ahead of him; or as the traveller lost in the forest climbs a tree to widen his horizon and reestablish his bearings. They have had the advantage of the mental discipline and the introduction to knowledge afforded by the universities. They have had the advantage of access to books, and they have had, most of all, the advantage of leisure, advantages which they have used to their profit. All these advantages presuppose a certain degree of economic security. Although there are men who possess a high degree of knowledge on social and economic subjects and who are yet wage-earning proletarians, they are but the exception which proves the rule. It has been said indeed that many a wage-earner in the slums of New York or Chicago knows more about political economy and sociology than the average college professor. However that may be, the purpose is not to prove that there are not intellectuals among the proletarians, but rather to differentiate the Parlor Socialists as distinctly intellectuals, a differentiation which is obvious. Nor is it by any means contended that all intellectuals are Socialists. Let us examine the Parlor Socialist a little more closely.

He is usually a college graduate. The average college graduate is a hopeful, ambitious lad. If he have sufficient vigor and earnestness of purpose to secure a place among the commencement day orators, he talks about big affairs and electrifies his applauding fellows with glowing idealisms. His gaze is intently

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fixed upon the future and in fancy he carves his career and writes his name in bold face type upon the indelible pages of history. He wants to do something. He wants to be something. He has, he thinks, fitted himself for law, journalism, business, politics or what-not. He is ready to take hold.

He knows the Greek and Latin and French verbs. In these languages he has read a few books which he does not remember for their literary or historic value as a whole, but merely fragmentarily as a collection of daily tasks. In the realm of history, he has been dragged through volumes about kings and dynasties and ages which, whether dry-as-dust or served like fiction, have at best but a passing interest for him as no attempt is made to apply this knowledge to his daily life and present problems. He studies political economy and sociology and possibly becomes familiar with a few detached laws like the laws of Gresham and Malthus, but he does not carry away with him a comprehensive grasp of the laws of society, a grasp that in any way will guide him in his daily life. These statements refer of course to the literary or academic institutions. The technological institutions are in a separate category, although it may be remarked in passing that no man is properly educated unless he has a working knowledge of the fundamental laws governing the society in which he lives.

By implication at least, most colleges teach the conservative gospel of things-as-they-are, with respect to politics and economics. At any rate, they do not intimate that a substitute for capitalism is possible or advisable. They do not even recognize capitalism categorically, and Socialism is a matter to be treated in one page out of four hundred of the average economic text-book. It is clear therefore that, while Parlor Socialists are college graduates, the colleges are not directly responsible.

Referring again to the average college graduate, it may be said that he leaves college firm in the determination to "make money" which he frequently confounds with "making a living." And oftentimes he has an additional mental twist to the effect that some ways of making money are more honorable than others. If he is a rich man's son, he goes to college because it is the proper thing to have an unimpeachable certificate of education and, neglecting those sons of rich men who do not make even a pretense of being useful members of society, the majority after graduation proceed in the ways recognized as "proper". If a lawyer, he waits for his client and takes orders whether to stand upon the law or circumvent it; if a minister, he preaches established doctrine; if in mercantile business, he racks his brain to keep up the selling price and keep down the cost price; if a doctor, he humors his patients and gives them what they think they ought to have rather than lose them; if a journalist, he seeks

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to discover what the people want him to say and says it; if in public utilities, he contrives to buy legislative bodies and secure franchises as cheaply as possible; if a politician, he joins the more likely of the two dominant political parties and seeks office in the old vote-buying, boss-ridden methods. All these things are eminently proper according to the standards of the day and according to the interests of the class to which he belongs.

He sets about accumulating his automobiles and yachts and town and country houses with as much zeal and energy, yes with as much self-justification, as the proletarian does about getting and holding a job which will yield him hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together. It is the gospel of cut-throat competition. His only limit is "what the traffic will bear". Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. It is the recognized gospel and hence eminently proper. The man who sets about to carve his career in any of these fashions stands little chance of being successfuly assailed, for the average critic and moulder of public opinion is struck from the same die.

But the Parlor Socialists are different. Their view of life is somewhat more broad. Their methods deviate from the standards called proper. To be called a Parlor Socialist one must of course have large and increasing material possessions. But such a one, although going through the motions of properly taking care of these interests, does not make it his whole business or look upon it as the chief desideratum of life. He wants enough, but he does not want too much and, unlike many of our present-day commercial barons, he conceives that it is possible for an individual to have too much wealth. He pauses to examine the general manner of money-making and weigh it in ethical scales, asking the question as to why he, young and inexperienced, should possess so much without effort while thousands whom he sees about him possess but little or nothing with the maximum of effort. He is led into investigating the sources of wealth and soon comes to the obvious conclusion that wealth is produced by labor and that therefore he is living on the labor of others.

Although he may love ease and comfort, nay although he may be excessively sybaritic, he pauses to witness the despair and wretchedness of those about him and wonders whether it is not possible for all to live in ease and comfort. Although he may love ease and comfort, he does not consider it the part of true luxury to have a half dozen automobiles, to have several different domestic establishments in various parts of the country, to languish at the club or join in the social whirl of gayety and conventional amusement. On the contrary, he reaches the conclusion that true luxury is impossible so long as a large majority of his fellow beings live in squalor and destitution. He is like the good, old-fashinoed housewife who would disdain to sit in a

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sumptuous parlor so long as the rest of the house was unkempt. He is a little bit different from the rest of his class. He lives more deeply and thoughtfully than those who are in the conventional rut. He learns more of real life in a year than the goggled speeder can learn in a decade at the automobile lever. But he is not yet a Socialist, except in embryo. He is only a questioner. He has merely become conscious that he is the beneficiary or, if he is particularly harassed by his excessive material possessions, the victim of widespread inequalities.

If he is a man of parts, daubtless, persevering, he will not stop until he gets to the bottom of the question. He examiines first this explanation, then another; now this remedy, now that one. Beginning with the general prejudicial contempt for Socialists and Socialism, he finally recognizes that the social disease he is fighting is systematic and organic and that Socialism and Socialists offer the only systematic remedy.

At this point, another and entirely different quality is requisite. The recognition of the fact is one thing. To make public that recognition is quite another, requiring a kind of nerve or heroism of which story books are wont to prate, a heroism more traditional than historical, more desired than possessed. He has found that society is divided into two classes, one small one preying on the other large one. He has found that he belongs to the preying class which is as jealous of its prey as the dog of its meagre bone. To announce his conviction involves the possible disseverance of the social ties of a life time and even of the family ties. He must place himself in opposition to the views of his entire class and attract to himself the heedless bark of every feist that turns a stilted phrase or wields a dogmatic pen. Having become conscious of the existence of classes, he is opposed to class lines and becomes a traitor, so-called, to his own class. He believes that society should be a homogeneous, harmonious whole, instead of two opposing forces deployed in battle array upon the industrial arena. So believing and having the courage of his convictious, he joins hands with those of the other class who are likewise class-conscious and protestant.

We have been taught to sing of "Hands Across the Sea". This is hands across the social chasm joining in an attempt to heal the breach made by the unsocial ravages of capitalism. A slight recapitulation will clarify the figure. The proletariat, the exploited wage slave, becomes conscious of the chasm, makes his examination and espouses Socialism. This after a time attracts the attention of now and then a truth-seeking member of the other class. He looks and "lo, it is good" and they join hands, marking the advent of the intellectuals into the movement.

The introduction of the Parlor Socialist into the American movement therefore is truly and deeply significant. It is a

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critical moment calling for more serious consideration and discussion than contemptuous or derisive innuendo in the form of fantastic epithet, can satisfy. Nor can it be satisfied in the way of which the following is a fair example. "Millionaire Socialist So-and-so To Live In A Hut", says a newspaper headline. The statement not being true, we may assume an ulterior motive besides the mere desire to give the news. We may assume that the headliner believes that Socialists should live in huts and he is anxious to disseminate Socialist So-and-so's apparent sanction of that belief. To tell him in general that Socialists, far from desiring to live in huts, however better they may be than some tenements, believe that with an equitable distribution of wealth no man would need to live in a hut, makes no impression upon him. To tell him specifically that his story is untrue, elicits the charge that Socialist So-and-so therefore is not sincere. If Socialist So-and-so is not going to live in a hut, wear rags and dine with the Barmecides, he is not a true and faithful Socialist, the newspaper headliner's conception being so vague that he confuses the desire to relieve the destitution of the proletariat with the desire to share his destitution and privations. He believes that Socialist So-and-so should sell all he has and give it to the poor. In vain does the Socialist protest that such a proceeding is utterly futile, that charity is but a poor substitute for justice, that to give to the poor reduces them to state of mental dependence, lowers their wages and offers another source of gain to some capitalist leech. And so the newspaper headliner merely corrects himself in some subsequent issue by the derisive declaration that Socialist So-and-so has decided that he will forego hut-living and other asceticisms.

Or perhaps the newspaper headliner is merely reasoning by analogy, always a most dangerous logical process. Perhaps, consciously or otherwise, he draws an analogy from the two dominant parties, formed of leaders and followers, parlor office-holders and kitchen voters, leaders who promise nothing but buncombe and give nothing but excuses, sympathetic plutocrats who give just enough "to the cause" to get the required votes and protect their vested interests, their followers riding in carriages on election day to walk the rest of the year. Perhaps he cannot conceive how a party can be organized on any other basis, how a man with money could have any other reason for dabbling in active politics at all, much less in a form of politics where all are on equality and the leader is but a follower.

The story of the man who was arrested for keeping a vicious dog is a familiar one. He defended himself on three grounds; in the first place, his dog was not vicious, in the second place, he always kept his dog muzzled and, in the third place, he didn't have any dog in the first place. Our case is similar. The Parlor

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Socialist as a class after all does not exist. A Socialist is one who believes that the wage system is slavery; that competition is wasteful; that special statutory privilege of any kind is unsocial and immoral. He believes he has found a definite, simple remedy in the collective ownership of the social tools of production and distribution of wealth. He denies governmental favors to others and asks them not for himself. The Parlor Socialist advocates these things to his own material disadvantage, thus refusing sustenance to the popular gospel that a plethora of material wealth is the summum bonum. But he does not advocate them to his own economic insecurity for, of the economic security he seeks to obtain for all, he will himself partake.

Parlor Socialism as a characterization is ephemeral. It will disappear when the Socialist movement is thoroughly Americanized, that is, when the Parlor Socialists are sufficiently numerous to cease to invite individual comment and when, through the lapse of time, they have given unmistakable evidence that they are not merely victims of a passing fad or fancy.

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The Intellectuals and Working Class Socialism.

(Continued).

THE passage from the old to the new regime is to be made by transitional measures which show how our utopian understands the functioning of the government of Intelligence. Saint-Simon has given several sketches of these measures. The fullest of these was explained in his work entitled "L'Organisateur". There is to be a parliament with three Chambers, which might be quite acceptable to royalty. The first is to be the *Chamber of Invention,* composed of two hundred civil engineers fifty poets or writers, twenty-five painters, fifteen sculptors or architects, ten musicians; its function will consist in developing plans for national works and public feasts. The second is to be called the *Chamber of Examination;* it will comprise a hundred physiologists, a hundred physicists, a hundred mathematicians. It will control the projects developed by the former Chamber and will direct public instruction. The third or *Executive Chamber* will be that where the manufacturers "adjusting ideas to production will judge what is immediately practicable in the projects of public utility conceived and elaborated in concert by the scientists and artists".

In later projects Saint-Simon more modestly limits himself to increasing the powers of the Institute and of the scientific societies. He proposes to develop the Academy of Sciences, to create a vast Academy of moral sciences and place over both these bodies a supreme scientific College.

To realize this oligarchial society Saint-Simon does not count on persuasion. He condemns popular violence with a vigor which could not but enchant our present reformists. He was obliged, he says in his *New Christianity,* "to take all necessary precautions to prevent the spread of the new doctrine from impelling the poor class to acts of violence against the rich and against governments. I have been obliged" he adds, "to address myself in the first place to the rich and powerful that I might dispose them favorably to the new doctrine by making them feel that it was not contrary to their interests, since it was evidently impossible to improve the moral and physical condition of the poor class by other means than those which tend to increase the enjoyments of the rich class. I have been obliged to show the artists, the scientists and the men in charge of the manufacturing industries, that their interests were essentially the same as

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those of the mass of the people, that they belonged to the class of toilers, while at the same time they were their natural leaders. Likewise, in 1821, in his *Lettre a M. M. les Ouvriers* Saint-Simon had advised the latter to speak only with words of humility to their employers: "You are rich", they were to say, "and we are poor; *you work with the head and we with our arms;* it results from these two fundamental differences which exist between us that we are and ought to be your subordinates.'

But—and this is still a common trait with our present priests of reason and science—Saint-Simon asks the help of the authorities in his persuasive propaganda and for the realization of his projects. All his life he implores an intervention from above, addressing himself in turn to Napoleon, to the Tsar, to the parliaments of France and of England, to Louis XVIII, to the Holy Alliance, to the bourgeois classes. His idea is to draw from the coercive power af the State all the action which the idealists expect from it for imposing their dreams. He hopes that the king will operate with a high hand to apply his plans. He suggests the proclamation of a dictatorship until the reorganization of the nation be complete. Several times he advises to act brusquely, and he does not hesitate to demand as tyrannical measures as those of the Revolution.

Is it not right that Force should serve the Idea?

IV.—Saint-Simon's School carries out the system to its logical conclusions and ends in an intensified *intellectual despotism.*

Grouped at first around his paper *Le Producteur,* it announces that it is about to bring humanity back to *dogmatism,* "the normal state of the human intelligence, that to which it tends continually by its nature and in all of its types". The famous distinction established by Saint-Simon between critical epochs and organic epochs forms the "scientific and experimental basis" of his new theocratic conception. Does not historical observation show that humanity is on the threshold of a new organic period? And is it not manifest that the time is come for society to tear itself away from individualism, disorder and competition, that it may realize association, order and harmony? All that is needed is to find the *government* adequate to the new epoch

This is the problem which Saint-Simon's genius has solved. But that there may be a perfect *unity* in the hierarchy he has constructed it is necessary to go to the end and give a religious foundation to the new order. Science and religion blend together in positive philosophy. Irreligion is peculiar to critical epochs; organic periods are periods of faith. Now the new faith exists: it is *demonstrated truth.* And this faith, precisely because it is "Founded on demonstration instead of tradition", is the most scientific which can be imagined.

But every religion implies a pope. If the priest and the

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scientist are one and guide society in the way of reason, they must themselves drink in from a higher source the truth which they diffuse in the world. Among all the priests of the new social order there is one specially chosen for this sovereign mission. Because, nearer to God, he knows more than the others, he must reveal to them the exigencies of the eternal order. By him cohesion will be complete in the harmonic society where all shall depend on his authority and where there shall be no more room for liberty, unreason and anarchy.

"Papacy", says Enfantin, "is a divine conception: it is perfect, since it is the image of unity."

In this sacerdotal society justice is to be distributed proportionately to capacity. The old aristocracy was founded on the *privilege of birth*s the new will be created on the *privilege of capacity*. "To each according to his ability, to each ability according to its deeds". Such is the formula which the School wishes to carry over into reality. It is this which inspires to-day our professional intellectuals, when they demand a just—that is to say a large — *reward for talent*.

In the *Globe*, the School of Saint-Simon defines its practical immediate demands. It gives more methodically than Saint-Simon all the recipes for State socialism. Its chief concern is to make of the State "the first of bankers, the depository and disburser of the national capital to the poor intellectuals. The necessary resources will be provided by the suppression of collateral inheritance and by a graduated succession tax. But the State will not realize its aim completely until it becomes a great employer on public works and develops its national machinery, canals, roads, railroads, banks, etc. It must organize high schools for the training of engineers, directors of industry, in a word, all "the officers of the peaceful army of laborers."

For, indeed, it is really on the military fashion that the Saint-Simonians conceive their society as operating. They quarrel with the army only because it is intended for making war. Some of them even think of utilizing it for the industrial organization. Does it not represent authority, hierarchy, order, everything which should characterize the new world? Listen to Michel Chevalier: "The regiments with their uniform, their music, their religion of the flag, would then become great schools of arts and crafts where the toilers would find a precious fund of honorable sentiment and of punctual habits". Elsewhere he compares the engineers and the laborers to officers and soldiers. He thus represents the inauguration of great works which he proposes for the transformation of Paris: "The king and his family, the court of appeals, the royal court, the two Chambers, would handle the pick and shovel, the old Lafayette would be there, the regiments and the music.. *the squads of workmen would be commanded by*

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engineers and experts in full uniform.. the most brilliant women would move among the workmen to encourage them."

It is easy to understand the mental traits from which this theocratic and despotic conception of society must have arisen. As Dupin said to the Chamber, speaking of the Saint-Simonians: "They would make of society a vast convent, whose chiefs, under the name of capacities, should be the monks, and whose members, under the name of laborers, should be the penitents". The rival socialist sects were no more merciful. Considerant especially pronounced on the School one of the truest judgments which it has called out: "Carried away," he said, "by the defense of the principle of authority and by the study of the feudal and theocratic organizations of the Middle Ages it takes for a solution an impossible historical revamping. This consisted in applying to the data of the new society. industry and labor, the hierarchy which the old society had made for war, that is to say, that feudal form and theocratic hierarchy itself. And even the old Saint-Simonian Vidal, while he still congratulated his former teachers for having wished to "rehabilitate the idea of authority, order and hierarchy", accused them of "committing a strange anachronism". "It is in vain", he said, "to invoke history, to say that everything great in the world has always been accomplished by despotism, religious or military. It may be answered with the same authority: But also all crimes against humanity have been committed in the name of fanaticism or in the name of tyranny."

This taste for authority, moreover, led the School to the rapt adoration of every strong authority. Enfantin, like Saint-Simon before him, had been a devoted worshiper of Napoleon I and he became one of the warmest partisans of Napoleon III. But it is especially in their admiration for the Austria of Metternich, petrified in dogma, hardened in absolutism, that all the theocratic passion of the Saint-Simonians is revealed. In his sonorous *Letter to Heine*, Father Enfantin awaits from Austria the regeneration of Germany. "In her", he cries," is deposited German morality. the life of the Holy Empire. She is the depository of order, hierarchy, the sentiment of duty." He speaks again elsewhere of the "touching beauty of Austria, calm and harmonious in the midst of the discords of the world.

While this madness for authoritarianism possessed the principal leaders of the Saint-Simon School to the end of their career, they always remained equally anxious to assure the best possible means of keeping the ranks of the intellectual aristocracy recruited. Enfantin at his death bequeathed to his friends the mission of realizing his two last thoughts; the publication of an Encyclopedia and the organization of the *Credit Intellectuel* (Intellectual Trust Company). The one was to serve as a foundation for the other. The encyclopedic institute was not merely to be

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a vast literary enterprise, but it was to facilitate the organization of an intellectual trust company. Loans were to be made to poor young men on the security of their ability. The need was recognized of raising capital for science as for industry; we have an Exchange of values, there should be an Exchange for ideas. Thought should be quoted on this Exchange the same as sugar and cotton and be the object of the same financial speculations. Enfantin considers that the capitalists who will float the affair will make their profit out of it, but he appeals especially to their feelings: "I have cited numerous examples", he writes, "of the inhuman carelessness of our present society as regards the throng of its children endowed with intelligence and abandoned by it at the time when they have the greatest need of its natural provision.... And has not Saint-Simon bequested to posterity and especially to us this terrible cry:" For two weeks I have eaten bread and drunk water! The names of the toilers in science and art are not yet inscribed on the books of the Bank and the bankers; credit exists not for them; it is for you to give it to them. When you shall have accomplished this work not only shall we see no more poets or scientists like Gilbert in the hospital, but you will not longer have to blush for the scandalous failings of men of genius. Credit makes people moral". And Enfantin points out the precautions to take. "You will say perhaps that intellectual credit is very uncertain, I affirm that it is not. Take the same precautions which the banks of Scotland take for personal credit: two witnesses of the same profession, or else a guarantor, and add, as completely moralizing, a life insurance policy. I tell you that this will be quite as good security as the two signatures which are sufficient for bankers who deal with manufacturers. Scientists, poets, literary men, artists, these are a numerous and noble clientage; for it is they who cultivate, embellish and enrich the world of the mind; it is they who should have their turn to-day, after the material miracles which have been realized in industry." Finally, Enfatin ends by raising the threatening specter of a discontented intellectual proletariat. "It is certain that society suffers morally from the inequality of the distribution of the fruits of labor between capital and talent, between the satiated flesh and the hungry soul. Human intelligence is no longer Christian enough to glory in its mortifications and its misery: it is jealous of its glorious sister, and she may indeed suffer cruelly for it unless she takes precautions."

All the "demands" of the poor intellectuals, whose talents are misunderstood, or whose genius is unrecognized, which we have heard so often in our own days, are there set forth with an abundance of arguments which will never be surpassed. Truly, under whatever form we take it, Saint-Simonism appears as the ideal socialism of the professionals of thought.

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V.—Saint-Simonism occupies a preponderant place in the history of the ideas of the nineteenth century and its influence has persisted up to our time. The religious and fantastical aspects of the doctrine quickly faded away and, in that sense, Proudhon could truthfully say that "the Saint-Simonians have passed away like a masquerade". But the real and vital things in the School have shown good staying qualities: scientific rationalism, State socialism and the dominance of the intellectuals.

It may be said that with the Saint-Simonian School we have a beginning of this vicious use of words: positive science, experimental truth, rational demonstration, scientific observation, etc. expressions which no doubt have a real meaning when properly employed, but which become deceptive when in the service of the superstition of abstract science. Positivism—at least that which is vulgarized as positivism—is its most extreme form, and Renan says, not without reason, of August Comte: "M. Comte believes that humanity feeds exclusively on science, or, what shall I say? on little ends of phrases like the theorems of geometry, arid formulas". Hereafter we shall have to suffer the lawless manifestations of this *rationalistic craziness* which claims to drive the unforeseen from history and chance from the world, which would dissipate obscurity in everything and reduce everything to intelligible and clear concepts; and which proposes to impose upon the universe, always tormented by desire for the irrational, the laws of formal science.

Saint-Simonism is the first of those scientific utopias born of the progress of practical knowledge and mechanical inventions. The human mind, intoxicated with its own conquests over nature, easily believes that nothing is impossible for it and embarks upon the most foolish enterprises. The Fouriérists dream of transforming the moon, and that is not the least of their vagaries. And we all know to what aberrations of intelligence the education called scientific has so often led its unhappy victims.

But it is in the socialism of political parties that the most persistent of the Saint-Simonian conceptions are reborn. At first there is a bunch of formulas currently employed by the socialist reformers who come from this School:—"The amelioration of the moral, physical and intellectual lot of the most numerous and the poorest class". "The end of the exploitation of man by man." "The golden age which a blind tradition has hitherto placed in the past is before us,"—etc. Later it is this School which inaugurated that reaction, which the socialists parties have continued, against the economic individualism of the French Revolution with a cry for solidarity and intervention. From this School date the anti-revolutionary theories of *social evolution*, which teach that the passage from one social form to another is made by an insensible progression; and it is from this School

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again that come also these appeals to the reasonableness of the ruling classes, which have so often been formulated since, to accomplish peacefully in *collaboration* with the exploited classes the urgent reforms.

Moreover, at the very moment when this school was being wrecked by its ridiculous eccentricities, its ideas were taking form in rival systems. The State socialism of Louis Blanc is closely allied to the State absolutism of the Saint-Simonians. Pecqueur and Vidal have the same authoritative conception of collectivism or communism. And they all would unite, in a general and peaceful reconciliation, the enlightened bourgeoisie and the confident proletariat.

All the demands of State socialism in Europe will be found to flow from Saint-Simonism. Charles Andler in his study on *Origins of State Socialism in Germany,* has observed how heavily the Saint-Simonism ideas have weighed on the German social thought, and how from Lassalle to Rodbertus and the social monarchy, it is the spirit of this School which has been manifested. And we only need to state that the Lassallean conceptions inspire to-day all the socialist parties in the world—conceptions which have stateism as their beginning and their end—to grasp under its present appearances the permanence of the most dogmatic and most authoritarian of doctrines.

But the real success of the School was the troop of bankers and manufacturers which it gave to capitalism carried away by the intoxication of its first audacity. The great names of finance, of political economy, of business practice, were Saint-Simonian names. Here especially we see the affinities of the utopia with the environment which produced them. The Saint-Simonian dream of putting men of thought at the head of our industrial society has been realized. A few decades have sufficed to turn France upside down, to checker it with railroads and canals, to equip it with establishments of credit and speculation, to make it, in a word, a country of great capitalism.

It will be understood that a doctrine thus made for the *masters of production* does not become popular. It touched only the intellectuals, to whom it was addressed. The proletariat could hardly understand that hierarchic and theocratic conception of life. To have the *secret of the people,* as Corban says, it will be necessary to question it and, without taking account of outside infiltrations, discover what there is in it irreducible and new.

HUBERT LAGARDELLE.

(*Translated by Charles H. Kerr.*)

(*To be continued.*)

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Capitalist Science.

IN "American Medicine" for April '07, the Editor greatly worried over the negro-lynchings in the Southern States, asks: "Why does the free negro show such "irresistible impulse" to rape white women, while the slave did not? There must be a discoverable and removeable cause. It is a question for science and not theology or pedagogy."

And having found the proper method of handling this annoying question, the editor at once outlines a bold plan of treatment: "The negro brain", he cites, "is considerably smaller than the European and particularly the northern types grouped together as Anglo-Saxon . . . . The negro not only has fewer brain cells, but also fewer of those connecting fibres, which by their number distinguish the human from all other brains . . . . The near brain is well developed so that the negro is emotional . . . His brain shows why he lacks self-control under provocation, and why his sensual acts normal to the jungle, are uncontrollable in civilzation. As the negro inferiority is not functional, accidental, but due to an organic defeat of the brain it follows "that no amount of training will cause that brain to grow into the Anglo-Saxon form."

Hence, of course, it is a great calamity that "we placed a vote in the possession of his brain which can not comprehend its use." And . . . "it may be practicable to rectify the error and remove a menace to our prosperity—a large electorate without brains . . . It is high time to call in anatomy to the aid of statemanship . . . Science may show where the trouble lay, and point the way to some practicable scheme for limiting the franchise to those who can use it, and disfranchizing those who abuse it or sell it . . . .

The medical profession has a ground opportunity to help stem the tide of civic corruption which is overwhelming the nation. We are reaping a harvest of crime from our neglect to cultivate this field.

Pedagogs and clergymen have assured us that education and religion will cure our civil ills. Yet we have the worst record of any civilized nation, in spite of the most extensive school system and our well known piety."

The throne had remained kingless for more than a century. The gods were forced out of the temple in this age of scrutiny and challenge. But now the young knight—Science—virile and daring—demands for itself the authority of both, throne and altar.

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It reaches out for the Universe as its kingdom. It presumes to dictate the way you shall cloth, house, live and die. It will command whether you shall marry and rear the like of you, or whether you shall have to stay single, as none of your like are wanted.

And to cap the climax of its audacious demands, science now claims as its function to decide whether or not a mortal be allowed to exercise his right of a free man, his right to vote.

It may be that the demand of science will have to be acceded to. It may be that the scientific way, the anatomical way, will prove the best, the wisest way, that human genius will ever learn to employ; perhaps it will be so, at some future day. Would it be wise for humanity to trust it, life and liberties, to the decision of the anatomist, or medical man of to-day—this is quite a different question.

Time there was when the scientists and doctors formed a class by themselves, living on the outskirts, so to say, of the ordinary struggle for life; where, serving humanity, they were not called upon to participate in the war between exploiter and exploited. They served man as man, and in this noble vocation have developed tendencies and instincts of their own, which crystalized into a code of ethics that walled in the medical profession into a caste dissimilar to any other civil class or caste. The doctor or scientist knew no authority superior to science, no power above truth. Money, fees, remunerations; the amount of these have been established by common usage, for the doctor, too, must live.

But the fee was the last, and the prompt and consciencious aid to the sufferer preeminently the very first consideration of the doctor. Verily his word could have been taken, as the word of truth itself; and the clauses of the Hippocratic oath that say: "Into whatever house I enter, I will go into them for the benefit of the sick . . . . . With purity and with holiness I will pass my life and practice my art . . ." were by no means mere words, but presented a true image of the soul of the practitioner of the Medical Science and art in days gone by.

But capitalism came. Under no other form of society was money-hunger so deeply and so universally rooted into the human heart.

Has the doctor been exempt, did he save his holy scroll, his ethics, his honor and his speriority over man in his strife?

Let facts speak for themselves.

Professor Koch, the famous physician, to whose work we owe a great part of what we know about Tuberculosis, announced to the world in an article in the *"Deutche Medicinische Wochenschrift"* of April 1st '97, that he had discovered a new, Tuberculin —that is a remedy for the cure of consumption—(a former similar

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discovery by him having turned out more or less useless), the article peculiarly being dated November 14, '96.

A controversy as to the merits of the works of Professors Koch and Buchner, arose immediately, and not only suggested that plagiarism was not altogether inapplicable to the state of affairs, but brought out also the fact, that both professors, believing their discoveries to be of the greatest value to suffering humanity, held them back for months attempting meanwhile to secure patents, and thereby more profitably to exploit their supposed specific remedies.

About a year ago the world was rejoiced and at the same time shocked, when Professor Behring, I believe, announced that he discovered a specific remedy for the White Plague, but would withhold its formula until he was enabled to accumulate so and so many millions of dollars!

Such is the change capitalism wrought on some of the pillars of the medical profession in the Old World.

How about America?

Let us turn to our own community.

A few years ago an old man died under suspicious circumstances. Another man was arrested under the charge of having caused said man's death by poison.

The state hired medical experts, who at the trial proved that the deceased died of poison; the defendant hired medical experts who proved that said deceased might have died of any known disease but poison.

And to this day the question has not been definitely settled; for although the State still holds the prisoner ready for execution, only a few months ago some prominent medical men started circulating, among the medical profession, a petition for the release of the unfortunate prisoner; for these medical petitioners claim that the deceased did not come to his demise through poison.

Now the discovery of poison in a case like the above, depends upon a very definite and rather simple procedure, which would never cause differences of opinion among chemists, if an opinion were dependent merely upon the interpretation of a chemical reaction, and not upon the heart rending fact, that a big fee will or will not be paid, according to the results of the finding.

A short while ago, a millionaire took the law into his own hands and fired a bullet into the body of another man, with fatal effect. The shooter was arrested. At the trial the prosecutor claimed that the accused man was sane, consequently punishable; counsel for defendant claimed that said defendant was insane, consequently not punishable.

The prosecutor hired medical experts who learnedly proved that the defendant was sane. The defendant hired medical ex-

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perts who equally learnedly went on proving that their employer was insane.

And there the question stands to-day.

Now, the question of whether a person is, or is not sane is surely more complicated, and more difficult of solution than the question of whether there is or there is not any poison in a given stomach.

Still such questions, relating to sanity and insanity are being answered by experts daily without great ado, whenever a large fee does not come with the way the answer of the expert, goes.

There is scarcely a man in this land who does not know the meaning of the word "Patent Medicine".

It is a mixture of medicial ingredients, patented under the laws of the state, the formulae being kept secret. It is compounded and pushed by medical men and chemists. It is advertized loudly as a sure cure, usually for some incurable disease, as cancer, consumption, or blindness. It is absolutely useless, as far as the accomplishment of the promised cure. But most of the time it contains a large amount of alcohol, morphine or cocaine, which by temporary stimulation produce a sense of bouyancy which the unfortunate victim mistakes for the curative effect of his secret nostum; he continues imbibing it until his original trouble becomes complicated by chronic alcoholism, cocainism or morphinism.

In this manner hundreds, nay, thousands, of the most unfortunate, are being robbed, and under the false promise of a cure that is impossible are the more quickly hurried to their death instead of having the fatal end delayed.

It is true that these patent-medicine men are the traitors to the medical profession, the quacks, the charlatans; those who yield to Mammon without the least show of resistance; but, it is true also, that never before capitalism did such a large percent of physicians desert the ranks, as is witnessed to-day.

However many, or few—these are the outcasts, of the honorable pharmaceutical and medical professions, and pointing to the yearly slaughter produced by the patented drugs the regulars of these professions may rightly say: "Our hands have not spilled that blood!"

I would not like in the same breath to mention the patent-man, with the sins of omission and commission chargeable to many of the regulars. But the regulars are not all clean either.

There is a book known as the "National Formulary", containing many recipes of great usefulness for certain ills that flesh is heir to. Now some "reputable houses", pick out some such recipes, alter them slightly or nothing at all, label them with fancy name, and put them on the market at fancy prices. And some *regular*, mark you, regular professor, stops to push those

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brazen-faced imitations of well known formulae and dump them into the sick-room and hospital at their extremely high prices.

As example I will mention at random two such preparations: Cataplasma Kaolini, is a well known salve, very useful and rather cheap.

Liquor Antisepticus Alkalinus is a beautiful fluid preparation that has certain curative power under certain conditions and is very cheap besides.

Now, certain respectable houses have put on the market imitations of the above, that have absolutely no greater healing power that druggist, doctor or patient could discover, and such imitations sell at 3, 4 or even 5 times the price the decent well known pharmacopoeial preparations can be bought.

And *regular professors* push those shameful impositions, and regular and respectable physicians have got to follow suit.

Now, some of the above named concerns boast that their products are being sold by the tons to the city hospitals. Of course even respectable houses are not compelled neither by laws nor otherwise to stick in their statements to the absolute truth, but you cannot help asking: suppose this particular boast does contain some truth, and the city is being taxed to pay 300 per-cent over the real value for drugs supplied to the poor sick in the public institutions—and such taxation made possible by a little graft distributed to the proper person, which in many instances must be a regular medical man of the better class. Then such would be the depth to which a medical man can sink and still remain a regular. It does not quite harmonize with the language of the Hippocratic oath.

But, strange to say, such conduct under capitalism might be called with propriety "business methods" and would not at all be out of tune with the notions of right and wrong, as the world understands such notions now, under capitalism. And the average citizen, and many a doctor, while not approving, would fail to see in it any thing particularly revolting.

A few weeks ago the street cleaners of New York quarrelled with their chief, he having introduced a custom of fining them out of a considerable portion of their wages upon the merest pretext.

It was the hottest week of the summer. The chief, an employee, of the tax-payers, did not hasten to adjust matters so as not to leave his employers in the lurch, but high-handedly provoked a strike. The street cleaners ceased to collect and remove the garbage.

In three days the offal accumulated in mounds on every sidewalk, and the smell rose to the heart of heaven. How many young children were choked to death; how many sick, struggling with death had the balance turned against them, just by the eman-

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ations of the fast decomposing animal refuse, will never be known. If these "christian" "gentlemen" who forced the strike will ever read a judgement-book, they may find it there. It was evident that the health of the strongest and the lives of the weaker ones were seriously threatened.

And still the "respectable" news papers had found out experts who declared to them that the accumulated decomposed garbage is only disagreable on account of its odor; but that there really was no danger at all to health or life. These experts were so cited at that particular time by the "Times" and "Globe" for instance, for the purpose of quieting popular indignation, which if roused, might have forced the public officials to end the strike not entirely on their own terms.

But if the citizens would ask why they should be taxed yearly to the tune of so many millions of dollars for the removal of garbage that is merely malodorous, those very experts and those very "Times" and "Globe" would have no difficulty in proving that the accumulation of garbage is not only malodorous, but also breeding a fearful number of deadly infections diseased, citing a host of authorities to prove their point.

We had the Haywood trial. Class was arraigned against class as openly, as is witnessed but seldom. The socialists and the more intelligent workingmen insisted on their right to hold their comrades innocent until proved otherwise, and fearing the repetition of the Chicago outrage of 20 years ago, organized demonstrations to secure a fair trial, and a fair charge by court.

The capitalists, assured contrary to law, that Haywood was guilty,—indeed—some of them in spite of the verdict—still announce their such unchanged belief and treated Haywood from the start as law would not allow them to treat even an escaped convict.

At the trial the veracity of the statements made by the psychopathological monstrosity, known under the name of Orchard, was naturally of great importance. Science assumed the part of an overzealous servant of the dominant class, taking as its cue the shout and clamor of the blood-thirsty wealthy mob; science came to the rescue in the person of Professor Munstenberg, who after a superficial farcical examination announced Orchard to be a truth-telling man.

I could enlarge upon the difficulties, inherent and organic, to scientifically demonstrate whether a story told by a normal subject, is truth, or mere "embroidery".

I could step by step show how the difficulties increase to an unanswerable enigma when the story, the veracity of which is to be scientifically demonstrated, is told by an Orchard, i. e. by one that is vitally interested, has been presumably, amply and ably tutored, and is a rare pathological monster at that.

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But I shall not enter into a discussion of these details,—for the professional exhibition of himself was so superlatively clownish, that to-day, at least it calls for no serious criticism, except, perhaps, from the professors own colleagues, who may feel incensed at this public degradation of science by one of its priests.

And yet this clownish performance, meant, at a certain critical period, that science demanded the life of a man, that was perfectly innocent, as the verdict of the jury has shown beyond doubt.

The professor claims that he was not paid for what he has done; he wants us to believe him; why should he? why rather not show his wonderful power and use his peculiar scientific methods, and *prove* beyond the cavil of doubt that he is truth telling.

He wants us to believe him; why should we? why should we be charitable to the man that is now trembling because he failed to hang an innocent man, and who would be glorifying now, if Haywood were strangled? How can the world charitably believe the professor who fears that he perchance may loose his standing in the community; while this very professor had no charity toward an innocent man on trial for his life? Are men, that voluntarily step out of their way to help hang an innocent fellow being, are such men believed, patted, shown charity?

Is this the science he learned? Is that the psychology he knows? is that the conduct he observed all throughout christian capitalist civilization?

But where the professor himself landed would be of no moment; the important fact is that he and his science can not be divorced in the popular mind, and the discredit of one is necessarily shared by the other.

About 100 years ago, a famous general announced that he learned by experience that providence was usually found on the side that had the better guns. Repeated experiences to-day have taught the nation, that the expert scientists' opinion was usually found on the side that had to pay the fattest fee. Such is the position to which science under the influence of the capitalistic atmosphere has been brought by some of its accredited representatives; until you will to-day find no jury that would, upon mere scientific testimony, hang even a cat if there was a possibility that such hanging would imply a fee to the concerned scientific expert.

And to science under such influence and such representation the "American Medicine" would have the nation refer for a decision of its most cherished and most sacred privilege!

To settle questions of right and wrong by the drawn sword is unjust, inhuman, and cruel: It is Hell. But if humanity would

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have to choose between cruel war and the decision of modern scientific expert testimony, humanity guided by common sense, would choose the lesser evil of the two: it would draw the sword.

Undoubtedly science will eventually guide all human activity, it will, as it should.

But as long as the majority of the race are economically dependent upon the few "captains" of industry, and insecure even in their temporary state of dependence, constantly facing the probability of sinking even to a lower degree; as long as this condition lasts—no man will dare express a free independent opinion, and the scientific expert, being as dependent as the rest, will prove no exception.

Only when the land and means of production are owned by the community, which will recognize every citizens inalienable right to equal partnership, then only will people have no necessity and no motive for hiding, or crippling their views and believes, and then only will we have a science, by which humanity will be willing to be guided; to which humanity confidingly and safely will be able to entrust the construction of a code of conduct for both, the individual, and the community.

Then and only then will humanity be enabled to listen with due respect to the word of science; then and only then, and never before.

DR. ADAM ISRAELI.

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Marx's Historical Method.

> The mode of production of the physical means of life dominates as a rule the development of the social, political and intellectual life.
>
> **Karl Marx.**

I.

THE SOCIALIST CRITIQUES.

Marx, half a century ago, proposed a new method for the interpretation of history, which he and Engels have applied in their studies. It is not surprising that the historians, sociologists and philosophers, fearing lest the communist thinker corrupt their innocence and cause them to loss the favors of the bourgeoisie, should ignore this method; but it is strange that socialists hesitate to employ it, possibly for fear of arriving at conclusions which might rumple their bourgeois notions, to which they unconsciously remain prisoners. Instead of experimenting with it so as to judge it from its use, they prefer to discuss the question of its value and they discover innumerable defects in it; it misconceives, they say, the ideal and its operation; it brutalizes eternal truths and principles; it takes no account of the individual and of his role; it leads to an economic fatalism which excuses man from all effort, etc. What would these comrades think of a carpenter who, instead of working with the hammers, saws and planes put at his disposal, should quarrel with them? Since no perfect tools exist, he would have plenty of chance to rail at them. Criticism does not begin to be fruitful instead of futile, until it comes after experience, which, better than the most subtle reasoning, makes us sensible of imperfections and teaches us to correct them. Man first used the clumsy stone hammer, and its use taught him to transform it into more than a hundred types, differing in their raw material, their weight and their form.

Leucippus and his disciple Democritus, five centuries before the Christian Era, introduced the conception of the atom to explain the make-up of mind and matter, and during more than two thousand years, philosophers, the idea not occurring to them of resorting to experience that they might test the atomic hypothesis, indulged in discussions on the atom in itself, on the

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fullncss of matter indefinitely continued, on *emptiness,* discontinuity, etc. and it as not until th end of the 18th century that Dalton utilized the conception of Democritus to explain chemical combinations. The atom, with which the philosophers had been able to do nothing, became in the hands of the chemists "one of the most powerful tools of research that human reason has succeeded in creating." But now, after its use, this marvelous tool has been found imperfect and the radio-activity of matter obliges the physicists to pulverize the atom, that ultimate particle of matter, indivisible and impenetrable, into ultra-ultimate particles, of the same nature in all atoms, and carriers of electricity. The atomicules, a thousand times smaller than the atom of hydrogen, the smallest of atoms, are said to whirl with an extraordinary velocity around a central nucleus, as the planets and earth revolve around the sun. The atom might be a miniature solar system and the elements of the bodies which we know might differ in themselves only in number and the gyratory movements o ftheir atomicules. The recent discoveries of radio-activity, which shake the fundamental laws of mathematical physics, ruin the atomic base of the chemical structure. It is impossible to mention a more noteworthy example of the sterility of verbal discussions and the fertility of experience. Action alone in the material and intellectual world is fruitful: "In the beginning was action".

Economic determinism is a new tool put by Marx at the disposal of socialists to establish a little order in the disorder of historic facts, which the historians and philosophers have been incapable of classifying and explaining. Their class prejudices and their narrowness of mind give to the socialists the monopoly of this tool; but the latter before using it wish to convince themselves that it is absolutely perfect and that it may become the key to all the problems of history; on this account, it is quite possible for them to continue during their whole lives to discourse and to write articles and volumes on historical materialism, without adding a single idea to the subject. Men of science are less timorous; they think that "from the practical point of view it is of secondary importance that theories and hypotheses be correct provided that they guide us to results in agreement with the facts"*. Truth, after all, is merely the best-working hypothesis; often error is the shortest road to a discovery. Christopher Columbus, starting from the error in figuring made by Ptolemy, on the circumference of the earth, discovered America, when he thought he was arriving at the East Indies. Darwin recognizes that the first idea of his theory of natural selection was suggested to him by the false law of Malthus on population, which he

* W. Rucker: Inaugural address at the Scientific Congress of Glasgow

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accepted with closed eyes. Physicists can to-day perceive that the hypothesis of Democritus is insufficient to include the prenomena recently studied, yet that does not alter th efact that it served to build up modern chemistry.

It is in fact little observed that Marx has not presented his method of historical interpretation as a body of doctrine with axioms, theorems, corollaries and lemmas; it is for him merely an instrument of research; he formulates it in a workmanlike style and puts it to the test. It can thus be criticized only by contesting the results which it gives in his hands, for example by refuting his theory of the class struggle. This our historians and philosophers carefully refrain from doing. They regard it as the impure work of the demon, precisely because it has led Marx to the discovery of this powerful motive force in history.

II.

DEISTIC AND IDEALIST PHILOSOPHIES OF HISTORY.

History is such a chaos of facts beyond man's control, progressing and receding, clashing and interclashing, appearing and disappearing without apparent reason, that we are tempted to think it impossible to bind them and classify them into series from which can be discovered the causes of evolution and revolution.

The collapse of systems in history has given rise in the minds of thinking men like Helmholtz to the doubt whether it is possible to formulate a historical law that reality would confirm. This doubt has become so general that the intellectuals no longer venture to construct like the philosophers of the first half of the 19th century, plans of universal history; it is indeed an echo of the incredulity of the economists as to the possibility of controlling economic forces. But need we conclude from the difficulties of the historic problem and the ill success of attempts to solve it that its solution is beyond the reach of the human mind? In that case social phenomena would stand apart as the only ones which could not be logically linked to determining causes.

Common sense has never admitted such an impossibility; on the contrary, men have always believed that what came to them, fortunate or unfortunate, was part of a plan preconceived by a superior being. *Man proposes and God disposes* is a historical axiom of popular wisdom which carries as much truth as the axioms of geometry, on condition, however, that we interpret the meaning of the word God.

All peoples have thought that a god directed their history. The cities of antiquity each possessed a state divinity or *poliad* as the Greeks called it, watching over their destinies and dwelling

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in the temple consecrated to him. The Jehovah of the Old Testament was a divinity of this kind; he was lodged in a wooden box, called "Ark of the Covenant", which was transported when the tribes of Israel changed their location, and which was placed at the front of the armies in order that he might fight for his people. He took his quarrels so much to heart, according to the Bible, that he exterminated his enemies,—men, women, children and beasts. The Romans, during the Second Punic War, thought it useful as a means of resistance to Hannibal to couple up their state divinity with that of Pessinus, namely, Cybele, the mother of the gods; they brought over from Asia Minor her statue, a big shapeless stone, and introduced into Rome her orgiastic worship: as they were at once superstitious and astute politicians, they annexed the state divinity of each conquered city, sending its statue to the capitol; they reasoned that, no longer dwelling among the conquered people. it would cease to protect them.

The Christians had no other idea of divinity when, to drive out the Pagan gods, they broke their statues and burned their temples, and when they called on Jesus and His eternal Father to battle with the demons who stirred up the heresies of Allah which opposed the crescent to the cross.* The cities of the Middle Ages put themselves under the protection of municipal divinities; St. Genevieve was that of Paris. The Republic of Venice, that it might have an abundance of these protecting divinities, brought over from Alexandria the skeleton of St. Mark and stole at Montpellier that of St. Roques. Civilized nations have never denied the Pagan belief; each monopolizes for its use the only and universal God of the Christians, and makes therefrom its state divinity. Thus there are as many only and universal Gods as there are Christian nations, and the former fight among themselves as soon as the latter declare war: each nation prays its only and universal God to exterminate its rival and sings Te Deums in His honor if it is victorious, convinced that it owes its triumph only to His all-powerful intervention. The belief in the intrusion of God into human quarrels is not simulated by statesmen to please the coarse superstition of ignorant crowds; they share it. The private letters recently published, which Bismarck wrote to his wife during the war of 1870-71, show him believing that God passed His time in occupying Himself with him, his son and the Prussian armies.

The philosophers who have taken God for the directing guide of history share this infatuation; they imagine that this

*) The first Christians believed as firmly in the Pagan gods and in their miracles as in Jesus and his prodigies. Tertullian, in his "Apologetica", and St. Augustine, in his "City of God", report as undeniable facts that Esculapius had raised certain dead persons whose names they give, and that a Vestal had carried water from the Tiber in a sieve, that another had towed a ship with her girdle, etc.

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God, creator of the universe and humanity, can be interested in nothing else than their country, religion and politics. Bossuet's "Discourse on Universal History" is one of the most successful specimens of the kind: the Pagan nations exterminate each other to prepare for the coming of Christianity, his religion, and the Christian nations slaughter each other to assure the greatness of France, his country, and the glory of Louis XIV, his master. The historic movement, guided by God, culminated in the Sun-King; when he was extinguished, shadows invaded the world, and the Revolution, which Joseph de Maistre calls "the work of Satan," burst forth.

Satan triumphed over God, the state divinity of the aristocracy and the Bourbons. The bourgeoisie, the class which God held in small regard, possessed itself of power and guillotined the king He had anointed: natural sciences, which He had cursed, triumphed and engendered for the bourgeoisie more riches than He had been able to give to His favorites, the nobles and the legitimate kings; Reason, which He had bound, broke her chains and dragged Him before her tribunal. The reign of Satan began. The romantic poets of the first half of the nineteenth century composed hymns in his honor; he was the unconquerable vanquished, the great martyr, the consoler and hope of the oppressed; he symbolized the bourgeoisie in perpetual revolt against nobles, priests and tyrants. But the victorious bourgeoisie had not the courage to take him for its state divinity; it patched up God, whom Reason had slightly disfigured, and restored Him to honor; nevertheless, not having entire faith in His omnipotence, it added to him a troop of demigods: Progress, Justice, Liberty, Civilization, Humanity, Fatherland, etc., who were chosen to preside over the destinies of the nations who had shaken off the yoke of the aristocracy. These new gods are Ideas, "Spiritual Forces," "imponderable Forces." Hegel undertook to bring back this polytheism of Ideas into the monotheism of the Idea, which, born of itself, creates the world and history by its own unfolding. The God of historic philosophy is a mechanic who for His amusement constructs the universe, whose movements He regulates, and manufactures man, whose destinis He directs after a plan known to Himself alone, but the philosophic historians have not perceived that this eternal God is not the creator but the creature of man, who, in proportion to his own development, remodels Him, and that, far from being the director, He is the plaything of historic events.

The philosophy of the idealists, in appearance less childish than that of the deists, is an unfortunate application to history of the deductive method of the abstract sciences, whose propositions, logically linked, flow from certain undemonstrable axioms which

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impose themselves by the principle of evidence. The mathematicians are wrong in not troubling themselves regarding the fashion in which the ideas slipped into the human mind.* The idealists disdain to inquire into the origin of their Ideas, coming no one knows whence; they confine themselves to affirming that they exist of themselves, that they are perfectible, and that in proportion as they become perfect they modify men and social phenomena, placed under their control; thus it is only necessary to know the evolution of Ideas to acquire the laws of history; in this way Pythagoras thought that the knowledge of the properties of numbers would give knowledge of the properties of bodies.

But because the axioms of mathematics cannot be demonstrated by reasoning, that does not prove that they are not properties of bodies, just like color, form, weight and warmth, which experience alone reveals, and the idea of which exists in the brain only because man has come in contact with the bodies of nature. It is, in fact, as impossible to prove by reasoning that a body is square, colored, heavy or warm as to demonstrate that the part is smaller than the whole, that two and two make four, etc.; all we can do is to state the experimental fact and draw its logical conclusions.†

The Ideas of Progress, Justice, Liberty, Fatherland, etc.,

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*) It is probable that in the intellectual baggage inherited from animals man found certain mathematical axioms which they put in practice. For example, the pigeons do not begin to sit until the female has laid two eggs, as if they knew that one and one make two; dogs, birds of prey, in fact all animals, to go to the object which they desire, follow a straight line, as if they knew that it is the shortest road from one point to another.

†) Leibnitz vainly sought to demonstrate that two and two make four; his demonstration, in the language of mathematicians, is merely a verification. Rather than admit that the axioms of geometry are experimental facts, as Freycinet proves in his remarkable study, "De L'expérience en Géométrie", Kant maintains that they have been discovered by a happy combination of intuition and reflection, and Poincarré, who in this case expresses the opinion of a great number of mathematicians, declares in his "Science et L'hypothèse", that axioms are "conventions.... Our choice among all possible conventions is guided by experimental facts, but it remains free and is merely limited by the necessity of avoiding any contradiction" in the propositions deduced from the convention with which we have started out. He thinks, as does Kant, that these propositions do not require to be confirmed by experience. Thus, then, freedom remains for the Christian mathematician, taking seriously the mystery of the Trinity, to agree that one and one and one make one, to deduce an arithmetic which might be as logical as the non-Euclid geometries of Labatschewski and of Riemann, who hold, the former that from one point an infinity of parallels to a straight line may be drawn, and the latter that not even one can be drawn.

The non-Euclid geometries, all of whose propositions are deduced from each other and linked rigorously, and which oppose their theorems to the theorems of Euclid's geometry, the truth of which has been proclaimed as absolute for two thousand years, are admirable manifestations of the logic of the human brain. But by the same token, capitalist society, which is a living reality, and not a simple ideological construction, may be given as a proof of this logical power. The division of its members into hostile classes; the pitiless exploitation of the wage workers, impoverishing themselves in proportion as they heap up wealth; the crises of overproduction producing famine in the midst of abundance; the idle, adulated and gorged with pleasures; and the producers, despised and loaded with miseries; ethics, religion, philosophy

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like the axioms of mathematics, do not exist of themselves and outside the experimental domain; they do not precede experience but follow it; they do not engender the events of history, but they are the consequence of the social phenomena which in evolving create them, transform them and suppress them; they do not become active forces save as they emanate directly from the social streams. One of the tasks of history unnoticed by the philosophers is the discovery of the social causes, of which they themselves are the product, and which give them their power of acting upon the brains of the men of a given epoch.

Bossuet and the deist philosophers, who promoted God to the dignity of a conscious director of the historic movement, have after all merely conformed to the popular opinion of the historic role played by the divinity: the idealists who substitute for Him the Idea-Forces merely utilize in historic fashion the vulgar bourgeois opinion. Every bourgeois proclaims that his private and public acts are inspired by Progress, Justice, Patriotism, Humanity, etc. To be convinced of this we need only go through the advertisements of the manufacturers and merchants, the prospectuses of financiers and the electoral programs of politicians.

The ideas of Progress and of evolution are modern in their origin, they are a transposition into history of that *human perfectibility* which became fashionable with the eighteenth century. It was inevitable that the bourgeoisie should regard its entrance into power as an immense step of social progress, while the aristocracy looked upon it as a disastrous setback. The French Revolution, because it occurred more than a century after the English Revolution, and consequently in conditions more fully ripe, substituted so suddenly and completely the bourgeoisie for the nobility that from that time the idea of Progress took firm root in the public opinion of Europe. The European capitalists believed themselves founded on the power of Progress. They affirmed in good faith that their habits, manners, virtues, private and public morality, social and family organization, industry and commerce were an advance over everything which had existed. The past was only ignorance, barbarity, injustice and unreason:

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and science consecrating the social disorder; universal suffrage giving political power to the bourgeois minority; everything, in short, in the material and ideological structure of our civilization, is a defiance launched at human reason, and nevertheless everything is linked together with faultless logic, and all the iniquities follow with a mathematical exactness from the right of property, which grants to the capitalist the privilege of stealing the surplus value created by the wage worker.

Logic is one of the essential properties of brain substance; from whatever reasoning, true or false, and from whatever facts, just or unjust, with which man starts out, he constructs an ideological or material edifice all of whose parts answer to each other. The social and intellectual history of humanity swarms with examples of this cast-iron logic, which unhappily, it has so often turned against itself.

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"Finally, for the first time, cried Hegel, Reason was to govern the world." The bourgeois of 1793 deified her; already, in the beginning of the bourgeois period in the ancient world Plato (in the Timaeus) declared her superior to Necessity, and Socrates reproached Anaxagoras with having, in his cosmogony, explained everything by material causes without having made any use of Reason, from whom everything could be hoped (Phaedo). The social dominance of the bourgeoisie is the reign of Reason.

But a historical event, even so considerable a one as the grasping of power by the bourgeoisie, does not alone suffice to prove Progress. The deists had made of God the sole author of history; the idealists, not wishing it to be said that Progress in the past had deported itself as a do-nothing Idea, discovered that during the Middle Ages it had prepared for the triumph of the bourgeois class by organizing it, by giving it intellectual culture and by enrichng it, while it wore out the offensive and defensive forces of the aristocratic class and demolished stone by stone the fortress of the Church. The idea of evolution was thus to introduce itself naturally in the train of the idea of Progress.

But for the bourgeoisie there is no progressive evolution save that which prepares for its own triumph, and as it is only for some ten centuries that its historians can find definite traces of its organic development, they lose their Ariadne's thread as soon as they venture into the labyrinth of earlier history, whose facts they are satisfied to narrate without attempting to marshall them into progressive series. Since the goal of progressive evolution is the establishment of the social dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that end once attained Progress must then cease to progress. In fact, the bourgeois who proclaim that their capture of power is a social progress unique in history, declare that it would be a return to barbarism, "to slavery", as Herbert Spencer says, if they were dislodged from power by the proletariat. The vanquished aristocracy had looked upon its defeat in no other light. Belief in the decree of Progress, instinctive and unconscious in the bourgeois masses, shows itself conscious and reasoned in certain bourgeois thinkers. Hegel and Comte, to cite merely two of the most famous, affirm squarely that their philosophic system closes the series, that it is the crowning and the end of the progressive evolution of thought. So, then, philosophy and social and political institutions progress only to arrive at their bourgeois form, then Progress progresses no more.

The bourgeoisie and its more intelligent intellectuals, who fix insurmountable limits to their progressive Progress, do better still; they withdraw from its influence certain social organisms of prime importance. The economists, historians and moralists, to demonstrate in an irrefutable fashion that the paternal form

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of the family and the individual form of property will not be transformed, assure us that they have existed from all time. They put forth these imprudent assertions at the moment when researches which have been carried on for half a century are bringing into clear light the primitive forms of the family and of property. These bourgeois scientists are ignorant of them, or reason as if they were ignorant of them.

The ideas of Progress and of evolution were especially fashionable during the first years of the nineteenth century, when the bourgeoisie was still intoxicated with its political victory, and with the prodigious development of its economic riches: the philosophers, historians, moralists, politicians, romancers and poets fitted their writings and their teachings to the sauce of progressive Progress, which Fourier was alone or almost alone in reviling. But toward the middle of the century they were obliged to calm their immoderate enthusiasm; the apparition of the proletariat on the political stage in England and in France awoke in the mind of the bourgeoisie certain disquieting reflections on the eternal duration of its social dominance. Progressive Progress lost its charms. The ideas of Progress and of evolution would finally have ceased to be current in bourgeois phraseology had not the men of science, who from the end of the eighteenth century had grasped the idea of evolution circulating in the social environment, utilized it to explain the formation of worlds and the organization of vegetables and animals. They gave it such a scientific value and such a popularity that it was impossible to sidetrack it.

But to show the progressive development of the bourgeoisie for a certain number of centuries back does not explain that historic movement any more than to trace the curve described in falling by a stone thrown into the air teaches us the causes of its fall. The philosophic historians attribute this evolution to the ceaseless action of the Spiritual Forces, particularly Justice, the strongest of all, which according to an idealistic and academic philosopher "is always present even though it arrives only by degrees into human thought and into social facts." Bourgeois society and its way of thinking are thus the last and highest manifestations of this immanent Justice, and it is to obtain these fine results that this lady has toiled in the mines of history.

Let us consult the judicial records of the lady aforesaid for information on her character and manners.

A ruling class always considers that what serves its economic and political interests is just and that what disserves them is unjust. The Justice which it conceives is realized when its class interests are satisfied. The interests of the bourgeoisie are thus the guides of bourgeois justice, as the interests of the aristocracy

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were those of feudal justice. Thus, through unconscious irony, Justice is pictured blindfolded that she may not see the mean and sordid interests which she protects with her aegis.

The feudal and guild organization, injuring the interests of the bourgeoisie, was in its eyes so unjust that its immanent Justice resolved to destroy it. The bourgeois historians relate that it could not tolerate the forcible robberies of the feudal barons, who knew no other methods of rounding out their fields and filling their purses. All of which does not prevent their honest, immanent Justice from encouraging the forcible robberies which, without risking their skins, the pacific capitalists have committed by proletarians disguised as soldiers in the barbarous countries of the old and the new world. It is not that this sort of theft pleases the virtuous lady; she solemnly approves and authorizes, with all legal sanctions, only the economic theft which, without clamorous violence, the bourgeoisie daily commits on the wage worker. Economic theft is so perfectly suited to the temperament and character of Justice that she metamorphoses herself into a watch dog over bourgeois wealth because it is an accumulation of thefts as legal as they are just.

Justice, who, as the philosophers say, has done marveously in the past, who reigns in bourgeois society and who leads men toward a future of peace and happiness, is on the contrary the fertile mother of social iniquities. It is Justice who gave the slaveholder the right to possess man like a chattel; it is she again who gives the capitalist the right to exploit the children, women and men of the proletariat worse than beasts of burden. It is Justice who permitted the slave holder to chastise the slave, who hardened his heart when he lacerated him with blows. It is she again who authorizes the capitalist to grasp the surplus value created by the wage worker and who puts his conscience at rest when he rewards with starvation wages the labor which enriches him. I stand on my right, said the slave holder when he lashed the slave; I stand on my right, says the capitalist when he steals from the wage worker the fruits of his labor.

The capitalist class, measuring everything by its own standards, decorates with the name of Civilization and Humanity its social order and its manner of treating human beings. It is only to export civilization to the barbarous nations, only to rescue them from their gross immorality, only to ameliorate their miserable conditions of existence that it undertakes its colonial expeditions, and its Civilization and its Humanity manifest themselves under the specific form of stupefaction through Christianity, poisoning with alcohol, pillage and extermination of the natives. But we should be doing an injustice if we thought that it favors the barbarians and that it does not diffuse the benefits of

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its Humanity over the laboring classes of the nations which it rules. Its Civilization and its Humanity may there be counted up by the mass of men, women and children dispossessed of all property, condemned to compulsory labor day and night, to periodical vacations at their own expense, to alcoholism, consumption, rickets; by the increasing number of misdemeanors and crimes, by the multiplication of insane asylums and by the development and improvement of the penitentiary system.

Never has ruling class so loudly clamored for the Ideal, because never had a ruling class had such need for obscuring its actions with idealistic chatter. This ideological charlatanism is its surest and most efficacious method for political and economic trickery. The startling contradiction between its words and its acts has not prevented the historians and philosophers from taking the eternal Ideas and Principles for the sole motive forces of the history of the capitalized nations. Their monumental error, which passes all bounds even for the intellectuals, is an incontestable proof of the power wielded by Ideas and of the adroitness with which the bourgeoisie has succeeded in cultivating and exploiting this force so as to derive an income from it. The financiers pad their prospectuses with patriotic principles, with ideas of civilization, humanitarian sentiments and six-per-cent investments for fathers of families. These are infallible baits when fishing for suckers. De Lesseps could never have inflated his magnificent bubble at Panama, raking in the savings of eight hundred thousand little people, had not that "great Frenchman" promised to add another glory to the halo of his Fatherland, to broaden civilized humanity and to enrich the subscribers.

Eternal Ideas and Principles are such irresistible attractions that there is no financial, industrial or commercial prospectus, nor even an advertisement of alcoholic drink or patent medicine, but is spiced with it; political treasons and economic frauds hoist the standard of Ideas and Principles*.

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*) Vandervelde and other comrades are scandalized at my irreverent and outlandish fashion of stripping off the covering from the eternal Ideas and Principles. To make metaphysical dummies out of Justice, Liberty and Fatherland, which hold the center of the stage in academic and parliamentary discourses, electoral programs and mercantile advertisements, what a profanation: If these comrades had lived in the time of the Encyclopedists they would have thundered their wrath against Diderot and Voltaire, who laid violent hands on the collar of aristocratic ideology and dragged it before the bar of their Reason, who ridiculed the sacred Truths of Christianity, the Maid of Orleans, blue Blood and the Honor of the Nobility, Authority, Divine Right and other immortal things. They would have sentenced "Don Quixote" to burning because that incomparable masterpiece of romantic literature ridiculed pitilessly the chivalrous virtues exalted by the poems and romances which were read by the aristocracy.

Belfort Bax reproaches me for the contempt in which I hold Justice, Liberty and the other entities of the metaphysics of the propertied class, which he says are concepts so universal and so necessary that in order to criticize their bourgeois caricatures I avail myself of a certain ideal of Justice and Liberty. But indeed I am not, any more than the most spiritualistic philosophers, able to escape from my social environ-

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The historic philosophy of the idealists could not be other than a war of words, equally insipid and indigestible, since they have not perceived that the capitalist parades the eternal principles for no other purpose than to mask the egoistic motives of his actions, and since they have not arrived at the point of recognizing the humbug of the bourgeois ideology. But the lamentable abortions of the idealist philosophy do not prove that it is impossible to arrive at the determining causes of the organization and evolution of human societies as the chemists have succeeded in doing with those which regulate the agglomeration of molecules into complex bodies.

"The social world", says Vico, the father of the philosophy of history, "is undeniably the work of man, whence it results that we may and must find its principles nowhere else than in the modifications of human intelligence. Is it not surprising to every thinking man that the philosophers have seriously undertaken to know the world of nature, which God made and the knowledge of which He has reserved for Himself, and that they have neglected to meditate over that social world, the knowledge of which men may have, since men have made it?"*

The numerous failures of the deistic and idealistic methods compel the trial of a new method of interpreting history.

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ment. We are obliged to submit to its current ideas, and each one cuts them to his measure and takes his individual concepts for criteria of the ideas and the actions of others. But if these ideas are necessary in the social environment where they are produced it does not follow that, like the axioms of mathemotics, they are necessary in all social environments, as Socrates supposed, who, in the Protagoras, I believe, demonstrated the eternal necessity of Justice by saying that even brigands regulated according to it their conduct among themselves. Precisely so, because the societies based on private property, whether family or individual, are societies of brigands, whose ruling classes pilliage the other nations and steal the fruits of the labor of the subject classes, — slaves, serfs or wage workers, — this is why Justice and Liberty are for them eternal principles. The philosophers declare them to be universal and necessary concepts because they know only societies founded on private property and they cannot conceive of a society resting on bther foundations.

But the socialist who knows that capitalist production is carrying us on inevitably to a society based on common property, does not doubt that these universal and necessary concepts will vanish from the human head with the mine and thine, and the exploitation of man characteristic of the societies based on private property which have given birth to them. This belief is not suggested by sentimental reveries, but by observed facts beyond the reach of discussion. It is proved that the communist savages and barbarians of the prehistoric period have no notion of these eternal principles. Mayne, who, by the way, is a scientific legist, has not found them in the village communities of confemporary India, whose inhabitants take tradition and custom for their rules of conduct. Since the universal and necessary concepts utilized by the men of societies based on private property to organize their civil and political life will no longer be necessary to regulate the relations of men of the future society based on common property, history will gather them up and classify them for the museum of dead ideas.

* Giambista Vico: Principi di Scienza nuova.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(To be Continued.)

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EDITORIAL

Some Problems of the Trust.

One of the favorite illustrations to show the scientific character of Socialist philosophy is its power to predict social phenomena, and the star illustration of this power is that the trust was predicted by socialist writers nearly a half century before it came.

The chapter which is most frequently quoted in behalf of this position is the famous one on "The Historical Character of Capitalist Accumulation", from the first volume of "Capital". To be sure this was published only some thirty years ago, but its substance had appeared in previous writings by the same author at a sufficienly early date to justify the claim to long prophetic insight which is made for him.

This chapter is itself affords an example of the most condensed reasoning combined with brilliant intense expression of that reasoning to be found in any language. It is not surprising that around it has waged the most bitter of Socialist controversies. Its statements formed the point against which Bernsteinists and Revisionists hurled their attacks. It is safe to say that fifty percent of the Socialist literature of today is based upon the positions set forth in this chapter, and if there be any reader who does not recall it now is the place for him to stop and read it. If he reads it as he would a popular novel it will not take more then ten minutes, for it would make less than four such pages as the one before you at the present moment. But if it is thoroughly assimilated the reader will take hours and days.

There are certain sentences in it that are so striking, and so applicable to the matter under discussion that they will bear repeating: As soon as the process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society", says Marx, "as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then * * the further expropriation of private proprietors takes a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriating is so accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalist production it-

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self, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. * * * Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point were they vecome incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriafed."

Here we have the prophecy not only of the trust, but of its disappearance. On the truth of this prophecy, and of the laws which lie back of that prophecy is based much of socialist reasoning. Some of this reasoning has been evolved from other and less careful examinations of industrial evolution that those upon which Marx based his statements. Indeed the more carefully Marx is studiéd the more the studént is struck with the cautious accuracy of his statements even at times when he uses then most vehement expressions.

From this chapter of Marx' and similar expressions has been drawn the material from which to construct a theory that the coming of the trust meant the immediate downfall of capitalism, — that it was the appearance of the trust that was in itself to "burst the integument of capitalism". To be sure there is nothing in Marx that justifies this position. Yet this has been interwoven with the Marxian theory of crises to form the foundation of a theory that the coming of the trust heralded the coming of a world-wide industrial crisis in the modst of which the transition would be made to socialism.

Let us examine some of the phenomena introduced by the trust and see in how far these things that have been so widely accepted as fundamental principles of Marxian Socialism are justifiable.

There is much reason to believe that Marx looked upon the trust stage as an exceedingly temporary one. Although, with that charactristic scientific caution to which reference was just made, he never made any definite statement to that effect, it would seem that he considered the trust stage the climax, the closing scene of capitalism, and that, in his mind, the stage would be occupied but a short time with the gigantic actors of the era of monopoly. Otherwise, socialism, to him would have been little else than a theoretical system, with little need of practical political parties.

Today we are in the midst of that trust era. We should be surrounded by the fragments of the "bursting integument of capitalism." To a certain extent this condition does prevail, but on the whole the integument is fairly firm.

It would seem that what Marx did not see, or at least did not attempt to analyze, is the economic workings of a society in which competition should not be the dominant factor. Today it is nonsense to talk about the price of coal, kerozene, railroad rates, telegraph tolls, and a host of other things being fixed by competition, or even being determined by the amount of labor power which they contain. If this be treason, make the most of it. It is a fact that should be faced at least. To be sure Marx saw much more of this fact than

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most of his followers, as may be shown to those who should chance to fall afoul of the above statement.

It would have required more than human foresight for anyone to have analyzed the economic interactions of a society which did not yet exist. For Marx to have attempted it would have been as foolish as for us at the present time to attempt to foretell the details of a co-operative commonwealth, and would have placed him among the utopians whom he so frequently denounced.

It is now evident that the trust ruled society will be with us for some few years at least. We are now within that society. Our practical tactics and our theoretical writings must be adapted to that society, and not to he competitive one that has been left behind. Yet there is almost nothing in Socialist writings to show even a recognition of this fact.

It would be manifestly impossible in the scope of an editorial to do more than suggest a few of the problems and leave them without discussion to be considered by the readers.

The coming of the trust has once more transformed production for the market back to production for use. But the circle, like all those representing social progress, is a spiral, and the present position bears little resemblance to the one which was left behind at the beginning of the last century. It is well-known among business men that the great trusts of today, especially those in steel, the manufacture of electricical supplies, copper, railroad supplies, locomotives, etc. do not produce for an unknown market, but only "on order". To a large extent this removes one of the greatest elements of th indusfrial chaos so charactristic of the competitive age. There will not be any great "overproduction" in any of these lines. New mills are not built when the demand shows a sudden increase. On the contrary the customer is permitted to wait the gracious pleasure of the producer, until the accumulated orders become so great as to certainly justify the addition of new productive facilities.

Another fact, closely related to the above, but more frequently noted, is that the trust, occupying the field, can control production, curtail or increase it to meet fluctuations, without overstocking the market.

The relation of the trust to labor raises another interesting question. The ordinary trade union depends for success in strike largely upon the fear of the employer that some competitor will get his trade while his industry is tied up with a strike. Under a trust organization of industry there are no competitors, and the only thing which is endangered is immediate profits, and these can be postponed with joy for the certainty of the greater profits that will follow the crushing of rebellious laborers. On the other hand, if the revolt of labor seems to really threaten all profits, the trust can increase the share of labor, without fear of being underbidden in the market by more successful exploiters.

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There is no doubt but what there is enough competition to render all the calculations of the trusts most uncertain. It is also possible that this residum of competition is sufficient to cause individual crises in the future but it is quite certain that these crises will be somewhat different from those which have gone before and it is worth while for us to begin to consider what new features are being brought into the problem.

Another feature closely allied with these we have been describing is that for the first time the capitalist class is beginning to be class-conscious, in the wider, far seeing meaning in which socialists use the word. There can be no doubt but what some of the rulers of the present society realize the existence of the problem of disposing of the vast amounts of surplus values taken from the workers. If they do realize this and can secure unity of action through governmental and private agencies, the questions of overproduction, crises, and relation to labor must be greatly affected. There are plenty of opportunities for the capitalist class to use any surplus at its disposal. The Panama and Erie canals, the irrigation project of the government, are but a few of the ways in which large sums of money can be expended in works that are not immediately productive of any surplus value in a form that will be troublesome to its possessors.

Any one who has seen European water-ways with their continuous banks of masonry can see that if a similar plan of improvement should be undertaken for the Mississippi and its tributaries, it would afford an outlet for billions of dollars and might easily defer any over-production crises for a generation.

These are but the most general suggestions of some directions in which the Socialist explanation of economic phenomena and evolution is being modified by recent developments, which are in themselves in direct accord with socialist philosophy.

There is need that these should be analyzed and explained that it may be seen whether these industrial changes produce any essential change in the superstructure of political tactics that has been built upon them.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

That slavery in some form is the ultimate lot of the working people of this country has long been predicted by those who have watched the evolution of capitalism. Every day almost some new evidence is given that this probable fate of labor is not mere speculation or the thoughtless assertion of some crank, but the **facts** speak loud enough. We all know how in industrial struggles strike-breakers are loaned about among employers like so many cattle?

For example, recently a convention was held in Cleveland by the so-called Master Sheet Metal Workers' Association (affiliated with the American Federation of Capitalism). A Cincinnati "master" reported that there was a strike on in his place and requested assistance. The other "masters" in the convention promised to send him all the "men" he needed to pick his cotton—or rather do his sheet metal work. Such is the situation in all lines of industry.

Now, as economic power has its political reflex, as the Socialists say, we find that this principle of ownership of men by men is given expression by the courts. Not long ago a manufacturing concern in Michigan secured an injunction against a competitor restraining the latter from enticing its employes away by offering better working conditions!

But right here before me is the Wall Street Journal of Sept. 19. On the front page is a long article captioned "Property Rights in Labor." The Journal quotes liberally from a decision just handed down by Judge Jones, of the Circuit Court of the United States, in the case of the Louisville & Nashville railroad against the Alabama Railroad Commission to restrain the latter body from interfering with its employes. Judge Jones declares, among other things:

"An employer has a property right in the services of his workmen in his business. The employer can maintain an action against any one who entices his servant to leave him, or prevents the servant from working for his employer. This property is protected by the sanction of our criminal laws also."

Halt, you runaway nigger! Is this plain enough for you? The Wall Street Journal in its comments, adds that this principle may be applied in the relations of employers and trade unions, and wonders at the "master" "that larger use has not been made of this property right in disputes with organized labor when there is clear evidence of employes being enticed away from his employment."

The foregoing is something for you to think about, Mr. Workingman. If it's not clear enough probably the "masters" will furnish you with a diagram of what they intend doing.

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It is not unlikely that the American Federation of Labor executive council will retaliate against the Van Cleave-Parry-Post outfit, who have brougt suit in the Washington courts to have union labor's "unfair list" declared illegal. Not only is the attack of the enemies of organized labor to be met and fought through to the United states Supreme Court, but counter action may be instituted charging the employers with conspiracy. It is claimed that plenty of evidence can be produced to prove that the Van Cleave bosses have blacklisted organized workingmen and thus boycotted trade unions, and that even the formation of the capitalistic federation of some twenty odd national employers' associations was a secret conspiracy. President Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, the head and front of the movement to disrupt organized labor, is making a ridiculous attempt to thinly veneer the real purpose of the labor-crushers. Their sole object, they say, is to enforce "industrial peace" and to protect the dear public, whose guardians they have appointed themselves. For that purpose they are raising a war fund of $1,500,000, establishing labor bureaus to furnish strikebreakers in times of trouble, and preparing lists of all union men and especially known agitators. It is further asserted that at their New York convention these capitalistic guardian angels agreed to quietly lay off their union employes wherever possible, beginning with the most "rabid agitators," and that the output of their plants is to be reduced rather than employ known members of organized labor. It is claimed that this campaign is now on in Eastern and Middle Western States.

The organizations that are affiliated with this American Federation of Capitalism (which should be its proper name) are: The Citizens' Industrial Association of America, National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers, National Foundry Association, National Association of Employing Lithographers, Merchant Tailors' National Protective Association, National Wagon Manufacturers' Association, National Plow Association, National Erectors' Association, National Association of Master Plumbers, National Metal Trades Association, American Anti-Boycott Association, American Cotton Manufacturers' Association, United Typothetae of America, National Association of Master Metal Workers, Hardware Manufacturers' Association of the United States, Master Copper Workers of the United States, National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, and Carriage Builders' National Association.

While the telegraphers' strike has held the attention of the organized workers of the continent during the past months, the struggles of the bookbinders for an eight-hour day, of the ore miners of Minnesota for recognition and an advance in wages, of the machinists on the Erie railway and in half a dozen cities for better conditions, of the building trades in Washington and a number of smaller places against the open shop and numerous other local contests, such as the street railway men and others in San Francisco, brewers in New Orleans, etc., have all added to the intensity of the class war that is raging between the organized workers on the one hand and organized capital on the other.

The telegraphers made a magnificent contest from the start for a comparatively new organization without funds and lacking the experience and discipline that come only with years of hard knocks. This is especially true when it is considered that the telegraphers were confronted by three as rapacious corporations that ever existed

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on this earth. The Western Union management looks upon the operators as being mere slaves who deserve no consideration whatever. The wages paid and hours worked by the telegraphers are nothing short of scandalous. The Postal Co. is a despicable ingrate. It came into the field as a competitor of the W. U. and was largely built up on its representations as a friend of labor and an enemy of the old corporation. The Associated Press, perhaps the most dangerous bunch of this hydra-headed monopoly, is too well known as an agency that deliberately garbles or suppresses news to require any description. In most national contests a good percentage of the union membership is employed by fair concerns, and thus are enabled to assist their fellow-workers on strike by paying liberal dues and assessments. But with the telegraphers only an insignificant fraction of the membership was employed on private wires and the strikers were forced to depend upon other trades and sympathizers from the beginning of the fight. This deplorable situation once more demonstrates the necessity of the American Federation of Labor accumulating a defense fund or inaugurating a plan to levy assessments indefinitely if required.

Anticipating the general strike of the bookbinders on Oct. 1, for an eight-hour work-day, employers in a number of cities locked out the unionists, secured injunctions and pursued the usual methods to discourage and weaken the organization, just as was done with the printers two years ago. The pressmen, who are closely allied to the bookbinders made their demands, through their international officers, for the eight-hour and the closed shop at the recent convention of the organized employers, known as the United Typothetae of America, at Niagara Falls. The journeymen were coldly turned down, the employers refusing to treat with them, and it is quite probable that the pressmen will now make common cause with the bookbinders. The Typographical Union, also allied with the binders and pressmen, hit the United Typothetae a blow from which the latter body will hardlly recover. In a two-years' fight, during which the T. U. spent over $3,500,000, the union enforced the eight-hour day practically all over the continent and nearly disrupted the United Typothetae. The binders and pressmen ought to be able to put the finishing touches to the Typothetae—unless the American Federation of Capitalism can inject new life into one of its constituent parts by tapping its $1,500,000.

A feature of the machinists' strike on the Erie railway is the charge of the corporation management that they had paid $10,000 a year to a "representative" of the union (or a total of $22,000) to be immune from strikes. The capitalistic press quickly spread the news broadcast that the union had levied the blackmail. The fact is that neither the international or any local union received a penny of the money. It went into the capacious pockets of one George Warner, formerly a New York business agent, who was secretly employed by the Erie railway as a "labor commissioner," just as the Fuller Construction Co. once employed Sam Parks and as the Roebling Co. to-day has a number of skates on its pay roll. Warner, on his part, claimed that he had been paid the money to work against the passage of the Erie canal bill by the New York Legislature, that he had "double-crossed" the corporation by using the funds to boom the canal project, and that the whole scandal was raked up by the Socialists to destroy his usefulness because he had "consistently fought the reds" for a dozen years. Howsoever that may be, the fact is that the machinists' convention in St. Louis the past month did not like Warner's style of pitching and he was ousted as a delegate,

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whereupon he began to yell louder than ever that the Socialists were after his scalp. This is a favorite trick of all crooks when their perfidy is discovered. They believe that when they whine for sympathy and holler "stop thief" at the Socialists attention is diverted from heir villainous conduct. But that scheme is played out, although the Socialists may welcome the enmity of such people. The scheme is ausgespielt for the reason that the Socialists and their sympathizers are becoming altogether too numerous, and the body of workers has confidence in them whether or not they agree with or understand Socialist principles.

The struggle on the Minnesota ore range threatens to become as extended as the contest in Colorado. The Western Federation of Miners recently organized the iron ore diggers, and the United States Steel Corporation, which controls the range almost wholly, was determined to crush the movement. The miners, feeling the increased cost of necessities most severely, demanded a small increase in wages—the total amount any day would hardly equal the value of a dog collar for Mabel Gilman's husband. The men struck and soon the brutal methods of the Colorado labor-crushers were introduced. After taking his $4,000,000 bride to their Parisian home, President W. E. Corey, of the U. S. Steel Corporation, returned and issued orders. Miners were evicted and credit refused them. The Western Federation established a commissary department and then the meat trust was influenced to withhold provisions. The farmers agreed to help the miners, and now it is reported that the trust intends to establish stores throughout the range and sell foodstuffs at cost in order to kill off the miners' co-operative stores and at the same time encourage the men to return to work and accept the lower cost of necessities in lieu of a raise in wages. This latest move if it is carried out, will be a terrible blow to the small-fry capitalists who have done the corporation's bidding throughout the struggle. They will be ruined and nobody will shed any tears at their unenviable plight. A press censorship also exists and it is almost impossible to obtain any news of what is occuring on the range.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

ENGLAND.

The fortieth annual Congress of British trade unions has just finished its session in London. This congress was contrasted in the opening speech with the one held forty years ago where there were only 34 delegates representing one hundred eighteen thousand members while at the present congress the delegates represented more than a million and a half.

The sharpest debate took place over the question of the labor members in Parliament. The first movement in the matter was taken by those who belong in the Liberal party, called "Lib-Labs," who brought forth a resolution that none but genuine labor union members shall receive the support of a union. They hoped by doing this to exclude some of the socialists.

The labor reperesentative committee responded by offering to co operate with the "Lib-Labs" on condition that they agree not to contest a seat where the labor party had a candidate in the field. There upon Gould from Hull declared that the time had come for the congress to get into closer touch with the Socialists and to chase the hyenas from the Liberal Party. He was here interrupted by the president who objected to his language. He continued that he could find no other expression for men who call themselves labor leaders and who then ran against such men as Hyndman and Grayson.

Other speakers joined in this denunciation of the "Lib-Labs" and the congress finally declared in favor of some sort of arrangement between the labor party and the Liberal labor representative.

There is little hope of such an understanding being reached, however, but if present conditions continue there will be no need for it as the number of labor members are decreasing as they are being replaced by new members of the labor party. One of the resolutions entered was for the abolition of the House of Lords and denouncing the government for its action in the Belfast riots and a resolution indorsing the New Zealand system of compulsory arbitration was defeated by one million and three thousand votes to three hundred three thousand votes. Finally a resolution was adopted ordering the secretary of the congress to become a member of the labor party. This means that from now on the person occupying this place must have the double qualification of a trade unionist and a member of a working class political organization.

FINLAND.

The new parliament of Finland meets on the second of September and will present a remarkable contrast to the previous one. Finland

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is still subject to the Russian autocracy. The socialists are bringing in an extensive relief program. They are demanding that the vacant land shall be taken by the state and put in the control of the landless agricultural workers whose numbers are between eight and nine hundred thousand. They also demand the abolition of the old laws which greatly restrict the movements of the working class.

A somewhat peculiar feature of the Finnish situation is the strong Prohibition sentiment. Nearly all the parties are agreed on Prohibition. 170 out of 200 members of the Reichstag are pledged to prohibition. The Senate and the St. Petersburg government are in opposition of this since the income from alcohol is one of the great sources of revenue.

Another demand is that the standing army in Finland shall be made up of Finns with officers of the same nationality. It is also demanded that the age for voting shall be reduced from twenty-four to twenty-one years. Complete freedom of speech, press and organization is also demanded.

NORWAY.

The congress of the Scandinavian Socialists met at Christiania during the past month. There were 167 Norwegian delegates, 127 from Sweden, and 86 from Denmark. Finland was represented for the first time with 6 delegates. These represented the Socialist Parties of the various countries with a paid up membership of 120,000 in Sweden, 20,000 in Norway, 65,000 in Denmark, and 11,000 in Finland. In addition there were representatives of the trades unions, including 160,000 Swedish members, 100,000 Danes, and 40,000 Norwegians. Besides these regular participating delegates, there were also representatives from the central unions of Germany, Belgium and Hungary. H. Branting, the Socialist delegate from Stockholm, reviewed the progress of the Scandinavian Socialist Movement. Twenty years ago the first effort was made at Gothenburg to hold a meeting of all the Scandinavian countries. At that time, Denmark alone had an organization. Today more than 400,000 workingmen are organized in these three countries, and corresponding progress has been made in all other fields of working class effort. During the past year great progress has been made in the co-operative movement which is an integral part of the Socialist movement in most of the Scandinavian countries.

HUNGARY.

A great general strike took place on October 10. This strike was for the purpose of obtaining universal suffrage. The demonstration obtained immense proportions and has drawn within its ranks hundreds of thousands of workers whom even the trades union never touched. The demand is for universal, secret, adult, suffrage, regardless of sex. At present, Hungary is governed by what is known as the four class system of voting. According to this plan, the population is divided into four classes, each of which elects the same number of representatives regardless of the number of votes that may be cast. The first class is composed of the landed nobility; the second includes the great capitalists who pay over two hundred and fifty dollars per year for direct taxes; the third class embraces the small capitalists, merchants, farmers, and others who pay a tax of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred and fifty dollars;

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the fourth class embraces the semi-feudal holders of small plots of land, who pay their taxes in all kinds of ways. The industrial laborer has no vote whatever.

GERMANY.

Coming as it did immediately after Stuttgart, even the Annual Conference of the German Party was bound to lose in interest, and that that was felt to be the case is proved by the fact that this year, in contrast to previous years, only two representatives of the parties abroad were present, and those both from Austria, while the foreign bourgeois press, equally in contrast to other years, was also conspicuous by its absence. I mention these facts because one or two bourgeois papers have seized on them as showing a feeling that in consequence of the so-called defeat of the Party at the last General Elections the party itself has lost in importance for the Socialist parties abroad as well as for the bourgeois press. As a matter of fact it is obvious enough that parties who have just been conferring with the German Party at a common conference have no need to send a representative to a national conference of that party three weeks later. The influence and importance of the German Party rests on the recognised superiority of their party organs and the fact that, both in the sphere of theory and practice, the German Party has, in many respects at least, been the model for other European countries. While it has its weaknesses, and no doubt these are sometimes serious, no party has been so thorough in its work, or has, for many years before that word was known in England, acted on the ideal of "efficiency," the highest efficiency in all departments. The importance and interest of this year's Congress was much increased by the fact that it was held in a place where for years the wealth and terrorism employed by the firm of Krupp was able to prevent either the trade unions or the party from obtaining a footing. However, that has ceased, and at this Congress nothing was more remarkable than the number of working men who sacrificed a day's work or more to crowd the galleries and to hear what was being done at their own party's Congress. I may add that the hotel-keepers deliberately charged in many cases extra prices for rooms when they knew they were for delegates, and these had to pay exorbitant prices for bad rooms. That was the relic apparently of the old feeling which had been so sedulously nourished by the firm of Krupp against the party.

One of the most important questions with which the Congress had to deal was that of the relations of the members of the so-called local organisations of trade unions to the party. These organisations represent a relic from the days of the old Socialist law, when it was almost impossible to form centralised trade organisations for the whole Empire, and the idea has continued to exist that it would be better to organise the workers according to locality and not according to trade. However, with the foundation of the national trade unions, and with the tremendous development which these have made in point of numbers, the local trade unions have become ridiculously small, and consequently have lost all right to exist as trade unions. Till recently, however, they claimed to represent the true Socialist spirit in the trade unions in contrast to the central organisations, who advocated the neutrality of the unions. Now, however, that they have become infected by Anarchist elements, and their organ, the "Einigheit," shows leanings towards Anarchism, adopting many of their at

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tacks on the party, this plea has lost validity. In consequence, the feeling has been gaining ground that we ought to exclude these elements from the party if we cannot get them to join the trade unions. There were several motions to this effect before the Congress, but, acting on the advice of the executive, and also the opinion of one of the most experienced trade union officials in Germany, Bomelburg, the Congress declined to endanger negotions which are still going on by any hasty action, so that the question was indefinitely postponed. It is satisfactory to note that on this point the General Commission of German Trade Unions was absolutely at one with the party.

The reports on the Parliamentary work of the party and the International Congress, by Sudekum and Singer respectively, were less harmonious, and provoked a most lively debate on the relations of the party to the questions of militarism and colonial policy. Notably a speech by one of the Saxony Deputies in the patriotism of the party, and their readiness to take part in the work of national defence, which, from the fact that it had been put forward by one of our representatives in Parliament, called forth lively indignation in the party. Even Bebel's remarks in this respect would seem to have gone beyond what the occasion required. Bebel defended the deputy whose speech was called in question in a rather weak speech I thought, and the matter was passed over, but no doubt the Parliamentary group will take better care that on future occasions the speakers will not give occasion to the enemy. The Colonial question gave rise to an even more lively debate. As to what had occurred in the German group in the International Congress there were two contradictory accounts, one by Wurm and Ledebour the other by David. David seemed to be auxious to explain away his support of the unlucky resolution in favour of a Socialist Colonial policy, but without much success, and Ledebour. Kautsky, Stadhagen, and others had no difficulty in showing how completely the majority of the German section in at first supporting the majority resolution had put themselves in contradiction to the whole policy of the German Party up to the present, as well as to the binding resolution passed by the Congress at Mainz in 1900. The Radical or revolutionary section of the party had matters practically all their own way in this as in the military debate, since despite all challenges the Revisionists declined to come out into the open. Bebel's speech on the general political situation was, as might be expected, a very able and illuminating survey of the field. He analysed the results of the last Reichstag elections and showed that when we considered the strength of the forces which our opponents were able to bring into the field, the results were much better than at first appeared.

To my mind the most satisfactory part of the Congress was the discussion on the Alcohol Question. The resolution of Wurm — though he is no abstainer — was such as the Socialist abstainers could readily support, and though some thought it might have been made more plain and outspoken, I do not think that that was necessary. It lays stress on the fact that alcohol, while is no way a cause of poverty and rather a result, does at the same time react on poverty and aggravate it. Social reform, shortening of the hours of labour, and better conditions are looked to to cure the evil as well as a recognition of the dangers of alcoholism. All measures, such as prohibition and high licenses, limitation of public-houses, etc., are condemned as useless, and the workers are appealed to under no circumstances to give their children alcohol, and the party and Labour movement are pledged to do their best to free the party meetings from all compulsion to drink by substituting a direct payment for the

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rooms we occupy for the payment through the drinks consumed. Wurm further pointed out that the poor and underfed workers have the most reason of all to avoid alcoholism, because, on their weakened frames, its influence was most diastrous. Wurm's speech, which was a particularly able analysis of the effects of alcoholism, will be separately published and distributed for propaganda purposes.

It was decided also to set up a party news agency under the control of the Executive of the Party, and Nuremberg was chosen for the next Congress, which will be the 40th anniversary of a very important Congress, that of the then-time Eisenachers, at which the party decided for a Socialist programme, although it consisted of organisations which, up to that time, had been nominally hostile to Socialist principles. This concluded the proceedings of the Congress.

J. B. ASKEW.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE FINANCES OF THE PUBLISHING HOUSE.

This month we are giving this subject the most prominent place. The book publishing house incorporated under the name of Charles H. Kerr & Company is the property of 1818 different stockholders, and the responsibility for carrying on its work successfully belongs to as many of these as are interested in that work. It can not be too often repeated that no capitalist is backing the publishing house; its manager is a wage-worker, and while there are a few of the stockholders who are popularly supposed to be wealthy, none of them are evidencing their wealth by pouring large-sums of money into our treasury. Perhaps it is better so; if we can only fight it out on this line till the debts are all paid, there will be no danger on the score of a few wealthy socialists getting control of the publishing house through their investments; the control will remain with the ten dollar share holders, who already have a large majority of the shares.

But what good will this control do them if they do not see that the debts are paid? These debts are not large; all we owe to non-stockholders would hardly represent a month's average receipts, but as long as the debt remains it is a source of danger; a constant anxiety to the manager while he is living through the situation, and a probable source of very serious ambarassment to the rest of the stockholders in the event of his not living. In view of all this, the manager offered some time ago to contribute from what the publishing house owes him a sum equal to the contributions of all other stockholders up to $2100, for the purpose of putting the business on a cash basis. The contributions thus far received on this offer are as follows:

Acknowledged in September Review,	$162.00
L. M. Powers, Massachusetts,	4.00
Dr. H. M. Wilson, Pennsylvania,	8.21
C. J. Thorgrinson, Iowa,	20.00
H. Otto, Manitoba,	5.00
E. Svensson, New Jersey,	2.00
J. Abeles, New York,	4.10
A. Gratz, California,	3.00
A. L. Longley, California,	5.00
W. H. Luttmann, New York,	5.00
Frank Kostack, Ohio,	17.10
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois,	73.41
Total,	$308.82.

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This is rather a small beginning toward the total of $4200 that should be raised to put the publishing house on a cash basis once for all. And the worst thing about it is that the gifts that have thus far come in are not at all proportioned to the ability of the stockholders to contribute.

The other receipts of the month were on the whole encouraging. We received $170.16 from the subscriptions and the sale of copies of the Review, $239.08 from the sale of stock and $1835.73 from the sale of books, making a total with the contributions of $2391.79. With this we have paid the ordinary expenses of the month, the balance unpaid on the plates of the second volume of "Capital", and part of the outstanding bills for the immense stock of books we are carrying in anticipation of the fall and winter demand. There still remain left-over bils to the amount of about $1200 and current bills to the amount of about $1000 more, all of which need to be paid this month. Two dollars from every stockholder would take care of the whole floating debt and give a comfortable working balance. But many of the stockholders are unable to do anything, and many others are indifferent. So that those who are able and willing to help will need to send sums of from $5.00 to $500,00 each according to their resources.

There is no deficit. The book sales every month pay all expenses and more, but the trouble is that we have not and never had the capital needed for the business, so every cent that can be raised each month goes to pay for books previously published. Once raise the capital we need, and new books can be added to our list without the unpleasant accompaniment of new debts.

PERSONAL TO NON-STOCKHOLDERS.

All this has been said to the stockholders. But their responsibility is really no greater that that of other socialists with brains enough to realize the need of circulating literature. If you are one of these, you ought to become a stockholder,- there is no other way in which ten dollars will go quite so far toward making socialists. If you can spare ten dollars all at once, send it along and you will not only get a share of stock but also the two volumes of "Capital", or any of our other books to the amount of$4.00, expressage prepaid. If you haven't the ten dollars, send a dollar or more for books at retail prices; for each dollar you will also get a credit slip for 40 c. good any time within a year toward the purchase of a share. When your purchases of books from week to week amount to $25, your share will be paid for, and you will then be entitled to buy any of our books at 40 per cent discount if we pay the transportation, or 50 percent if you pay it. We have over a hundred socialist books in cloth binding and over a hundred socialist pamphlets for you to select from, and we shall publish more as fast as more capital can be raised, only first we want to get out of debt.

There is one kind of debt however that is not a source of so much anxiety. This is the money lent by stockholders to the publishing house. We receive sums of $50 to $500 at four per cent interest, payable on thirty days' call, and smaller sums without interest, payable on demand. We have always been able to repay these loans as fast as we have been called upon for them, and to do this will be easier in the future than it has been. We are now paying more than 4 per cent on just $800, and should be glad to convert this into 4 per cent loans to stockholders as soon as possible But we do not intend to bring out new books with borrowed money; we prefer to defer bringing them out until the necessary capital is subscribed by those who want the books published.

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BOOKS IN PRESS.

In last month's Review we gave a list of the new books published within the last few months. We give below a list of the books that we expect to publish soon.

Marxian Economics. This book by Ernest Untermann was first announced a year ago. We felt justified at the time in making the announcement, because we had the written agreement of the author to furnish us the complete manuscript not later than January, 1907. He was however delayed in his work by circumstances beyond his control, and did not give us the last of the manuscript until nearly the end of August. And the work of correcting the proofs was very slow for the reason that Comrade Untermann is in the mountains of Idaho, many miles from a railroad, so that it takes nearly two weeks to get corrected proofs back from him. The work now however is so far completed that we feel safe in promising copies for delivery in November.

And the book will prove worth waiting for. It is the best thing Ernest Untermann ever wrote, and that is saying a great deal. It is a restatement, not of what is in the first volume of "Capital", like "The Student's Marx", but of the three volumes. And its method is entirely different from that followed in any previous manual of Marxian teachings. Instead of following Marx's arrangement, a difficult one for beginners, Untermann uses Marx's historical method, showing in a story at once true and entertaining, the development of the processes by which human beings have supplied their wants from the monkey stage to the Rockefeller stage, with the effects of the various methods of production upon human ideas and institutions. When he reaches the difficult questions of value, surplus value, etc., he thus has the reader's mind prepared for the subject, and its comprehension is far easier than when approached in the usual way. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 13, $1.00.)

The Republic. By N. P. Andresen. This is an extended dialog of nearly 300 pages between a college professor and two capitalists in which the probable development of the Just State is discussed in detail. The book in its general plan is modeled, as its title indicates, on the Republic of Plato, and while the conclusions are revolutionary, the author's manner of thinking shows the influence of Plato's followers more than of Marx and Darwin. Revolutionary socialists who read the book will smile or groan occasionally over the implied assumption that Justice (with a capital initial) is an end which must be consciously kept in view, and that this Justice has something unchanging and supernatural about it. Yet in spite of all this, the book will prove excellent propaganda among the great mass of people who still think in terms of theology or metaphysics. Practical details are discussed with a deal of shrewd commonsense and many of the popular objections to socialism are answe redconvincingly. We should not forget that one object to be accomplished by our literature is to break down the belief still so widespread even among those who live by working that capitalist property is just and right. Such books as "The Republic take the prejudiced people on the mental plane where they now are, and bring new facts to their attention. Once let them begin to study facts, and a scientific view of the facts will come later. "The Republic" is written in an interesting style, and is just the book to hand to a teacher, clergyman, merchant or farmer who is beginning to worry about the trusts but is still afraid of socialism. (International Library of Social Science, Vol. 17, $1.00.) Ready in November.

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American Communities, Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged, by William Alfred Hinds. The second edition of this book, published by us four years ago, was everywhere recognized as the standard work describing the co-operative colonies and communities in the United States. The edition has been sold out, and meanwhile the author has been putting an immense amout of labor in the revision of the work, bringing the information fully up to date, and describing other communities established since the publication of the former edition. It goes without saying that these communities have nothing in particular to do with socialism; but they constitute an economic phenomenon well worth studying, and this book when completed will be far and away the best account of them ever published. Cloth, illustrated, $ 1.50.

Anarchism and Socialism, by George Plechanoff, translated by Eleanor Marx Aveling, with an American introduction by Robert Rives LaMonte. We will give a more extended description of this book later; meanwhile we merely quote this from LaMonte's introduction: "Anarchism proper is dying out so rapidly that it would not be worth while to re-print this book, were it merely a polemic against Anarchism; but it is far more — it is a relentless exposure of utopianism in all its forms, and utopianism in one form or another is always with us, so that we may be quite sure Plechanoff's brilliant little brochure will never be out of date till the dawn of the Day of Proletarian Triumph." (Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 23, clot, 50 cents.)

Next month we hope to have some very attractive announcements to make, in the way of new Socialist books, but the important thing just now is to get the debt out of the way, and it can be done in short order if every reader of the Review will do his share.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Marx's Historical Method.

(*Continued.*)

III

VICO'S "HISTORICAL LAWS."

Vico, scarcely ever read by the philosophical historians, although they play with a few of his phrases, which they interpret badly as often as they repeat them, formulated in his *Scienza nuova* certain fundamental laws of history.

He lays down as a general law of the development of societies that all nations, whatever their ethnic origin and their geographical habitat, traverse the same historic roads: thus, the history of any nation whatever is a repetition of the history of another nation which has attained a higher degree of development.

"There exists", he says, "an eternal ideal history traversed on earth by the histories of all nations, from whatever status of savagery, barbarism and ferocity men set out to civilize themselves", to domesticate themselves, ad addimesticarsi, according to his expression. (*Scienza nuova;* libr. II, §5)*.

Morgan, who probably had no knowledge of Vico, arrived

* The verb **civilisation** probably did not exist in the Italian language in Vico's time; it is not until the eighteenth century that it was used in France to indicate the march of a nation along the path of progress. The sense was so recent that the French Academy does not include the word **civilisation** in its Directory until the edition of 1835. Fourier employed it only to designate the modern capitalist period.

We meet again in natural science the "ideal eternal history" of Vico. It is curious and interesting to note that parallelism of thought in

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at a conception of the same law, which he formulates in a more positive and complete fashion. The historic uniformity of the different nations which the Neapolitan philosopher attributed to their development according to a preëstablished plan the American anthropologist assigns to two causes, to the intellectual resemblance of men and to the similarity of the obstacles which they have had to surmount in order to develop their societies. Vico also believed in their intellectual resemblance. "There necessarily exists", he said, "in the nature of human affairs, a universal mental language, common to all nations, which designs uniformly the substance of the things playing an active part in the social life of men and expresses it with as many modifications as there are different aspects which these things can take on. We recognize its existence in proverbs, those maxims of popular wisdom, which are of the same substance in all nations ancient and modern, although they are expressed in so many different ways". (Ib *Degli Elem.* XXII.)*

"The human mind", says Morgan, "specifically the same in all the tribes and nations of mankind, and limited in the range of its powers, works and must work, in the same uniform channels, and within narrow limits of variation. Its results in disconnected regions of space, and in widely separated ages of time, articulate in a logically connected chain of common experiences. † Elsewhere in this book Morgan shows that

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the natural and historical philosophies. Aristotle and the deists admit the existence of a preëstablished plan, by which God creates animal species and which man can discover by the study of comparative morphology. "He thus thinks over again the divine thought." The philosophers of Nature, submitting this for God, attributed to it a sort of unconscious plan or rather a model, a type immaterial and unrealized according to which the real forms realize themselves; for some it is a **prototype**, an original form, upon which the real beings are gradual improvements, for others it is an **archetype** of which they are varied and imperfect copies.

* Aristotle likewise attached great importance to proverbs; several writers speak of a collection of popular maxims which he had composed and which is lost. Synesius mentions it in his "Panegyric on Baldness": "Aristotle," he says, "considers proverbs as the debris of the philosophy of past ages wrecked in the revolutions which men have passed through; their piquant conciseness has saved them from the shipwreck. Proverbs and the ideas which they express thus carry the same authority as the ancient philosophy from which they have come to us, and whose noble imprint they preserve, for in the centuries which have rolled by, the truth was grasped far better than to-day." The Christian bishop, nourished on Pagan authors ,reproduces the opinion of antiquity, which thought men degenerated instead of improving. This idea, contained in Greek mythology and reproduced in many passages of the **Iliad**, was shared by the Egyptian priests, who, according to Herodotus, divided past age into three periods: the age of the gods, of heroes and of men.

Man, since he emerged from the communism of the **gens**, has always believed that he was degenerating, and that happiness, the earthly paradise, the age of gold, was in the past. The idea of human perfectability, of social progress ,took shape in the eighteenth century, when the bourgeoisie was approaching its power, but like Christianity it relegated happiness to Heaven.

Utopian socialism made it descend to earth. "Paradise is not behind us but before us," said Saint-Simon.

† Lewis H. Morgan.—Ancient Society, Part II. Ch. IX, P. 262. —

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like successive geological formations the tribes of humanity may be superimposed in successive layers according to their development: classed in this way, they reveal with a certain degree of exactness the complete march of human progress from savagery to civilization; for the paths of human experiences in the several nations have been almost parallel. Marx, who studied the path of economic "experiences", confirms Morgan's idea. The country most developed industrially, he says in the preface to "Capital", shows those which follow it on the industrial ladder the image of their own future.

Thus, then, the "ideal eternal history", which according to Vico the different peoples of humanity must traverse each in their turn, is not an historic plan preëstablished by a divine intelligence, but an historic plan of human progress conceived by the historian who, after having studied the stages traversed by every people, compares them in progressive series according to their degrees of complexity.

Researches, continued for a century on the savage tribes and ancient and modern peoples, have triumphantly proved the exactness of Vico's law. They have established the fact that all men, whatever their ethnic origin or their geographical habitat, had in their development gone through the same forms of family, property and production, as well as the same social and political institutions. The Danish anthropologists were the first to recognize the fact and to divide the prehistoric period into successive ages of stone, bronze and iron, characterized by the raw material of the tools manufactured and consequently by the mode of production. The general histories of the different nations, whether they belong to the white, black, yellow or red race, and whether they inhabit the temperate zone, the equator or the poles, are distinguished from each other only by Vico's stage of ideal history, only by Morgan's historic stratum, only by Marx's round of the economic ladder to which they have attained. Thus, the most developed people shows to those which are less developed the image of their own future.

The productions of intelligence do not escape Vico's law. The philologists and grammarians have found that for the creation of words and languages men of all races have followed the same rules. Folklorists have gathered the same tales among savage and civilized peoples. Vico had already recognized among them the same proverbs. Many of the folklorists instead of considering the similar tales as the productions of nations which preserve them only through oral tradition think that they were conceived in only one center, from which they were scattered over the earth. This is inadmissible and contradicts what has been observed in the social institutions and other productions, intellectual as well as material.

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The history of the idea of the soul and the ideas to which it has given birth is one of the most curious examples of the remarkable uniformity of the development of thought. The idea of the soul, which is found in savages, even the lowest, is one of the first intellectual inventions. The soul once invented, it was necessary to fit it out with a dwelling place, under the earth or in the sky to lodge it after death, in order to prevent it from wandering without domicile and pestering the living. The idea of the soul, very vivid in savage and barbarous nations, after having contributed to the manufacture of the idea of the Great Spirit and of God, vanishes among nations arrived at a higher degree of development, to be reborn with a new life and force when they arrive at another stage of evolution. The historians, after having pointed out in the historic nations of the Mediterranean basin the absence of the idea of the soul, which nevertheless had existed among them during the preceding savage period, recognize its rebirth some centuries before the Christian Era, as well as its persistence until our own days. They content themselves with mentioning these extraordinary phenomena of the disappearance and reappearance of so fundamental an idea, without attaching importance to them and without thinking of looking for the explanation which, however, they would not have found in the field of their investigations and which we can only hope to discover by applying Marx's historical method, by seeking it in the transformations of the economic world.

The scientists who have brought to light the primitive forms of the family, property and political institutions, have been too much absorbed by the labor of research to have time to inquire into the causes of their transformations: they have only made descriptive history and the science of the social world must be explanatory as well as descriptive.

Vico thinks that man is the unconscious motive power of history and that it is not his virtues but his vices which are the active forces. It is not "disinterestedness, generosity and humanity, but ferocity, avarice and ambition" which create and develop societies; "these three vices which lead the human race astray produce the army, commerce and political power, and consequently the courage, wealth and wisdom of republics: so that these three vices, which are capable of destroying the human race on the earth, produce civil felicity."

This unexpected result furnished to Vico the proof of "the existence of a divine providence, a divine intelligence, which, out of the passions of men, absorbed entirely by their private interests, which might make them live in solitudes like fierce beasts, organizes civil order, thus permitting us to live in a human society."

The divine providence which directs the evil passions of men

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is a second edition of the popular axiom: *man proposes and God disposes.* This divine providence of the Neapolitan philosopher and this God of popular wisdom who leads man by the aid of his vices and his passions, what are they?

The mode of production, replies Marx.

Vico, in accordance with the popular judgment, affirms that man alone furnishes the motive power of history. But his passions, bad and good, and his needs are not invariable quantities as the idealists suppose, for whom man has remained always the same. For example, maternal love, that heritage from the animals, without which man in the savage state could not have lived and perpetuated himself, diminishes in civilization to the point of disappearing in the mothers of the rich classes, who from its birth relieve themselves of the child and entrust it to the care of hirelings; — other civilized women feel so little need of maternity that they make vows of virginity(*); paternal love and sexual jealousy, which cannot show themselves in savage and barbarous tribes during the polyandrous period, are on the contrary highly developed among civilized people; — the sentiment of equality, vivid and imperious in savages and barbarians, who live in communities, to the point of forbidding any one the possession of an object which the others could not possess, has become so fully obliterated since man has lived under the system of individual property, that the poor and the wage workers of civilization accept resignedly and as a divine and natural destiny their social inferiority.

Thus, then, in the course of human development, fundamental passions are transformed, reduced and extinguished, while others arise and grow. To seek only in man the determining causes of their production and evolution would be to admit that although living in nature and society, he does not submit to the influence of the surrounding reality. Such a supposition cannot arise even in the brain of the most extreme idealist, for he would not dare to assume that we should meet the same sentiment of modesty in the respectable mother of the household and the unfortunate earning her living with her sex; the same swiftness of calculation in the bank clerk and the philosopher; the same agility of the fingers of the professional pianist and the ditch digger. It is thus undeniable that man on the physical, intellectual and moral sides is subject unconsciously, but profoundly, to the action of the environment in which he moves.

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* The same phenomenon is observed in the insects which have succeeded in creating for themselves a social environment: the queen bee, who is the mother of the hive, does not concern herself with her progeny and kills her daughters provided with sexual organs, whom the neuter workers are obliged to protect from her maternal fury. Certain breeds of domestic fowls have lost the instinct of maternity; although excellent layers, they never sit.

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IV.

THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND THE ARTIFICAL OR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT.

The action of the environment is not merely direct, it is exercised not only upon the organ which functions, upon the hand in the case of the pianist and the ditch digger, upon a part of the brain in that of the bank clerk and the philosopher, upon the moral sense in that of the honest woman and the prostitute; it is again indirect and reacts upon all the organs. This generalization of the action of the environment which Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire designated under the characteristic name of *subordination of the organs* and which modern naturalists call *Law of correlation,* Cuvier explained thus: "Every organized being forms a whole, a unique and closed system, whose parts correspond to each other and contribute to the same definite action by a reciprocal action. None of these parts can change without the other parts also changing". For example, the form of the teeth of an animal cannot be modified for any cause whatever without involving modifications in the jaws, the muscles which move them, the bones of the skull to which they are attached, the brain which the skull encases(*), the bones and muscles which support the head, the form and the length of the intestines, indeed in all parts of the body. The modifications which are produced in the fore limbs as soon as they have ceased to serve for walking have led to organic transformations which have definitely separated man from the anthropoid apes.

It is not always possible to foresee and understand the modifications involved by the change which has occurred in any certain organ: for example, why the breaking of a leg or the removal of a testicle in the stag family causes the atrophy of the horn on the opposite side; why white cats are deaf; why mammals with hoofs are herbivorous and those with five toes armed with claws are carnivorous.

A simple change in the habits by subjecting one or more organs to an unaccustomed use sometimes results in radical modifications in the whole organism. Darwin says that the

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* Anatomists hold that the temporal muscles—crotaphite—which in the carnivora and many apes unite at the base of the skull and envelope it like a strap, obstruct by compressing the cranial envelope the development of the brain, which is thus relatively reduced as compared with animals which, like man, have a less developed masticating apparatus and less powerful crotaphite muscles. R. Anthony, by taking away from two dogs at the moment of birth one of the temporal muscles, demonstrated some months after that the half of the brain corresponding to the suppressed muscle was rounded out more, and that the cerebral hemisphere had increased in volume.—**Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences, 23 novembre, 1903.**

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mere fact of constantly browsing on steep slopes has occasioned variations in the skeletons of certain breeds of Scotch cows. Naturalists agree in regarding the cetacea, — whales, cachalots and dolphins — as former terrestrial mammals which, finding in the sea food more abundant and easier to procure, became swimmers and divers: this new sort of life transformed their organs, reducing to a rudimentary state those no longer used, developing the others and adapting them to the needs of the aquatic environment. The plants of the Sahara Desert, to adapt themselves to the arid environment, have been obliged to dwarf themselves, to reduce the number of their leaves to two or four, to take on a layer of wax to prevent evaporation, and to prolong their roots enormously in search of moisture: their periodic changes come counter to the ordinary seasons; they are dormant in summer during the hot season and vegetate in the winter, in the season relatively cold and moist. Plants in other deserts present analagous characteristics: a given environment implies the existence of beings showing a combination of definite characteristics.

The cosmic or natural environments, to which vegetables and animals must adapt theselves under pain of death, constitute, like the organized being of which Cuvier speaks, combinations, complex systems without precise limits in space, the parts of which are: the geologic formation and composition of the soil, nearness to the equator, elevation above the sea level, courses of rivers which irrigate it, quantity of rain which it receives and the solar heat which it stores up, etc., and plants and animals which live in it. These parts correspond to each other in such a way that one of them cannot change without involving change in the other parts: the changes in the natural environment, although less rapid than those produced in organized beings, are nevertheless appreciable. The forests, for example, have an influence on the temperature and the rains, consequently on the humidity and the physical composition of the soil. Darwin has shown that animals apparently insignificant, like the worm, have played a considerable part in the formation of vegetable mold; Berthelot and the agricultural experts Hellriegel and Willfarth have proved that the bacteria which swarm in the protuberances of the roots of the leguminosae are active in fertilizing the soil. Man by tillage and cultivation exercises a marked influence over the natural environment; forest clearings begun by the Romans have transformed fertile countries of Asia and Africa into uninhabitable deserts.

Vegetables, animals and man in a state of nature, all of which are subject to the action of the natural environment, without other means of resistance than the faculty of adaptation of their organs, must end by differentiating themselves, even though

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they might have a common origin, if, during hundreds and thousands of generations they live in different natural environments. The unlike natural environments thus tend to diversify men as well as plants and animals. It is, in fact, during the savage period that the different human races were formed.

Man does not merely modify by his industry the natural environments in which he lives, but he creates out of whole cloth an artificial or social environment, which permits him if not to remove his organism from the action of the natural environment, at least, to reduce this action considerably. But this artificial environment in its turn operates upon man as he comes to it from his natural environment. Man, like the domesticated plant and animal, thus undergoes the action of two environments.

The artificial or social environments which men have successively created differ among themselves in their degree of elaboration and complexity, but environments of the same degree of elaboration and complexity offer great resemblances among themselves, whatever may be the human races which have created them and whatever may be their geographical habitats: so that if men continue to undergo the diversifying action of unlike natural environments, they are equally subject to the action of similar artificial environments which operate to diminish the differences of races and to develop in them the same needs, the same interests, the same passions and the same mentality. Moreover, the same natural environments, as for example those situated at the same latitude and altitude, exercise an equal, unifying action on the vegetables and animals which live in them; they have an analagous flora and fauna. Like artificial environments thus tend to unify the human species, which unlike natural environments have diversified into races and sub-races.

The natural environment evolves with such extreme slowness that the vegetable and animal specis which adapt themselves to it seem immutable. The artificial environment, on the contrary, evolves with an increasing rapidity, thus the history of man and his societies compared with that of animals and vegetables is extraodinarily mobile.

The artificial environments, like organized being and the natural environment, form combinations, complex systems without precise limits in space and time, the parts of which correspond to each other and are so closely bound together that one alone cannot be modified without all the others being shaken and being compelled to undergo retouchings in their turn. The artificial or social environment, of an extreme simplicity and consisting of a small number of parts in savage peoples, becomes complicated in proportion as man progresses by the addition of new parts and by the development of those already

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existing. It has been formed since the historic period by economic, social, political and legal institutions, by traditions, customs, manners and morals, by common sense and public opinion, by religious ,literatures, arts, philosophies, sciences, modes of production and exchange etc., and by the men who live in it. These parts, by transforming themselves and by reacting on each other, have given birth to a series of social environments more and more complex and extended, which, in proportion to their extension, have modified men; for, like the natural environment, a given social environment implies the existence of men presenting a certain combination of analagous characteristics, physical and moral. If all these corresponding parts were stable or varied only with excessive slowness, like those of the natural environment, the artificial environment would remain in equilibrium and there would be no history; its equilibrium, on the contrary, is extremely and increasingly unstable, constantly put out of balance by the changes working in one or another of its parts, which then reacts on all the others.

The parts of an organized being, like those of a natural environment, react upon each other directly, mechanically, so to speak: when in the course of animal evolution the upright posture was definitely acquired by man, it became the point of departure for transformations of all the organs: when the head, instead of being carried by the powerful muscles at the back of the neck, as in the other animals, was supported by the spinal column, these muscles and the bones to which they are attached became modified, and with their modifications modified the skull, the brain, etc. When the layer of vegetable soil in a locality increases through any cause whatever, instead of bearing stunted plants, it nourishes a forest, which modifies the rainfall, which again increases the volume of the water courses, etc. But the parts of an artificial environment can react on each other only through the intermediary of man. The part modified must begin by transforming physically and mentally the men whom it causes to function, and must suggest to them the modifications which they must bring to the other parts to put them on the level of the progress realized in it, in order that they may not hinder it in its development, and in order that they may again correspond to it. The parts not modified manifest their inconvenience precisely by the useful qualities which formerly constituted their "good side", which by becoming superannuated are hurtful and then constitute so many "bad sides". They are the more insupportable according as the modifications which they should have undergone are more important. The re-establishment of equilibrium in the parts of the artificial environment is

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often accomplished only after struggles between the men particularly interested in the part in course of transformation and the men concerned in the other parts.

A few historical facts, too recent to be forgotten, will illustrate the interplay of the various parts of the artificial environment through the medium of man.

When industry had utilized the elasticity of steam as a motor power, it demanded new means of transportation to carry its fuel, its raw material and its products. It suggested to the interested manufacturers the idea of steam traction on iron rails which began to be practiced in the coal fields of Gard in 1830 and in those of the Loire in 1832; it was in 1829 that Stephenson's first locomotive drew a train in England. But when it was desired to extend this mode of locomotion, active and various opposition was encountered, which delayed its development for years. M. Thiers, one of the political leaders of official capitalism, and one of the authorized representatives of its common sense and public opinion, opposed it energetically, because, he declared, "a railroad can not work." Railroads, indeed, upset the most reasonable and established ideas: they required, along with other impossible things, grave changes in the mode of property serving as a basis for the social edifice of the bourgeoise then in power. Till then a capitalist created an industry or a mercantile establishment with his own money, increased, at the most, by that of one or two friends and acquaintanes, who had confidence in his honesty and skill; he directed the use of the funds and was the real and nominal proprietor of the factory or the commercial house. But the railroads were obliged to amass such enormous capitals, that it was therefore necessary to induce a great number of capitalists to confide their money, which they had never left out of their sight, to people whose names they scarcely knew, still less their ability or morality. When they let go of the money, they lost all control over its use; they had no personal proprietorship in the stations, cars, locomotives, etc., which it served to create; instead of pieces of gold and silver, having volume, weight and other solid qualities, they received back a narrow, light sheet of paper, representing fictitiously an infinitesimal and intangible morsel of the collective property, the name of which it bore, printed in big letters. Never in bourgeois memory had property taken on so metaphysical a form. This new form, which *depersonalized* property, was in such violent contradiction with that which summed up the joys of the capitalists, that which they had known and handed down for generations, that to defend it and propagate it no one could be found but the men charged with all crimes and denounced as the worst disturbers of social order, — the socialists. Fourier

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and St. Simon welcomed the mobilization of property in paper stock-certificates. We find in the ranks of their disciples the manufacturers, engineers and financiers who prepared the revolution of 1848 and were the plotters of December 2: they profited by the political revolution to revolutionize the economic environment by centralizing the nine provincial banks into the Bank of France, by legalizing the new form of property and causing it to be accepted by public opinion, and by creating the network of French railways.

The great mechanical industry, which must draw its fuel and its raw material from a distance, and which must scatter its products widely, can not tolerate the parcelling of a nation into little autonomous States, with tariffs, laws, weights and measures, coins, paper currencies, etc., of their own; it requires on the contrary the development unified and centralized nations. Italy and Germany have met these requirements of the great industry, but only at the cost of bloody wars. MM. Thiers and Proudhon, who had numerous points of resemblance, and who represented the political interests of the little industry, became ardent defenders of the independence of the States of the Church and of the Italian princes.

Since man successively creates and modifies the parts of the social environment, therefore in him reside the motive forces of history, — so Vico and popular wisdom hold, rather than in Justice, Progress, Liberty and other metaphysical entities, as the most philosophical historians stupidly repeat. These confused and inexact ideas vary according to the historical epochs and according to the groups or even the individuals of the same epoch; for they are the mental reflections of the phenomena produced in the diferent parts of the artificial environment; for example the capitalist, the wage-worker, and the magistrate have different ideas of Justice. The socialist understands by justice the restitution to the wage-working producers of the wealth which has been stolen from them, while to the capitalist, justice is the conservation of this stolen wealth, and as the latter possesses the economic and political power, his notion predominates and makes the law, which, for the magistrate, becomes Justice. Precisely because the same word covers contradictory notions, the capitalist class has made of these ideas an instrument of deceipt and of dominance.

That portion of the artificial or social environment in which a man functions gives him a physical, intellectual and moral education. This education by things, which engenders ideas in him and excites his passions, is unconscious; so when he acts, he imagines he is following freely the impulses of his passions and ideas, while he is only yielding to the influences exercised

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on him by one of the parts of the artificial environment, which can react on the other parts only through the intermediary of his ideas and passions. Obeying instinctively the indirect pressure of the environment, he attributes the direction of his actions and emotions to a God, a divine intelligence or to ideas of Justice, Progress. Humanity, etc. If the march of history is unconscious, since as Hegel says, man always finishes with a result other than that he sought, it is because thus far he has been unconscious of the cause which makes him act and which directs his actions.

What is the most unstable part of the social environment, that which is changed oftenest in quantity and in quality, that which is most apt to disturb the whole?

The mode of production, answers Marx.

By mode of production Marx means not what is produced but the way of producing it; thus there has been weaving from prehistoric times, but it is only for about a century that there has been machine weaving. Machine production is the essential characteristic of modern industry. We have under our eyes an unparalleled example of its terrible and irresistible power to transform the social, economic, political and legal institutions of a nation. Its introduction into Japan has lifted that country in one generation from the feudal state of the middle ages into the constitutional state of the capitalist world, and has placed it in the rank of world powers.

Multiple causes unite in assuring to the mode of production this omnipotence of action. Production absorbs, directly or indirectly, the energy of an immense majority of the individuals of a nation, while in the other parts constituting the social environment (politics, religion, literature, etc.,) a slender minority is occupied, and even this minority can not but be interested in procuring the means of existence, material and intellectual. Consequently all men undergo mentally and physically, more or less, the modifying influence of the mode of production, while but a very small number of men are subjected to that of the other portions: now, as it is through the intermediary of men that the different parts of the social environment act on each other, that which modifies the most men possesses of necessity the most energy for moving the whole mass.

The mode of production, relatively unimportant in the social environment of the savage, takes on a preponderant and ever-growing importance through the incessant incorporation into production of the forces of nature, in proportion as man learns to know them: prehistoric man began this incorporation by using stones for weapons and tools.

Progress in the mode of production is relatively rapid, not

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only because production occupies an enormous mass of men, but again because, by enkindling "the three furies of private interest", it puts in play the three vices which, for Vico, are the moving forces of history, — hardheartedness, avarice and ambition.

Progress in the mode of production has become so headlong for the last two centuries, that the men interested in production must constantly remodel the corresponding parts of the social environment to keep them on the level; the resistances which they encounter give rise to incessant conflicts, economic and political. Thus, to discover the first causes of historic movements, we must seek them in the mode of production of material life, which, as Marx says, dominates in general the development of the social, political and intellectual life.

Marx's economic determinism takes away from Vico's law of the unity of historical development its character of predetermination, which would carry the idea that the historic phases through which a nation passes, like the embryonic phases of an animal are as Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire thought indissolubly linked to its very nature and determined by the inevitable action of an inner force, an "evolutionary force", which would conduct it along pre-established paths toward ends marked out in advance; whence it would follow that all nations must progress, always and whether-or-no, at an equal pace and along one and the same path. The law of the unity of development, thus conceived, would be verified by the development of not one nation.

History on the contrary shows nations as they are, some limping through certain stages of evolution, which others traverse like race-horses, while others again go back from stages already reached. These delays, progressions and recessions are explained only when we examine the social, political and intellectual history of the several nations in the light of the history of the artificial environments in which they have evolved: the changes of these environments, determined by the mode of production, determine in their turn historic events.

Since artificial environments are transformed only at the cost of national and international struggles, the historic events of a nation are thus subjected to relations which arise between the artificial environment to be transformed and the nation, fashioned as it has been by its natural environment and its hereditary and acquired characteristics. The natural environment and the historic past have impressed upon each nation certain original characteristics; so it follows that the same mode of production does not produce, with mathematical exactness, the same artifical or social environments, and consequently does not occasion historical events absolutely alike in different nations and at all moments of history,

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since vital international competition increases and intensifies in proportion to the growth in the number of nations arriving at the higher stages of civilization. The historic evolution of nations, then, is not predetermined, any more than the embryonic evolution of individuals: if it passes through similar organizations of family, property, law and politics, and through analagous forms of thought in philosophy, religion, art and literature, it is because nations, whatever their race and geographical habitat, experience in their development material and intellectual wants which are substantially alike, and must inevitably resort, for the satisfaction of these wants, to the same processes of production.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

Translated by Charles H. Kerr.

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The Political System of Social-Democracy.

Memorial presented to the International Socialist Bureau and the Interparliamentary Commission.

The increasing development and influence of the socialist movement, brings more and more into evidence an existing gap, which, if not filled up in the course of a few years, will prejudice the unity and the strength of this movement and may stand in the way of further progress.

Already we may witness symptoms pointing in this unfortunate direction.

The action of the social-democrats in Parliament, the usefulness and necessity of which has never been doubted by me, has nevertheless given rise everywhere in the masses to a real disappointment, because of its lack of positive results on behalf of the working class. As long as the party is only represented in Parliament by a small minority, this disappointment affects the middle-class, the unwillingness or impotence of whom, to comply with the desires of the laborers, is clearly proved. But as soon as the socialist minority increases or the mass of outsiders who stand behind this minority grows more important so as to represent a considerable fraction of the nation, the unsuccessfulness of the proceedings of Parliament is used as an argument against the socialist movements itself. And when socialist ministers, with the coöperation of their party or without the same, share the responsibility for the political system of the "bourgeoisie", the party is still further held responsible for the errors and faults of the said system. It matters but little with what kind of government we have to deal.

The German system of semi-absolutism has no worse influence than the democratic parliamentary one of the French Republic. We might even ask whether the first, with its greater stability and perseverance, has not met with greater success than the latter, where the constantly varying alignment of the parties, as well as the sensibility of the machinery of the state to constant modifications of the governing powers, greatly interfere with the legislative proceedings. It is no mere accident that amongst the French labourers indifference and even disgust with parliamentary politics are very strong and that among the German workmen antiparliamentarism is continually increasing during the last years.

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Everywhere, that socialism has passed through the stage of pure and simple propaganda and of common opposition, and where it has to face the necessity of making use of the political system of the middle-class, in order to further its own direct wants, the insufficiency of the said system will become more evident and will be revenged on the social-democracy itself, if the latter should not, in using it, take up a critical position toward the system and disown every responsibility for the same.

I expect to hear the objection that the scarcity of results I have pointed out, is not to be imputed to the political but rather to the economical system and the political supremacy of the middle-class. But those two elements cannot be separated. Each economical system has its own political regime. It is evident that under the sway of capitalism, which submits the mass to a heavy daily labour in order to earn their living, we cannot imagine any other system than that of representation. Parliament, the historic manifestation of the rising economic power of the middle-class and recognised as such by the sovereigns themselves, was the essential organ of the system. It can easily be proved that, in its practical results and development, it is unable to outlive capitalism; its faults will even be seen more clearly, in proportion as in the period of transition in which we live, social interests and arrangements become of more importance to legislators. In various countries the rights of Parliament towards the Crown and the government may differ, but they all have one thing in common, viz. that laws are framed and the system is discussed by ministerial bureaux and that Parliament has nothing but a correcting and completing influence on law. As long as there are in Parliament only two important parties, representing political thought and political life of the nation, our objection has no very serious character. Each of these parties will alternately hold the reins of government and each will alternately be at the head of the ministerial bureaux.

But if the middle-class is going to divide itself and the laborers are becoming a separate party, we are face to face with quite another case. The original condition for the Parliamentary system falls away. The temporary governments become, owing to antagonism in Parliament and by the lack of a sufficent majority, either powerless or almighty. Powerless inasmuch as they are prevented by the divergence of political opinions, from carrying out a well-framed system. Almighty because the lack of a conscious and unanimous opposition gives them an opportunity for realising certain schemes.

The division of the middle-class is one of the principal reasons of the modification in the nature of the parliamentary system and it causes a continuous change in the alignment of

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fractions, with the result that, in democratic countries, government and legislation are not to be relied upon, and become ever more the prey of the politician. In less democratic countries this offers an opportunity for the Crown, to unite several groups of the opposition into one coalition, favorable to the government, a step that becomes more frequent as the fear of socialism eclipses the different groups of the middle-class. It is but natural, that a change in the character of the middle-class causes a similar modification in its chief political institution.

But the institution itself, as part of the middle-class organisation, to which it is peremptorily attached, can no longer satisfy the needs of modern legislation. It is based upon a fiction, that the whole nation is represented by Parliament, but even with manhood suffrage this is not the case; only part of the nation is represented and we must not forget that this always remains mere *representation.* Intellect, knowledge of business, practical experience of groups and organisations, all those categories are only represented by accident, which nobody is able to foresee. The choice of persons is more decided by political considerations than according to personal value. All questions concerning government are continually treated and decided by the same persons, which causes a vast amount of superficiality and red tape and consequent deterioration of the laws that are passed. This is especially evident where legislation loses its administrative and periodical nature, and enters more into the domain of social conditions.

The logical and historic complement of parliament is a middle class ministerial bureaucracy. If up to the present the social-democrats have been compelled to confine their influence to the state, and if they have been the strongest force for the extension of state intervention, this does not signify that by those means they could found their system. On the contrary, their theory teaches us that the victory of the proletariat attacks the very foundation of the state, which afterwards may be "stored away in a museum of antiquities." And the foremost theorists who have discussed the future régime of social-democracy, have concluded that its greatest duty should be to systematically convert the existing state into an organization leaving free course to trade-unions.

If this idea is not given greater emphases in the practical propaganda within the existing régime, this can be explained by the fact that even its partial realization is only possible within the limits of socialism itself. Suppose for example the nationalization of railways, mines, etc. In contrast with the system according to which the government should take the railways *in their own hands,* and manage them the same way private business is managed, through ministerial bureaux, proceeding

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from the top to the bottom, the socialists would be compelled to recommend working by those who are interested in the concern, under the control and on behalf of the whole nation. But there is a lack of any organization for this purpose so that, if it were possible to convert the several unions of laborers or others, who have an interest in the concern, into one organization, there would be no link between this organization and the central organization of the nation, whilst there are no rules by which the proper degree of public authority and autonomy could be tranferred to the organization, which would be necessary to any effective operation.

The official control and the limitation of the rights and duties of laborers under the régime of capitalism are more to be feared than to be desired by the laborers. Germany, France and England have sufficiently proved this fact. It seems that the most favorable condition for the trade-unions is the absolute liberty of proceedings. This makes it impossible to compel the adhesion of all the laborers to one and the same organization. The working class cannot permit their rights to be determined by a party they are fighting. The full development of the task of trade-unions is only possible under a social-democratic system.

We believe we have said enough to point out, why the socialists, even if they make use of the bourgeois political system to further their strife and their purpose, must more and more recognize its insufficiency in proportion as they become stronger and as they lay more emphasis upon the positive results of their work. Until now this critical point of view has revealed itself either insufficiently or in a wrong way.

In its attitude toward anarchism and anti-parliamentarism, the movement of the laboring-class has been insufficient in that it has too often emphasized exclusively the uncontested necessity and advantage of parliamentary action, whilst neglecting the proletarian standpoint and its present problems. Perhaps in theoretical publications this has been done occasionally in an excellent way, but in practical strife, while propagating the cause, this has been too much neglected. No wonder, where the program of the social-democrats opposes no system of its own to that of the bourgeoisie, and where it demands nothing but a more logical application of the parliamentary system of the "bourgeoisie."

These critics have also neglected to consider the historic necessity and the urgency of not only using the system as the theatre of action but as well for the sake of its direct results.

All these movements, which have called attention to the vices of parliamentarism, from the German "Independents" to the "syndicalists" have displayed these same defects. But what must doom their criticism to ineffectiveness is that either they have no proletarian system of their own to contrast with the system they

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condemn, or that, moved by vague notions about the function of the labor-unions, they wish to see the same act a part, which could only be reasonable under a régime of the proletariat and even then only after due preparation and development.

In both cases however this lack of a political system of their own, is injurious to the unity of the Party and the strength of the propaganda. If we contemplate the social-democracy of every country, we find everywhere two different views about the suitable tactics. One of those considers the parliamentary method of ever increasing importance, and wishes to carry it through even to the extent of affiliation with middle-class democracy, while the other seeks to get rid of the consequences of the system, without altogether condemning it, and is accordingly forced into a purely oppositional position to the party; and by national and international verdicts, seeks to put a stop to the "parliamentarisation" of the movement, and to find fresh weapons, which shall put the mass outside of Parliament into action against the whole bourgeoisie.

However important this struggle may be, the question arises whether its importance is not exaggerated. Let us first acknowledge, that not every struggle which causes much noise in literature, is of equal importance in practical life. Without denying the exceptions in which this strife has affected serious interests, it may be said that, both in France and Germany, the party's representatives are accustomed, even when following different tactics, to unite in all matters of vital interest. And it may be stated as well, that many questions, which attract much attention at the moment of their origin, only concern political conveniency, caused by the party's tradition and are of importance only for the sake of propaganda. Furthermore every deviation from the really imperatively prescribed line of proletarian action shows its results within a short tme, by rousing the inevitable reaction and by providing the laboring class with the real experience, without which it will be impossible to find the right way. The struggle of the proletariat contains in itself the chief conditions, under which it must and can be fought. Whosoever accepts this combat honestly and frankly, whosoever remains animated by its true spirit, will hear the voice of a conscience when making use of certain methods, a conscience which no doubt will end by showing him the path of duty. The middle-class itself, justly understanding that the progress of the social-democrats means a menace to their own position, show more and more their character as capitalists and even on their left wing we see them together with a small number of democrats, who have accepted democracy for emergency's sake, attempt a revival of the capitalist reaction

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even among the most democratic elements, as soon as the proletariat manifests its revolutionary character.

Within these limits we will most probably soon witness the phenomenon, that in different countries and at various moments one or the other method, often the one after the other, will be brought into practice. Both fractions, if they are wise, will try to correct and not to kill each other.

Meanwhile this struggle amongst the members of the Party themselves suffers from the want of a proper socialistic political system. The actual program for which they struggle, in its political part, is essentially the fullfilment of the system of the middle-class. Adult suffrage for both sexes is its first and last word. Extension of governmental intervention on every domain is a continual desire. In their political program the social-democrats are only the logical conclusion of the democracy of the middle-class; as it contains no points except those which are to be realized by Parliament. Really, those who reproach the revisionists and the reformists with their exaggerated expectations concerning the democracy of the middle-class, might do well by asking themselves whether the fault does not lie in their own program.

A government, seriously desiring to do something in the way of meeting our wants, raises *ipso facto* the hostile feeling of middle-class reaction and *must* be supported by us; we may frame as revolutionary a program as we wish, but finally we are compelled to content ourselves with the half or the fourth part of reforms, exactly as the parliamentary outcome may give us. Parlamentarism has its own rules, to which every party, making use of this institution, must conform. Therefore it is bad policy to confine the tactics and the character of the party to the limits of the question, what must be the attitude towards the political system of the middle-class. Within the limits of this system every social-democratic action must needs be unprincipled and opportunist. The real struggle concerning politics must remain on the outside. It may only be asked, what system the social-democrats intend to substitute for that of the middle-class. And as the more radical fraction of the party has no answer to this question, it tries to find its principles where they do not exist. Not until the party has formed an exact idea of the political organization that is to be established, will it be possible to decide the direction in which its positive task has to be achieved. Its views about trade-unions, about the rights and duties of officials, etc., cannot remain free from the influence of the above mentioned question. Towards the middle-class there will be a fixed standard which may be of the greatest use in answering the question in how far it will be possible temporarily to co-operate with one or more

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of these groups, in special circumstances. And besides many misconceptions about the importance of state and Parliament *will disappear for the social-democracy,* when the question has been settled, misconceptions which are found not only within the limits of our party but as well amongst outsiders and which can only be got rid of in this way.

If we have demonstrated above the necessity of elaborating a political system for the social-democracy, chiefly for its value to the party itself, this question has also a larger scope. The fear of middle-class utopianism has until now withheld our best thinkers from exerting themselves in this line. When Kautsky ventured a very modest step in this direction, he only wished to give a scientific completeness to his work. Works like those of Menger and Deslinière could only emphasize the opinion that every effort to give birth at the present time to the political system of the social-democracy, would suffer from the sterility of middle-class utopianism.

This however is not the case. It all depends on the method. If we follow the course, indicated by Menger and seek for the ideas or moral principles of the social-democracy, and if we make a juridical application of these, we remain within the limits of the utopian point of view. But if we appeal to history and consider which social organisation we are facing and what part of the same can be transferred to the regime of the proletariat, if we examine the growth and constitution of these social organs, if we deduct therefrom the general rules, the result can be very real and without suffering from more fancy, than we witness in every scientific work.

Furthermore at what distance do we suppose the victory of the proletariat over the middle-class to be, if the time has not yet come to state to the world by what means the social-democrats intend to make their victory correspond to their ideals? The Socialists have already admitted the impossibility of establishing the complete socialistic state by any artificial method.

At this moment this party has in some countries millions of partisans, and when everywhere the masses are organising themselves more and more against the existing economical and political system, is it too much to ask the party to do something more than walk about in the dress of the middle-class, patched up with red, and if we want it to show itself in its own garb, and to possess a scheme of political organisation of its own, subject to discussion?

By what means are the social-democrats to convert the middle-class into their own society? This question must be answered by the political system. We take for granted the economical and industrial action towards socialism. We ask however,

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what political superstructure could be solid and elastic enough, so to correspond and to enforce every fresh growth.

When the middle-class fought their own fight, they were able to answer this question. The instructions of the Third Class' representatives contained the political system of this group. Parliament had been existing for some centuries and, by generalising its character, elaborating its principles, and applying the same, the middle-class have given to themselves and to the world what they wanted.

The proletariat has no more need to mount in the air, to elaborate their political system, than the middle-class had. They develope their own organization due to their rising political power, enforced and developed by the struggle, in the same way that we have seen that the middle class developed their parliamentarism. But it will prove much more difficult to generalize this organisation and to endow it with public authority, to adjust it to the social and political unity, than it was for the political institutions of the middle-class to be developed.

The base for this political system can be no other than an organisation on the base of a community of economic interests, among which the labor-unions occupy the first place. This organisation must needs dispose of a certain public authority, with compelling force over minorities. Above this organisation there must be the organ, expressing the entire interest and desire of the people.

As the prototype of this system we may quote an organization, already known for centuries in the middle-class system of Holland viz. the "waterschap" (polder-system). The landowners in a certain part of the country have one common interest, to protect themselves against the sea and to assure the gauge. This work requires dikes, sluices, ditches, bridges, mills, etc. The minority might by refusing to give their consent, hinder the common establishment, the defrayment and the achievement of these works. But the State has given the right, to the willing majority, under certain conditions concerning the general interest, to compel the minority to join the majority, in order to create the above mentioned works as a public duty. The State delegates a part of its powers to the corporation; in so far as concerns the punishment, police and taxes, necessary to secure the performance of this public function,—the "waterschap" is substituted for the State. And by doing so, there has been made a tie between the special organisation and the general one.

I quote this instance to show that the method, by which the State regularly delegates its power, to maintain a more harmonic unity, is not based merely upon fiction. We witness the same fact in the inner constitution of the several organisations;

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the experience acquired by British and German labor-unions provides sufficient material on this point.

I believe I have said enough to prove my point. I should like to call the attention of the International Socialist Bureau and of the Interparliamentary Commission to the necessity and the opportunity for starting the study which needs must precede the framing of a political system. This task is too heavy to be achieved by one single person but if it is desired to entrust one person with this work, he ought to get the co-operation and advice of many. The work in itself must have a collective character. The best thing would be if some prominent members of the party were appointed to take part in this work; amongst them a reporter might be chosen to frame a general report concerning the results of the committee's proceedings. I think it would be possible to bring the results of this work before the next international congress, by publishing the same in due time.

I expect much from this work for the growth, the unity and the consciousness of the party and for the practical results, to be obtained by the social-democracy of all countries.

Sheveningen, Aug. 5th. 1907.

P. J. TROELSTRA.

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Max Stirner: Reincarnated Spook.

"It is the unexpected that always happens" proves true once again. Writing some six months ago I spoke of Max Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* as a book which has been forgotten amid the growing consciousness of the organic solidarity of society." But soon afterward the irrepressible and talented philosophical Anarchist, Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker, published a brand new English translation of this forgotten work under the title of "The Ego and his Own". The translation has been made with the utmost industry and sympathy by Mr. Stevens T. Byington, and mechanically the book is an excellent specimen of modern book-making.

Mr. Tucker has advertised it widely as "the book that banishes all spooks forever", and Mr. Huneker, one of the cleverest of American journalists, has sought by curiously arranged mosaics of heteogeneous quotations from all sources, ancient and modern, in the Saturday Supplement to the New York Times and in the North American Review, to prove it "the most revolutionary book ever written". This is very amusing to those Socialists who have learned from Plechanoff that what Stirner really did in philosophy was simply to substitute for Feuerbach's spook, Man, that thinnest and most elusive of all spooks, the individual in general, the much vaunted "Ego".

But in these days when the decadent bourgeoisie are raising altars to the mad Polish-German, Friedrich Nietzche, it is just as well that the master-piece of Nietzche has given literary form and charm to the spook philosophy which Stirner first expounded. But Nietzche is on the whole a saner and more optimistic thinker than Stirner for he has his prophetic gaze ever on the future. To him Man, as he is, is never anything but "the bridge to Beyond Man." But Nietzsche is just as unable as was Stirner to see Man or the individual in his dialectic inter-relation to the Cosmos. They both try to banish spooks and end up by worshiping the spookiest of spooks.

George Plechanoff answered the philosophy of Stirner once for all in his most valuable little book, "Anarchism and Socialism" more than a quarter of a century ago, and if further answer were needed Eugene Dietzgen gave it to us two years ago in his paper on Max Stirner and Joseph Dietzgen published in the Philosophical Essays of Joseph Dietzgen.

Marx, Engels, Bruno Bauer, Feuerbach, Max Stirner (Caspar Schmidt), and all the young Hegelians impelled by the re-

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volutionary dialectic method of Hegel were trying to escape from the sterile idealism of Hegel. Feuerbach may be said to have led the revolt, but he merely apotheosized a new abstraction, Man. Stirner could see this and criticised Feuerbach with great acumen, but proceeded to bow to the altar of his own pet spook, The Ego.

The only way to "banish spooks forever" is to explain their birth and development. The men who did this were Karl Marx and Joseph Dietzgen. We now know that spooks will live just as long as do the economic conditions that breed them, and we smile at the self-appointed spook-banishers, the Don Quixotes of the Twentieth Century.

But the Socialist, who will keep in mind the relationship of Stirner to Hegel and Feuerbach on the one hand and to Marx and Dietzgen on the other, can derive much profit from a thoughtful perusal of "The Ego and His Own." In reading the Communist Manifesto we are too prone to attribute all the truths it contains to the mighty brains of Marx and Engels. It is impossible for anyone to read Stirner without seeing that many of these ideas, such as the class-character of the great French Revolution and the historic role of the bourgeoisie were common to Bruno Bauer, Stirner and the whole Young Hegelian school, and it is in accord with Marxism that this should be so.

The spook of Natural Rights, Rights of Man, &c., has more lives than a cat and keeps reappearing in one form or another. It has crept into the platforms of both our American Socialist parties. It is the product of handicraft industry—the period when a man's property was in fact the fruit of his own industry. As a spook it is made to defend the system under which property is usually the fruit of the industry of the non-possessors. As Marx put it, "Political economy confuses on principle two very different kinds of private property, of which one rests on the producers' own labor, the other on the employment of the labor of others. It forgets that the latter not only is the direct antithesis of the former, but absolutely grows on its tomb only.' Thus the dialectic movement of social development converts this spook, born to defend private property, into its subtlest enemy. But a spook, even though it comes to fight on our side, remains none the less a spook; and Right minus Might is a spook—the purest and most unsubstantial moonshine. To Stirner's everlasting credit, he mercilessly pricked this most beautiful bubble.

Socialists to-day may well ponder such sentences as these:

"The Communists affirm that "the earth belongs rightfully to him who tills it, and its products to those who bring them out." I think it belongs to him who knows how to take it, or who does

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not let it be taken from him, does not let himself be deprived of it. If he appropriates it, then not only the earth, but the right to it too, belongs to him. "He who has might has—right; if you have not the former, neither have you the latter. Is this wisdom so hard to attain?" "Whoever knows how to take and to defend the thing, to him it belongs till it is again taken from him, as liberty belongs to him who *takes* it."

What could be more acute than this criticism of Proudhon? "Proudhon (Weitling too) thinks he is telling the worst about property when he calls it theft (vol). Passing quite over the embarrassing question, what well-founded objection could be made against theft, we only ask: Is the concept "theft" at all possible unless one allows validity to the concept "property"? How can one steal if property is not already extant? What belongs to no one cannot be *stolen,* the water that one draws out of the sea he does *not steal.* Accordingly property is not theft, but a theft becomes possible only through property."

No one has put more strongly than Stirner the truth that the Proletariat must depend solely upon their own MIGHT, and expect nothing from the love of the upper classes. It is true he sometimes gives his statements an extreme individualist form at which it is possible to cavil, but there is more truth than error in such statements as these:

"Only when I expect neither from individuals nor from a collectivity what I can give to myself, only then do I slip out of the snares of—love; the rabble ceases to be rabble only when it *takes hold*...Only the dread of taking hold, and the corresponding punishment thereof, makes it a rabble." Only that taking hold is sin, crime — only this dogma creates a rabble. "If men reach the point of losing respect for property, every one will have property, as all slaves become free men as soon as they no longer respect the master as master." "All swan-fraternities, and attempts at making the rabble happy, that spring from the principle of love, must miscarry. Only from egoism can the rabble get help and this help it must give to itself and—will give to itself. If it does not let itself be coerced into fear, it is a power." Hence the exact point is that the respectful "rabble" should learn at last to help itself to what it requires." "The poor become free and proprietors only when they—*rise.* Bestow ever so much on them, they will still always want more; for they want nothing less than that at last—nothing more be bestowed." "Free competition is not "free", because I lack the THINGS for competition." "Proudhon calls property "robbery" (*le vol*). But alien property—and he is talking of this alone—is not less existent by renunciation, cession, and humility; it is a *present.* Why so sentimentally call for compassion as a poor victim of

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robbery, when one is just a foolish giver of presents? Why here again put the fault on others as if they were robbing us, while we ourselves do bear the fault in leaving the others unrobbed? The poor are to blame for there being rich men."

The brilliant James (Huneker) and others will fail in their attempts to create a Stirner cult among the bourgeoisie because the soul-sick and decadent bourgeoisie seeking for philosophic defense for morbid and perverted sensuality find their purposes much better satisfied by Neo-Nietzscheanism with its pleasing delusion that the abandoned voluptuary is a Superman. But the virile proletariat will draw fresh virility and self-reliance from the still-burning words of Max Stirner.

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

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Agricultural Development in Hungary.

POOR little Hungary, the land of the Magyar, the land of Petöfi, Jokai and Louis Kossuth, the land of daily revolutions in parliament which only end in a free for all fight, is indeed as it were a "part of Asia." Of course Hungary a Kingdom of Francis Joseph of the Hapsburg house of Austria lies in the south-eastern portion of central Europe between 44° 10' and 49° 35' N. lat. and between 14° 25' and 26° 25' E long., and yet in its industrial and agricultural as well as political life it is thoroughly "asiatic." It covers about 5 degrees of latitude and 12 of longitude, and contains an area of 124,234 square miles, being larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and less than half the size of Texas. The Kingdom of Hungary comprises "Hungary Proper" or the "Crown Realm of St. Stephan", with the former grand principality of Transylvania, the town and district of Fiume, Croatia and Slavonia, and the Military Frontier; Dalmatia sending her representatives to the Austrian parliament.

Advanced thinkers call Hungary "Part of Asia", because feudal lords, counts, barons, bishops and abbots reign supreme. The average Magyar patriot will feel highly insulted when told that he is "asiatic," but that does not alter the case. A government where the church and state are united to tax the people out of one half of all they get as wages over and above what the land-lord and employer have already taken, is not a land of freedom. A country where over 14 million people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and yet more than one half of the agricultural area is in the possession of 13,000 proprietors is not a land of freedom. A country where only 6 per cent of the population are entitled to vote is surely "asiatic." A country where education is so backward that 49 per cent of its population cannot read or write is surely "asiatic." Hungary, instead of being a government of, for and by the people, is a government of feudal lords, by feudal lords, and against the people!

In the light of statistics, the economic, social and political structure of the land of the Magyars is a remnant of feudalism. Counts, barons, knights, bishops, feudal lords and abbots long ago obtained grants of land and special privileges from Hungarian kings and Austrian Emperors for so-called "good services" to the state and church. In every instance however these "services" were in the interest of the autocratic powers and against the common people and the liberty of the nation. Such lands ob-

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tained by grants, or confiscated through violence were cultivated by serfs and slaves until 1848 the year of the revolution headed by Louis Kossuth, and since then by miserably paid "free laborers." Serfdom of course was abolished, but the land remained in the hands of land-lords, bishoprics, and abbacies, and as the government is founded on land-property, all the political powers of the state remained in the hands of the land-owners. The agrarian aristocracy and bishops, allied with the small commercial plutocracy which is just developing, combined to exploit Hungary to their hearts' content.

The greater part of the national income i. e. 52 per cent is expropriated by 20,000 families, and they only bear 20 per cent of the public expenses; while three and a half million families bear 80 per cent of the public burdens and get anly 48 per cent of the total income. Wooden plows with steel edges, pulled by teams of oxen, the hand scythe, the flail and other ancient agricultural implements are almost universally used, although steam plows, threshers, American reapers and binders are coming into use now. Out of 19 million inhabitants, about two thirds of the population is still directly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and chiefly on large estates who maintain the peonage system of miserably paid and over-worked laborers, instead of the northern European system of small peasant proprietors who maintain themselves on the produce of their land employing little labor outside of their own families. The result is that the peasantry is leaving Hungary at the rate of 300,000 a year. They cannot get a living from the land, so they are obliged to cross the Atlantic and try the United States or Canada.

And why is the peasant leaving his native land? Is it because the country is too densely populated? Not at all. The number of persons per 1000 acres is 239 in Hungary; 235 in Scotland; 298 in France; 432 in Germany; 665 in Holland; 894 in England and Wales, and 948 in Belgium. Therefore we might say that Hungary is sparsely populated; yet her population is emigrating in such vast numbers (over 300,000 a year) that population is on the decrease in spite of the high birthrate. The reason is plain! There are in Hungary none of those very large manufacturing or mining industries which account for such an important proportion of the population of England, Germany or Belgium, therefore the disemployed agricultural laborers cannot be absorbed by industries.

The principal occupation is agriculture, and out of a population of 19,254,559 persons, 14,400,000 people are engaged or indirectly working in the line of agriculture. Unlike the western countries of Europe, the cultivated area is neither owned by the millions of diligent peasants, nor cultivated by petty tenant farmers. The best and most productive part of the country,

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namely the great lowland of Hungary, is occupied by the large land owners and the churches.

Single magnates, bishopries and abbacies occupy as large estates as a German principality. One third, or 33 per cent of the whole area is owned by single aristocratic families or churches, and they were granted with the understanding that they "might neither be sold nor mortgaged." These immense estates help the agrarian aristocracy to expropriate the few single peasant proprietors and every year the land is concentrating into fewer hands.

Nearly 19 million holds (27 million acres) of the land under cultivation is owned by 13,432 proprietors who own nearly one half, 45.41 per cent, of the total, while the 1,838,000 tenants or peasant proprietors own only 54.59 per cent.

Is it a wonder that the Magyar peasant wanders away from his native land, "anywhere, anywhere out of the world"? Common sense will dictate, that such a distribution of land is not compatible with social justice or love of country. It is only natural that people should leave a country, even the land of their fathers and loved ones, where 14 millions of people out of 19 millions are attached to the soil, and yet 13,000 people own one half of the land. Where manufacturing is yet in a primitive stage; where the annual wages of agricultural laborers average 300 crowns ($60.00) a year; where the chief income of the government is from direct taxes and indirect taxes on meat, beer, spirits, petroleum, oil, wine, sugar and even bread is extorted with harsh brutality from the poor millions; where the poor who bear the burdens of taxation have no right to vote, have no voice, no influence in public affairs; where the public press is controlled by the police, and where justice is in possession of the landed aristocracy through its judges. In the Hungarian lower house of parliament there are 50 counts and barons, 160 large landowners, over 100 lawyers, 30 priests and so on, but not a single person to voice the cry of the bleeding workers. It is therefore only natural, that the powers of the state should be administered for the best interests of the oligarchy.

The total number of Hungarian land proprietors and tenants in 1870 was 1,973,400 and in 1900 was 1,855,190; the decrease being 118,210 representing the independent peasant proprietors who have gone to wreck and joined the workers. The change has been visible in the decrease of the size of small properties and in the increase of large estates, especially those great aristocratic family and church estates that "could be neither sold nor mortgaged." The greatest decrease has been in the size of properties under 5 holds (7 acres.) The size of peasant properties of from 5 to 30 holds decreased from 16 million holds (22.9 million acres) in 1870, to 10 million holds (14.3 million acres) in 1900. The size of medium holdings between 200 and 1000 holds (286 to 1430

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acres) decreased during the same period from 6.6 million holds (18.5 million acres) to 5.6 million holds (7.1 milion acres), or 1 millon holds decrease (1,430,000 acres.)

During this same period the large estates have increased sixfold from 463,000 holds to 2,400,000 holds, and the church estates have doubled from 1,288,000 holds to 2,500,000 holds. These estates are in the hands of a few owners, who exact a good income, and they mainly hold such properties as are "limited" forever to single families and churches and cannot be sold or mortgaged. The whole area of these "limited" estates owned by corporations or aristocratic families are 18.8 million holds (34.9 million acres) or 35 per cent of the entire cultivated lands.

The consequence of this system of large estates the greater part of which is "limited" and can never be sold, is that agriculture is undeveloped in Hungary. The large land owners do not grow vegetables, fruits, poultry or truck; they do not raise cattle or hogs, or engage in flower gardening, but prefer to produce corn, the price of which is low. This extensive farming needs less work and is therefore much cheaper because of fewer laborers being necessary. Gardening industry would need more work days, better work and more workers, but it would not pay for the present large estates. Therefore the landlords stick to corn-growing; the consequence being that large numbers of agricultural laborers cannot find employment eight months out of the twelve.

The large estates being "limited," cannot be sold to peasants, nor can they be leased. The consequence of this fact is that even the peasant properties though few in number, follow the model of their superiors and do not attempt to introduce market gardening; the entire farming population hinders the growth of intensive farming, thus impending to a great extent the development of industry. Market gardening and manufacturing would raise the present low wages; and the higher the wages, the lower the profits of the landlord. The decrease of their profits would disturb their powerful reign and would ultimately force them to give up their lands which in Hungary, like all other countries, is the very structure and foundation of the rule of the aristocracy and the churches. Millions can perish, millions can emigrate, millions can hunger and thirst for justice, but the church and the aristocracy will not give up one jot or atom of their privileges because it would mean the destruction of their feudal regime.

By this method they are able to prevent the development of the small peasant proprietors, of higher wages, of intense agricultural or manufacturing industry; all for the sake of their economic class interest. Thus Hungary, although a part of Europe, is really an "asiatic province."

The difference between Hungary and other countries, where

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land-lords own immense tracts of land, for instance Great Britain, is that Hungary is an agricultural and not an industrial country, and that the system of land tenure is as feudal to-day as it was a century ago! The only change being the nominal destruction of serfdom; and even this change was of greater benefit to the landlords than to the serfs, for it gives them cheaper labor power and at a cheaper price on the whole; there being no necessity for the landlord supporting the new serf who is without land:—i. e. the means of life. The political, economic and industrial structure of Hungary is that of a small and ignorant leisure class ruling by power of their privileges alone over the great majority of modern serfs, who are "dead to rapture and despair, a thing that breathes not and never hopes, stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox."

In Germany the transition from large extensive farms to intensive gardening by small peasant proprietors has taken place. Although we hear so very much of the great landlords of the country east of the Elbe, yet the latest statistics of 1895 show that although relatively large estates prevail, yet, 56 per cent, or more than one half of the area under cultivation is owned by the peasants. Taking the whole area under consideration, according to the most reliable data, the farms between 2 and 100 hectares (a hectare is nearly 2½ acres) occupy more than two thirds of the agricultural area of the entire country. And what is more, 89 per cent of the land that peasant farmers occupy, is owned actually and directly by them. This system of alteration in the land tenure of Germany took place between 1880 and 1895. The Occupation Census of Germany in the years 1882 and 1895 gives the following results in the increase of peasant properties viz:

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEN ABOVE 20 YEARS.

According to the direct income tax paid.	I. Total number of Classes.		II.	III.	IV. Number of voters (II) in the per cent of tota (I).
	No.	Per cent.		Per cent of Classes voting.	
I. Wealthy Class Having 5 or more holds of land paying more than 10 Kronen tax on income.	1,370,060	31.7	95,628	82.0	18.4
II. The petty burghers, and officials, having 2 to 5 holds land. Taxes on income 6 to 10 Kronen.	773,492	17.9	12		.9
III. The Working Class, mostly without property. Only 300,000 having garden or cottage — all poor.	,179,408	50.4	48,111	.9	1.1
Totals....	4,322,960	100.0	970,841	100.0	22.4

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The results of these 13 years, though unexpected by many economists, show that during this period the peasant properties between 2 and 20 hectares (5 to 50 acres) have come to occupy both a larger amount and a larger proportion under cultivation. They actually occupied 659,258 hectares more land; the proportion of cultivated land held by the peasant class having increased 1.26 per cent. Of course during this same period the petty holdings under 2 hectares (5 acres) had slightly fallen off; while what is of greater importance, all the larger holdings, save the very largest, have fallen off considerably, namely: 1.33 per cent. The great estates, one tenth of all, have grown very slightly during this period. These tendencies towards the increase of farms of peasant proprietors from 2 to 50 hectares (5 to 125 acres) have since been well marked, especially in the Prussiar provinces, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, and Alsace-Lorraine.

The contrary is true of Hungary. The petty farms have decreased one half—not in number, but in size. The farms of the petty owning class, that is to say farms between 2 and 50 hectares, have decreased by 6 million [1] holds. The small peasant owners, who are so powerful in Germany, Denmark and France, have lost more than a million holds in Hungary during this period of a few years, while the landed aristocracy and the churches have increased by sixfold; and doubled the latters holdings.

In Germany of the land under cultivation; taking in consideration estates of over 500 hectares, we find that these large owners own only 10 per cent of the land, while in poor Hungary it is 35 per cent! To go further:

We find that in France the distribution of land is so well balanced, that the peasant proprietors who occupy under 2 hectares, own 10 per cent of the land:—the proprietors who own between 2 and 50 hectares own 55 per cent of the soil, and the estates above 200 hectares [2] occupy but 16 per cent of the land under cultivation.

In Denmark, where 70 per cent of the entire population depends on the soil, we find that 30 per cent work their own farms against the miserable 10 per cent in Hungary. And it must also be noted here that 67 per cent of the cultivated surface of Denmark is in farms under [3] 100 holds. In Hungary it is only 54 per cent of the total

In the United States in 1880 farms under 100 acres covered an area of 2,208,274 acres, or 55 per cent of the cultivated surface, and in 1900 the figures changed to 3,297,404 acres, or 58 per cent of the whole, an increase of 1,089,030 acres. But what is more important the large estates in the United States of over

1 In Hungarian, 5 to 100 holds.
2 494 acres.
3 147 acres.

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1000 acres covered in 1900 only 0.82 per cent of the entire cultivated surface, as against 35 per cent in Hungary of this same size.

In all countries of the West, except Great Britain, land legislation has always sought to transfer the land to the real cultivators. Here in Hungary no efforts have been made in this direction. The effect of this system of expropriation on the part of the relatively small privileged class is to reduce agriculture, industry and finance to an "asiatic state of affairs." The peasant is attached to the land. He does not own it. The aristocrat owns the land. He does not work it. The aristocrat can only use the services of the peasant when it means profit, and this is only four months a year. The result being that the peasant is in a state of want, degradation and insecurity, in a country capable of supporting easily ten times its present population, where nature has given man such abundance of gold, ore, salt, lumber and land that if it were properly cultivated for the benefit of the people instead of for profit, it would yield more than enough for all the inhabitants of Europe.

As the normal development of an exploited class under the present system reflects the political power they possess, it would be well to investigate the electoral system of Hungary. Under the new electoral laws of Russia about one per cent of the total population is entitled to a vote. According to the census returns of Japan there are in round numbers some 47,200,000 people in 1905, of which only 757,000, or about two per cent are entitled to a suffrage. Great Britain with a restricted electorate and a population of 41,000,000 persons, has 7,200,000 eligible to a vote. France with a population of 40,000,000, has 10,000,000 voters. Germany with a population of 60,000,000, has 12,000,000 voters. The United States with 80,000,000 population has about 22,000,000 persons entitled to a vote. Now let us look at Hungary! In 1900 Hungary had 16.721,574 persons; Croatia and Slavonia 2,400,766 and a military force of 132,219, making a total population for Hungary proper of 19,254,559. In the election of 1905 just 1,056,818 persons were eligible as voters or about 6 per cent of the population!

There is no manhood suffrage in Hungary, only those who pay direct taxes on house property or land or an income varying with occupation being allowed to vote. The only exception being the intellectual class comprising 79,438 persons, such as teachers, physicians and all high school and university graduates who can vote, even if they are not in the tax-payers list to the necessary amount. The reason for this is apparent, as the government fear the intellectuals and tries to satisfy them with this morsel! The entire government is in the hands of the privileged class, who use the powers for their interest as is only to be expected.

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The working class if they got possession of government, would also use it to their own interest as a class. The following figures produced from the official statistics of the Interior Department for 1905 is self explanatory:

Size of farms in hectares (h = 2.47 acres)	Area under cultivation		+ Increase or Decrease —	Persentage of the total area under cultiv.		Increase + or Decrease —
	1882	1885		1882	1885	
Under 2	1,825,938	1,808,444	— 17,494	5.73	5.60	—0.13
2— 50	19,524,730	20,121,090	+596,360	61.27	62.00	+0.73
50— 100	2,732,041	2,756,606	+ 24,565	8.57	8.48	+0.09
100— 200	1,521,191	1,545,245	+ 24,054	4.77	4.75	—0.02
200—1000	5,556,971	5,484,441	— 72,530	17.44	16.87	—0.57
1000 and over —	708,100	802,115	+ 94,103	2.22	2.46	+0.24

Thus we see, that in Hungary according to the statistics of 1905 there are but 22.4 per cent or 970,841 persons out of a grown up population of 4,332,960 (excluding women) who are allowed to vote. The overwhelming population of grown up men 3.352,119 or 77.6 per cent, are deprived of citizenship! This in face of the fact that every grown up man is compelled to be a soldier. Every man, even the poorest, is contributing to the military budget, the principal income, it will be well to state once more, coming from taxes on meat, sugar, oil, wine and beer. Although the poor worker bears nearly all of the public expenses, directly or indirectly, and is part of the military for 12 years, yet he has no influence in public affairs, he cannot consent or object to these high-handed proceedings—he is dumb—merely a blind man groping in the darkness. Out of 2,179,408 workers (50 per cent of the total) there is scarcely 4 per cent with a ballot. On the other hand the rich, who comprise only 18.4 per cent of the total number of grown up men in the above table, have 82 per cent of the votes of Hungary. It is no wonder that parliament is afraid to introduce universal suffrage although they have often promised this! Real manhood suffrage would mean the death of feudalism and the selfish regime of the aristocrats and the church, and it would be the birth of a new epoch in the life of Hungary. Have not the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister openly expressed it as their opinion that parliament, "should not qualify the enemies of the country, of church, and the sacred institution of private proverty?"

Hungarian schools are directly in line with agricultural progress! Count Apponyi, minister of education, declared before parliament that the most important part of the elementary in-

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struction is the religious instruction. The Count therefore takes the stand taken in the middle ages; namely that sectarian instruction is more useful than knowledge. Out of the 19,866 elementary schools, more than 10,000 are in posession of the different churches. In these schools the catechism is not only taught, but it really dominates the entire course of instruction.

A good idea of the condition of the agricultural serf in Hungary can be had from the report of Dr. Ignatius Daranyi, Minister of Agriculture, in what is known as the "Act of 1898." He says in part:

"The agricultural crisis, which sprang from the general decrease of prices of agricultural produce, has been acutely felt by the agricultural laborers. This depression was increased by a combination of unfavorable circumstances. In the first place following a scarcity of agricultural labor for more than a decade, a great quantity of labor saving machinery was introduced and all the laborers, who were engaged on river improvements, were without employment as a result of the discontinuation of this work. The demand for labor being thus greatly decreased, and the supply proportionally increased, the wages and earnings of agricultural laborers were greatly reduced. This led to general dissatisfaction and finally to such a point that disturbances took place, which gradually increased to such an extent that the present existing order of society was threatened.

Of course Minister Daranyi took special precaution by strengthening the police and military force of these special districts to prevent the laborers from organizing for higher wages. The government went so far in an effort to protect the landlord's profit, as to organize a reserve army of laborers* on the State Farm at Mezöhegyes, and a supply was furnished on short notice by telegraph or telephone to any landlord, who was menaced with a strike. Extra precautions were taken to get the strongest laborers, who could be armed, and these were sent on a special government train. The Home Secretary ordered the military authorities to obey the county officials and to send troops whereever needed. The entire force of government was used to crush the workers. The daily papers were placed under the control of the Attorney General, who at once confiscated all those who alluded to higher wages, or even strikes. In order to make all their acts lawful or rather to give them a lawful character, the government passed what is known as the "Slave Act," or the 2nd act of 1898. This act tries to regulate the relations between employer and employee, and had the effect of preventing the laborers from raising their wages or improving their conditions.

* Strike breakers.

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According to this law, the landlord and the worker should make an individual contract in winter for the following summer, in which the wages are stipulated. Of course the laborer has no idea in the winter of how the crop will turn out during the following summer. All the contracts are "percentage of crop" contracts and in case of rain or unfavorable weather it may cost the laborer double pains in harvesting. But he must live up to his contract or go to prison!

Section 37 of the 2nd Act. "If a workman does not arrive punctually without just cause, or leave his work without previously having asked permission to do so, the *first authority is obliged according to the contract of both parties to lead the workman immediately to his work, even should violence be necessary."

"The workman cannot appeal against this law."

Section 62. "The workman, who offends this law or breaks any part of his contract, is to be punished with 60 days imprisonment.

Section 66. "He, who does not appear by free will on the field, or he who has been violently brought to his work and does not continue his work without interruption or he who purposely executes his work imperfectly, shall be punished according to Section 62."

A. Sec. 66: "He who misleads an agrarian workman so as to cause him not to procure certificates as a workman, or causes him to commit a breach of contract, or incites workmen, not to follow a contract regardless of under what conditions it was made."

C. Sec. 66: "He who openly praises one who interrupts work or he who makes a collection to aid or assist such a person shall be punished by imprisonment for 60 days and shall be fined not to exceed 400 crowns."

The above are a few of the striking paragraphs of this infamous law which makes a strike impossible and places the agricultural laborer in the hands of the landlord.

Only last summer 2,000 laborers refused to work for starvation wages. The summer's crop had grown exceedingly tall and later on was laid very low by heavy rains, therefore costing double pains and time to harvest; but the contract was made a winter before, so the then Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of Home affairs ordered the starving laborers "numbering 2,000 imprisoned in store houses." "The contracts must be obeyed", declared Mr. Darnyi before parliament. Feudalism is not very dead in Hungary.

The daily wages of a Hungarian agrarian laborer are as follows: Springtime 23 cents (116 filler); summer 36 cents (182

* A young man chosen by the landlords.

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filler); during the winter season 21 cents (108 filler), or an average of sixty dollars (300 crowns) a year.

The agitation caused by the infamous "2nd Act" caused the government to pass what is better known as "The Charity Law" or in other words, the XVI Act of 1900:

"In order to assist and relieve agricultural laborers and servants, each landlord must pay *1 crown 20 filler a year for each worker or servant in his employment, while the poor workman or servant must pay yearly 10 crowns 40 filler to the government, same to be used for the benefit of the laborers. The state paying 100,000 crowns yearly to this fund.

In case of an accident the worker receives during the space of 60 days one crown daily. Should he be unable to work at the end of this period, he receives 10 crowns a month. Should he die as a result of such an accident he is to be buried. If he is married and is the father of a family at the time of his death his family receives a lump sum amounting to 400 crowns.

When a worker reaches the age of 65 years, he receives once for all a sum amounting to 100 crowns. In case of the death of such a person (over 65 years of age) his family receives, should he have been a member of this fund for 5 years, 200 crowns, for 10 years 250 crowns, and for 15 years 270 crowns.

There are in Hungary about 4,500,000 agricultural laborers and servants (without women or children) and although for years the provisions of the oppressive laws were obeyed and harshly enforced, thereby preventing organizations, yet the reaction has set in lately and the agricultural laborers are now organizing with a rapidity that is astonishing. It is a great task to organize agricultural laborers, who cannot read or write, who are subject to every oppressive law of the landlords and who often, very often, receive punishment from the master in the form of a chastisement which means a week in bed. This is styled "home discipline" and the landlord cannot be brought to trial for this. Hungary is "Asiatic," but is awakening with a rapidity that will startle the world in a few years. The cry for political enfranchisement is the main issue now—then will come the land question. Hungary cannot remain half slave, half free.

NICHOLAS KLEIN.

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* 24 cent.

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Dietzgenism.

THE attempt to present a view of Joseph Dietzgen's philosophy within the limits of a magazine article is almost hopeless. His own writings are clearer and simpler than any digest of them can be made. But they are too little known. No one who has read the two volumes of his works published in English translation by Charles H. Kerr & Co. can fail to wish that others too could feel the elevating power of his grand conceptions.

The scattering passages on philosophy and religion which are to be found in the workshop of Marx and Engels are too meager to carry the average reader over into monism, particularly if he is suffering under the disability of a good training in bourgeois schools and churches. In fact these fragments are more apt to work antagonism than conviction. But with Dietzgen it is different. He presents his views with such good humor, such perfect mastery of the subject, such frequent repetitions in different forms, adapted to different habits of thought, such knowledge of his predecessors and cheerful recognition of their services, that you not only learn to love the man, but find in his comprehensive system ample room for both the idealist and the materialist, provided they are willing to be a part of nature only and not the whole thing. His philosophy might be well characterized as the philosophy of the Whole and of the Parts.

It is for this reason that the former religionist finds perfect satisfaction in the monism of Dietzgen when properly understood. The great trouble is the quarrel over the name. It is commonly called by Socialists materialistic monism. Dietzgen himself refuses to suggest any name, wisely recognizing that our present language has no accurate name for an idea heretofore unknown. We will call it Dietzgenism, and try to explain one or two points of it, chiefly for the purpose of getting others interested. But it must be borne in mind that any attempt to condense Dietzgenism into a few paragraphs leaves broad openings for attacks and misunderstandings which can only be removed by going to the lucid writings of the master himself.

Dietzgen recognizes that matter is prior in time to mind; but when mind has once made its appearance in human life it takes its place as a factor of the Universe coordinate with matter. In fact its reaction on matter is constantly increasing. Ponderable and tangible matter is not matter *par excellence.* Sounds, colors and smells are also material. Forces are not mere

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appendices or predicates of matter, and tangible matter is not "the thing" which dominates over all properties. Our conception of matter and force is, so to speak, democratic. One is of the same value as the other; everything individual is but the property, appendix, predicate or attribute of the entire nature as a whole. The brain is not the matador, and the mental functions are not the subordinate servants. The function is as much and as little an independent thing as the tangible brain mass. (Dietzgen, *Essays,* p. 301.)

The Universe embraces everything conceivable both in mind and matter, and thought itself becomes cosmic substance,—subject matter for investigation and consideration. The phenomena of mind must be studied objectively with the same methods as those used for physical science, not by boring into the brain as an anatomist, but by an examination and comparison of intellectual products as a historian and philosopher. Mind must be studied inductively, as matter itself can only be studied with induction. Though matter and mind both belong to the Universe they cannot be reduced to one common, homogeneous element, except perhaps to the extent of saying that tangible matter contains the germs out of which the brain and the mind are subsequently developed. But properly speaking mind and matter find their unity in nothing short of the infinite and eternal Universe, which is the only genus high enough to include them both.

This Universe is not the physical Universe of astronomy, but the Universe of both mind and matter, comprising things which are not seen and houses not made with hands. It is not created but is self-existent. To demands a creation is to assume that the natural state of things is nothingness, which is absurd. The natural state of affairs is positive, not negative, a something, not nothing. Nothing is only a relative term. There is no absolute nothingness.

The law of cause and effect which applies to the different parts of the Universe as among themselves has no application when applied to the totality of all things, or the Universe itself. To assume a cause for this is to deny its infinity. All thoughts, philosophies, religions, deities etc., are only parts of the Universe, fractions of a Unit. There cannot be two infinities; they would coincide with each other and be one. To speak of an infinite god is wrong. Anything less than the whole cannot be infinite. The totality of all things both mental and physical is the only infinity. All gods are idols in that they are only fractions of a whole and the whole is greater than any of its parts.

This gives the bourgeois ample scope for idealism, spirituality etc., because these are not excluded from Dietzgenism as they were from the old materialism; but they must come in as

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parts of the Universe, like everything else and not as superior to it. Inclusiveness, not exclusiveness, is the characteristic of this philosophy.

The Universe is not only self-existent, it is self-everything, automatic in every respect. It is even self-understanding, for it is conceived and understood only by the mind itself, which is one of its own parts. What is meant by the word "dialectic," which occurs so often in Dietzgen? Those who have had a smattering of Greek have an advantage here; they know what is meant by the "middle voice" in Greek grammar. Something analogous to it, the reflexive verb, is very common in German, far less so in English. The Germans are everlastingly saying that something "does itself." English speaking people are so accustomed to "doing" others that it strikes them as funny that a person or a thing should do itself, and hence it is difficult for them to grasp this idea. In the middle voice the subject acts on itself, the subject and the object are one and the same thing. I move myself, a thing moves itself, the Universe moves itself or a part of itself and thus changes itself. It acts in the middle voice, its parts interact on each other dialectically; in other words, it is self-acting, automatic. It is analogous to a democratic commonwealth which has no government except a self-government. So the Universe is self-governing.

Dialectics is the science of the general self-movement and self-development of nature, of human society and of thought; the science of the eternally changeable diffusion of things, of the constant interaction and interrelation of all things in the Universe. For, as a person has two relatives, the individual and the social, so in the Universe all things have two aspects,—first their relations with each other in which some are subordinate to others; second, their relations to the Universe itself in which all things are coordinate and of equal importance; for the real tangible things to which others are subordinate are themselves only fleeting and evanescent attributes of the one unvanishing Universe.

This enables us to explain the difficulty raised by Kant, when he says, "Where there is an appearance there must be something which appears," (appearance here meaning a physical object. We reply no, not in the middle voice; not where the appearance and the appearing are one and the same thing; it is then a self-appearance, a self-manifestation, and there is nothing behind the appearance except the Universe itself of which the appearance is only one form of manifestation. There is nothing behind phenomena except the Universe and the Universe itself is a phenomenon,—a self-phenomenon. There is no "thing-in-itself" when applied to a fraction of the whole. There is only

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one "thing in itself" and that is the Universe, the totality of all things conceived as a Unit.

Dietzgen has much to say about cognition. What is it to *know* a thing? To know a thing is to perceive it with the senses. And if there is only one specimen of the thing in existence, unrelated to anything else, our knowledge is practically nothing. Where there are a number of similar things which can be put into one or more classes or species and compared and related with each other, our knowledge amounts to a power to classify, to unite and then also to separate, to distinguish. It is common to speak of a *discriminating* mind. It would be just as proper to speak of a *unifying* mind. Dietzgen had a wonderfully unifying mind, as well as a discriminating mind.

Our knowledge of things, though entirely superficial and empirical and confined to phenomena only, is sufficient to enable us to subject them to our use and to calculate in advance what effect certain actions will have on certain things. Of course the deep metaphysical philosopher will tell us that this classifying knowledge is no knowledge at all. But we go right on just the same, regulating our lives, marrying and giving in marriage, rearing our children, accumulating and spending our wealth, burying our dead, in fact basing our whole existence on this selfsame superficial knowledge. It is sufficient for these purposes. It is as real as our life and as real as our death. We ourselves are nothing but a phenomenon.

Readers who approach Dietzgen from different directions differ in about the same way as do Socialists, some of whom reached socialism by the way of political democracy or religious conviction, others by the way of economic development or evolution. One is the ideological route, the other the materialistic. They reach a common point in socialism and Dietzgenism. The old style materialist is pleased to find in Dietzgen so much that conforms to his previous views; another who has a sentimental nature and has gone through a religious experience finds in Dietzgen a satisfying enlightenment which surpasses anything that he has had from supposed revelation. He finds all of his delicate feelings recognized at their full value as component parts of the all-parent Universe, related to matter, it is true, yet not in a degrading or humiliating way, but as fellow citizens of the cosmic commonwealth. Dietzgenism in solving the problems of the present life where religion is a self-confessed failure, merits greater confidence than religion in questions of the future life of which religion makes a specialty.

"If he is an atheist who denies that perfection can be found in any individual, then I am an atheist. And if he is a believer in God who has the faith in the "most perfect being" with which

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not alone the theologists, but also Cartesius and Spinoza have occupied themselves so much, then I am one of the true children of God." (Dietzgen, *Positive Outcome of Philosophy*, p. 244). The difference between this method of putting it and that of some others, say Bebel's for instance, or Blatchford's, or Plechanoff's is very marked, though it is a difference in form rather than substance.

What Dietzgen is NOT may be well shown by the following quotation:—"An exposition of the structure, the physical forces and the *intellectual operations* of man must be founded on anatomy. . . Believing that in the present state of science doctrines in psychology, unless they are sustained by evidence derived from anatomy and physiology are not to be relied on, I have not thought it necessary to devote much space to their introduction. They have not taken a part in the recent advances of humanity. They belong to an earlier social period and are an anachronism in ours. . . The time has now come when no one is entitled to express an opinion in philosophy unless he has first studied physiology. It has hitherto been to the detriment of truth that these processes of positive investigation have been repudiated. If from the construction of the human brain we may demonstrate the existence of the soul, is not that a gain? Why should we cast aside the solid facts presented to us by material objects? In his communications throughout the universe, God ever materializes. I am persuaded that the only possible route to truth in mental philosophy is through a study of the nervous mechanism. The experience of 2500 years and the writings of the great metaphysicians attest the vanity of all other means. How many of these made themselves acquainted with the structure of the human brain? Doubtless some had been so unfortunate as never to see one. Yet that wonderful organ was the basis of all their speculations."

Draper: *Intellectual Development of Europe*. Vol. II, p. 343.

This is certainly a very bad case of *materialism on the brain*.

As we are writing for English speaking readers we must of course refer to Spencer or we shall be counted out. If Spencer and his followers are correctly called agnostics, then we should call Dietzgen a *pangnostic*. He knows it all. This may seem to invite ridicule, but we may just as well have it out first as last. This is only taking the same position in philosophy that the socialists take in politics, and unless we do get to the point where we know it all (in Dietzgen' sense only) our philosophy would not fundamentally differ from those of the past. As the working class in achieving its supremacy abolishes all classes including itself, so Dietzgenism abolishes all philosophies including itself, so far as the same can be called a special system.

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In chapters II and III of Spencer's *First Principles,* entitled "Ultimate Religious and Scientific Ideas" will be found Spencer's objections to a philosophy which explains everything. His objection is that the human mind cannot conceive of infinity, of an infinite Universe, self-existing during a period of infinite past time; hence in spite of the utmost progress of science there remains something mystical, divine, unknown and unknowable, which is the legitimate domain of the supernatural, in short of religion.

Students of mathematics seem to have no difficulty in dealing with infinities. However, we cannot go into this matter here, but merely wish to stimulate the reader to compare those chapters of Spencer with Dietzgen's works and see how small the "Perplexed Philosopher" looks by the side of the mind-taming tanner.

Comrade, get a volume of Dietzgen and give your mind a thorough shaking up. You will feel a new life in you.

MARCUS HITCH.

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The Co-operative Movement in Russia.

THE Russian Revolution has quickened not only the political life of the counry, but also economic organization among the lower classes. Unions in great numbers have arisen which continue their many-sided activities (there are even electoral societies) irrespective of all reaction. Associations, particularly *co-operative stores,* have existed for a long time, but they have not attracted the attention of the leading circles in the liberal movement. In the cities, under the pressure of absolutism, they have not attained to any great significance; but in the villages they have been of great material advantage to the peasants.

Consequently the rural *co-operative stores* make up nearly one half of such associations, the whole number of which now exceeds 1000. They count, in all 300,000 members. About one half of these are workingmen; nearly 100,000 are peasants. But the peasant co-operative stores, often founded by teachers, are now much restricted in their intellectual activity (the opening of reading-rooms, etc.) by the government. At present there is more freedom for the movement in the large cities where the governmental eye is fixed upon the labor unions. All the Russian co-operative stores are strictly neutral in order to give no cause for persecution.

On the other hand, the advance in the price of the necessaries of life which began in the cities in January 1907, so stimulated the co-operative activity of the workingmen, that the government dared not suppress the co-operative stores lest the working people should be driven to hunger riots.

The rise in prices in Russian cities is so marked, that one must now pay more for all products than in the summer of 1906. Not only bread, meat, vegetables, but also clothing, household stuff, etc., have advanced in price. The Russian manufacturers say quite openly that *they* will not pay the new advance in wages.

Under these circumstances in the autumn of 1906, in St. Petersburg, owing to the fiasco of the Syndicalists helped by the factory hands, a co-operative store was founded; and with it a new epoch in the associtation movement begins.

The co-operative store, "Trudowoj Ssojuss," is organized after the Belgian model. In the beginning, the suspicious attitude of a part of the social Democracy—the so-called "majority" — checked its development. It had scanty funds besides. Nevertheless, from the month of March and thence forward, the association developed very rapidly. At the same time the "minor-

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ity" of the Social Democrats helped on the work without touching the political neutrality of the association. One factory after another combined with the "Trudowoj Ssojuss." The Social Democrats were the first who advised against the founding of other co-operative stores. At the end of March the association had only 1000 members; by the middle of July it had 6000. It had a fund of 50,000 rubles and 12 shops for selling goods distributed throughout the factory quarters of the city. Of the search for dividends, such as we see in many Russian and sometimes in German associations, there is not a trace. The members of "Trudowoj Ssojuss" renounce not only the interest on the money invested, but dividends as well. All revenue must be used for the development of the society, and for the support of the unemployed. At present the association is beginning to found lecture courses for working men and schools for their children. At the meetings of "Trudowoj Ssojuss" the enthusiasm of the workers is so great, it reminds one of the days of Gapon.

But along with its advantages, this co-operative store has also its dark sides. In the first place, it is still in debt to a rich member who has bought well-equipped bakeries and leased them to the society with the right to purchase. Now, in the beginning the feeling of solidarity was so strong in many of the members that they worked for the society without pay. For that reason the demands of the organized union bakers appear to them to be selfish. "The bakers want higher wages," say many of the members, "but we work for the good of the society for nothing, and what's more, the bakery at present is run at a loss."

But much more dangerous under present political conditions than this already settled contest with the bakers, is the enmity of the shopkeepers. The newly founded society by its economical activity has intensified class separation and class struggle more than a thousand orations could have done. The petty trading class separated itself from the working class—or rather the laborers deserted the traders. The Petersburg shopkeepers fell into a rage and founded in June 1907, the "traders alliance." The aims of the alliance were, from the start, a matter of course: In the first place it would ruin the co-operative store by lowering prices—the resulting losses to be paid out of a common fund. Furthermore the "alliance" would spy upon the Society wherever it sold goods, and denounce its probable abuses in the press. But as all this did not avail, the shopkeepers resorted to denunciation. They informed the police that the society transported bombs along with bread, that its neutrality was only a pretense, and that one day it would prove a danger to the state. The story of the bombs was so absurd, that even the government did not believe it.

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Such is the co-operative outlook in Petersburg. In other cities a movement of the same sort may be observed. In Moscow, in the Government of Perm, etc., the factory co-operatives are emancipating themselves from the factory bosses; and following them in other places are the railway co-operatives who would throw off the yoke of bureaucracy. In Baku in Charkow, it is the merchants' employees who wish to organize co-operative unions.

Other unions in Warsaw, Ekaterinoslav, Tula, Astrachan, etc., greet enthusiastically the new co-operative idea. The idea of union co-operation gains ground, and in Petersburg the organized merchants' employees have founded (beginning of August 1907) a co-operative kitchen where they take their meals. The association of printers also have opened a kitchen, and intend shortly to open a retail shop and a printing press.

The inclination toward co-operative production is very strong in Russian workingmen, perhaps because the obsolete, original "Artel" was nothing else than a band of co-operative producers. The leaders have much diffiiculty in weaning the workingmen from this idea. Isolated, unconnected with co-operative stores, these productive associations are seldom profitable.

. In Petersburg, in July, a tailors' association was formed. The hat-makers intend to form a productive association. The sausage-makers, in connection with "Trudowoj Ssojuss" have the same intention. In the Government of Ufa the workmen were actually desirous of leasing a mismanaged and bankrupt government mine; but the government would not listen to the request. Co-operative mines and factories seem to them dangerous, as being "socialistic experiments." "The workers"—they think—"cannot conduct a business without the undertaker; if they should succeed, the belief in the indispensability of the capitalists would be shattered."

We have said that the labor leaders [Arbeiterführer] hold themselves aloof from the idea of the production association. As we have seen, this is not their attitude toward the co-operative stores. Especially the trade union leaders [Gewerkschaftsführer] lay great stress upon the organization of the co-operatives, in connection with production. The Moscow workingmen have called upon the coming labor congress to give the co-operative stores organized help: Otherwise their delegates will leave the congress. But this threat is superfluous. The Petersburg unions have already (end of July) prepared a resolution in favor of the co-operative stores for the approaching congress. According to the resolution, both sides must unite, and submit all possible differences to a commission of delegates from both organizations. Curiously enough, the unions ask in this resolution that

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the co-operative stores shall render them financial aid. But at present this is impossible, not because the Russian co-operative stores lack means, but on other grounds. In 1904 the association expended nearly 30,000 rubles for education and for relief work.* But the immaturity of many of the co-operative stores and the political situation, put many obstacles in the way. There are some members who denounce every "political" step. The great factory co-operative stores in Sormovo was suppressed because of taking part in the "armed uprising" in December 1905, and has only recently got permission to re-open. The largest Russian co-operative store, that of the railway employees in Perm, which counts 12,000 members, was in the spring of 1906 openly denounced in the press. It was said that it sold weapons in order to organize the uprising. Then, too, many were displeased because this co-operative store at the end of 1906 contributed for the families of members ordered to strike, 100 rubles out of the surplus fund. The sending of two cartloads of wheat to the starving peasants in 1907, was the only thing that received a unanimous vote.

Taken all in all, the co-operative movement has a future in Russia. In 1904, two hundred and ninety-one unions out of the thousand made a yearly output of nearly 37,000,000 rubles, and had almost 1,700,000 rubles surplus. One hundred and eighty co-operative stores are establishing a promising wholesale concern in Moscow. For a new movement which dates only from the end of the seventies, when it was begun by the well-known Marxist, N. Sieber, these are significant figures.

By Dr. Totomjanz,

(St. Petersburg.)

(Translated from the Neue Zeit.)

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* From the author's latest statistics of the co-operative stores.

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EDITORIAL

The Panic.

By far the most important event of the month has been the financial disturbance. It is rather interesting that the ink was scarcely dry on the editorial in this magazine last month, questioning whether there would ever be another panic than we seemed to be launched full into the midst of one,

To be sure there is still some question of whether all the phenomena of an industrial crisis will follow, or whether, after a brief period of financial upheaval, there will be only a steady industrial depression, or possibly a revival. It is certain that never before has there been such a conscious control of affairs by great industry as has been shown during the past few weeks, but it still remains to be seen just how effective that control is in the deeper industrial phases of the subject.

It would seem that the industrial up-sweep had reached its greatest height, and that the income of the future had been mortgaged by the inflation of securities to such an extent as to produce, in the financial world at least, all the phenomena of over production.

Then came the battle between Heinze and the Standard Oil crowd, upon the one side and the conflict between some of the great trust magnates and the Roosevelt trust-busting crusade. These disturbances were enough to give the final touch that set the whole structure tumbling.

The first sign of any trouble was a decline in the price of certain stocks. This called for more margins, or increased collateral, from speculators and borrowers. The money needed for this purpose was not at hand, and the towering mass of credit that had been pyramided upon the small amount of actual currency began to totter. A money stringency occurred in New York. A frantic effort was made to quarantine the trouble in the city of its origin. If the New York banks could withstand the strain it was thought that the remaining financial institutions of the country would be safe. So money

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was poured into the metropolis from all directions. At almost the first call for help from the gamblers, the national government forgot its trust busting and rushed to the rescue. The United States treasury was swept clearer than it has been for years in the hope of stemming the tide. More than $100,000,000 was supplied by the national government, leaving a scant $17.000,000 in the national treasury,—a sum that would ordinarily be considered far below the safety point.

This vast sum of money was still all too little. It was secured by deposits of government bonds, and it was then proposed that ordinary securities be substituted for these, in order that the government bonds might be released to form a basis of national banknote issues. This is now being done and several million dollars more will be added to the currency in this way, and the national government will have loaned to the great capitalists of this country, without interest some two or three hundred millions of dollars at a time when money was worth from six to one hundred per cent in the market.

But all these efforts did not succeed in preventing the escape of the panic germ from New York. But when the disease spread to the remainder of the country it found the financial institutions of other cities already beggared for the assistance of the eastern banks. This process had been made all the easier by the fact that the law permits the banks in the small cities to keep the amount which they are required to hold in reserve against possible demands of their depositors, in certain great banks located in financial centers, and particularly in New York. So it was that by the time the panic had spread outside New York, the money had already been withdrawn from the banks outside that city.

There was no possible way by which the money of the depositors could be paid out if they demanded it,—and it soon became evident that they were going to demand it. The money was not there and the only thing the banks could do was to give an exhibition of a magnificent bluff. By a concerted agreement the banks of the United States quietly informed their depositors that they could not have their money. There is no question but that such action is illegal. We are not raising any question of its desirability. It is easily possible that in this crisis it was the best thing for all concerned, although we will by no means grant this without argument. But it is absolutely certain that if this power is to be exercised, if all laws are to be swept aside at certain times, if the right of private property is to be abolished or suspended in certain things at certain periods, that some one ought to exercise this power besides a body of bankers who are mightily interested in the financial results of such action. It may be, on the other hand, that the precedent thus established will prove to be a handy thing at some future time. If a victorious laboring class should decide to take a few laws into its own hands

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without stopping to use the legislative machinery it can always point to the action of the bankers in 1907 as a precedent for such action.

Wherever necessary the state as well as the national government was placed at the service of the banking rulers. In Illinois it appears that the state treasury was swept a little cleaner than the national one had been in order to save the crumbling banks of the state. In several states the governors declared repeated holidays, and thus relieved the banks from all obligation of doing business.

In a number of cities the banks deliberately usurped the function of creating a legal tender and issued "scrip" in place of currency. When it was pointed out that this was illegal, and directly contrary to law, it was replied that there was no penalty provided for violation of the law and that therefore there was nothing to hinder the insurance of such "scrip".

For several years the banks have been asking for a law authorizing "asset currency". They wished to be permitted to deposit industrial bonds and issue money upon them in the same way that national bonds are now used. Since even the national bond provision has long been a sore spot with Populistic orators and small capitalist critics of the banking system, there has been considerable hesitation in enacting such a law. But while no law to this effect has been enacted, yet much of the same result has been achieved by the executive ruling referred to above, by which industrial bonds have been permitted to be substituted for government bonds as collateral for money loaned by the national treasury. This permitted the withdrawal of the government bonds previously required as such security and their immediate redeposit as security for the issuance of banknotes. The consequence of all this is that the United States government has loaned some $100,000,000 upon the industrial security, whose inflation is claimed by bourgeois critics to have been one of the causes of the panic.

Another illuminating side of these recent events has been the sudden taming of President Roosevelt. As soon as the panic was well under way he was at once charged with having been its cause. He was told that his speeches attacking the trusts had undermined confidence and caused the fall of credit. That he really had anything to do with the matter is very doubtful, but one thing is certain, and thit is that he has given every evidence of being one of the most thoroughly scared politicians occupying official position at the present time.

This fright has succeeded in accomplishing something that a few weeks ago would have been declared impossible. It has made him keep his mouth shut for nearly two weeks. The only exception was a mildly congratulatory note addressed to the very men whom he has been supposed to be so violently fighting, praising them for their action during the panic.

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It is announced that he has rewritten his message and cut all the "dynamite" out of it, and that he has abandoned his trust busting campaign entirely. He has also agreed to permit the passage of a bill through Congress legalizing the asset currency so long asked for.

All talk about collecting that famous $29,000,000 fine against Standard Oil has been carefully hushed up, and no more criminal proceedures are being heralded in the press. In short, Roosevelt has been made to eat dirt in a most humiliating manner, and is being thoroughly taught the very important lesson that while capitalism lasts capitalists must and will rule, and that the only result of meddling with their rule, while leaving them in power, is to bring the whole structure rattling about the heads of the meddlers.

Still another interesting feature of the matter is the sudden and complete conversion of Wall Street to the Populistic doctrine of cheap money. The "Wall Street Journal", "Bankers' Magazine", "Journal of Finance", not to mention the New York Sun and Chicago Tribune of to-day read very much like the Kansas country papers of the late 80's and early 90's. All if which does not prove that either one was right in their economic reasoning, but simply that both change their economic theories and political doctrines as they imagined that their material interests dictated.

One of the first results in the industrial world was a sudden acceleration of the consolidation movement. The United States Steel Company absorbed the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Co., its chief competitor. The Trust Company of America, one of the chief financial concerns outside the Standard Oil group, is now in process of being absorbed by the Morgan-Rockefeller interests.

Thus the outcome of the trust-busting campaign is simply more and bigger trusts. It is interesting to note that all talk of collecting the famous $29,000,000 fine against the Standard Oil Company has dissappeared from the columns of the daily press and the speeches of administration speakers.

Still another illuminating phase of the situation has been the magnificent discipline which has been enforced upon the entire capitalist press. With one accord they have shouted whatever the banks thought it well for them to shout. During all the time that the panic was spreading faster and further they were repeating each day that the panic was over, that confidence had been restored, that the banks were all safe, that there was no cause for uneasiness, and so on "ad infinitum."

There has not been a break in their ranks. Not one of them dared to tell the truth. Here and there one would modify the general cry that all was well, and give the news of falling institutions, but always the burden of the song remained the same.

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As usual Hearst outdid all the others. When he does get down and crawl he presses his belly so deep into the mud that he makes the other seem fairly upright in comparison. On this occasion he shrieked all over his front pages in signed statements, certifying to the strength and stability of the banks.

Throughout it all capitalism has shown a solidarity and daring that may well be copied by the working class. When Labor shall show the same uniformity of action, the days of panics will be over with forever.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

About the time this number of the Review reaches its readers the American Federation of Labor will be in session in Norfolk, Va. From a number of viewpoints this year's convention will be the most important in the history of the organization. As in former years, the interminable jurisdiction controversies between various international bodies, which have become a public scandal in some instances, will take up considerable time of the delegates.

The expulsion of the brewery workers several months ago for refusing to obey the mandate of the Minneapolis convention to permit themselves to be dismembered by three or four craft organizations has stirred up considerable discussion among the rank and file.

It is hardly probable that the brewery workers will ask for reinstatement. They are not accustomed to prostrating themselves and crawling upon their bellies to kiss the foot that kicks them. A dignified protest is about all that the convention can expect from the brewers.

Encouraged by the action of the executive council in unseating the brewery workers, it is quite likely that demands will be made for the expulsion of other organizations that refused to surrender certain of their members to rival bodies that are wedded to the narrow craft idea. For example, the longshoremen are accused by the seamen of usurping the title "transport workers" and admitting workingmen who float upon the waters and who are claimed by the seamen. The controversy has been aired in previous conventions and threshed over byb arbitrators, and orders have been issued to the longshoremen to confine their efforts to organizing the landlubbers, but at the recent Detroit convention of the transport workers they reaffirmed their position, defied Gompers' arbitrary decision and announced their readiness to fight to preserve their industrial organization. "We expect," said an international officer to the writer, "that the seamen will demand that our charter be revoked at the Norfolk gathering, for we are in about the same kind of a boat as the brewery workers. Let 'em take their charter; we'll go it alone rather than permit our ranks to be weakened by the seamen, who, by the way, scabbed it only recently on the dock strikers at Duluth and other iron ore ports." It is also rumored in labor circles that the carpenters will demand the expulsion of the woodworkers, the

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painters will ask that the carriageworkers be unseated, and one or two other propositions to rip up things will be injected.

While these internal dissensions will undoubtedly cause considerable excitement, it is nevertheless a fact that they will be completely overshadowed by recent developments in the outside industrial and political world. Indeed the attacks of the employers' associations may prove a godsend by pounding enough sense into the thick heads of some of the "leaders" to cause them to comprehend the necessity of restoring harmony and strengthening every vulnerable spot in the ranks of organized labor. Many sympathizers not directly connected with unions marvel at these jurisdictional controversies; they wonder why there should be rivalry and in some instances bitter enmity between workingmen just because one carries a yellow card, another a blue, still another a red and so on, or some similar trifling reason. But those who are labor's friends despite its foolish mistakes should remember that workingmen also fight each other just as bitterly in the political field. They are hypnotized by the party names "Republican" or "Democrat," though both standing for the same principles and policies—that is to perpetuate the capitalist system and skin the working class. Then again the fact should not be overlooked that the educational advantages of some "labor leaders" have been sadly limited, and they lack the training, intelligence and general knowledge of the fundamental principles that underlie the labor movement of the world to appreciate the full effects of reasonable harmony, thorough discipline and compact organization.

However, as stated above, the capitalists are teaching the so-called leaders some valuable lessons that they are bound to learn. There is little jurisdictional strife between the score of national employers' associations that formed the American Federation of capitalism in New York several months ago. The one thought uppermost in the minds of those leaders on the other side was to so arrange affairs that successful war can be made upon organized labor—and, of course, if the unions can be encouraged to make war among themselves victories for capitalism will come so much the easier. The announcement of the employers that they intend to collect a fund of $1,500,000 for the purpose of "educating labor" to know its place together with the subsequent filing of a suit in Washington to outlaw boycotting, the laying off of union men, etc., caused more widespread discussion in labor's ranks than any occurrence of recent years. There is a general demand being made that the issue be met—that the workers cease bickering among themselves, close their ranks and prepare to reply to the attack. That the Federation and its affiliated international organizations have reached a point where it will be necessary to raise a large defense fund is no longer open to doubt. The day of waging strikes of any magnitude on wind is passed. It cost the printers more than $3,000,000 to enforce the eight-hour day it will take another million before that concession has been firmly established in every branch of the industry.. To argue that it would be impossible to create a big defense fund, as some of the leaders, so-called, have done in the past, is sheer nonsense. If they would state the exact situation in the industrial and political world for the information of the rank and file, and point out the struggles that would have to be encountered (as the Socialists have attempted to do), instead of bragging and blustering in an egotistical, penny-wise manner, the membership would rise to the occasion and strengthen their organizations, financially and numerically, and rest on their

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arms. The Civic Fakiration dope about mediation, conciliation, arbitration, "identity of interests," etc., has done more to woo the membership into a condition of fancied security than any other agency. Belmont, Carnegie, Fisk and the rest of the plutocrats did not furnish the funds for nothing to keep that aggregation mouthing sophistries. They know their business.

Undoubtedly the political question will be up as usual. The Gompersonian "punish your friends and reward your enemies" will be the cry of the reactionists for the great Presidential and Congressional struggle next year. Whether Littlefield, Cannon and their ilk will be boycotted again after last year's fiasco is problematical, as the open shoppers have announced that they will pour money into every district that is contested by Gompers and his assistants, and furthermore, as labor has hardly enough funds to wage its industrial struggles, it is difficult to see where the money is coming from to engage in Quixotic campaigns upon a large scale to obtain satisfactory results. Certainly the Socialists will oppose that sort of "swanz politik," and, while they have no desire to "capture" the Federation, realizing that votes cannot be secured and the capitalists driven from power by adopting resolutions, still they will invite all earnest, clear-headed workingmen and women to join their organization, defend their principles and policies; and absolutely refuse to surrender or dissolve their party machinery simply because Gompers comes along with his fake political bushwhacking scheme that has been rejected by the working people in practically every country in the world.

In all likelihood the old officers will be re-elected (we cannot get along without them) excepting John Mitchell, second vice-president, who has announced his retirement from the labor movement on account of failing health. It is announced from Washington that Mitchell will be provided with a soft political berth by his friend Roosevelt if he will accept a position. Mitchell has repeatedly declared that he would not take a political job, but if he retires from all official connection with the miners he may change his mind. The annual rumor that Gompers would decline re-election to make room for a more militant and aggressive official and a progressive policy is mere rumor, that's all.

Mention was made in last month's Review that in a decision rendered by United States Judge P. C. Jones, of the Northern Alabama district, the court, among other things, declared as follows:

"An employer has a property right in the services of his workmen in his business. The employer can maintain an action against any one who entices his servant to leave him, or prevent the servant from working for his employer. This property right is protected by the sanction of our criminal laws also."

Quick to grasp the significance of this decision, a Wall street organ hinted strongly that employers ought to seize the club placed in their hands and enforce their "property right." That is precisely what has occurred. Hardly had the news of the Alabama decision been printed when the attorneys for the United Typothetae of America—the employers' association in the printing industry which has been practically disrupted—entered the United States Court in Cincinnati and asked for an injunction to restrain the printing pressmen and assistants from ordering a national strike for the eight-hour day and the closed shop. The plaintiffs claimed they had an agreement with the defendants and a strike would be a violation of

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the contract. The court granted a temporary restraining order and ten days later made it permanent. In deciding the case Judge Thompson enjoined the officers of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union from ordering a strike or paying any strike benefits, claiming that such action would be in violation of a contract made, but conceded the right of individual members to cease work. The alleged agreement referred to, as already shown in the Review, was entered into by and between former President Higgins and the Typothetae officials and provided for the introduction of the eight-hour day in 1909. Higgins showed himself the rankest kind of betrayer. He signed the agreement at a time when the printers were battling to establish the shorter workday and when the bookbinders were preparing to make demands. The pressmen's convention of 1906 had instructed Higgins to open negotiations, in co-operation with the bookbinders, to establish the eight-hour day in a reasonable time; this year's convention repudiated the proposed long-time agreement, defeated Higgins for re-election, and instructed the new officials to demand the shorter workday and closed shop at once. It should be stated that when the old agreement that expired this year was entered into in 1902 it was by ratification of the members in a referendum vote. The alleged new agreement was not only not submitted to the membership for acceptance or rejection, but was defeated in convention, where the first steps must be taken. And yet the Typothetae claims, and the U. S. Court holds the claim valid, that the document arranged by them with their man Higgins is binding upon thousands of unionists who had no voice in the arrangements.

The action of the court in prohibiting the international officials from carrying out the mandates of their constituents and call a general strike or from paying benefits, and then patronizingly informing the defendants that individuals have a right to quit work, is farcical, to say the least. The court might as well have tied a man hand and foot and then bid him get up and run a race or placed a gag in his mouth and invited him to eat heartily. Everybody knows how ridiculous a strike upon individuad initiative or without benefits would be. The chaotic situation thus created would mean an easy victory for the employers, disrupted though they are. If the pressmen inaugurate a general strike they subject themselves to punishment for contempt of court and perhaps will have their funds attached in proceedings for damages brought by employers. On the other hand, if they don't strike they are doomed to work nine hours a day until January 1, 1909, and under open shop conditions until January 1, 1912. This is only one more illustration of how the coils of capitalism are closing about labor upon the industrial field, where the workers are regarded as chattels.

The national strike of the bookbinders for the eight-hour day, which began last month, is proving quite successful. Four weeks after the contest began the international officials estimated that 85 per cent of he membership had secured the shorter workday. Nearly all the establishments in the larger cities where strikes occured signed agreements, but in all probability there will be a long contest with some concerts that operated on an open shop basis before the struggle commenced.

In this connection it should be mentioned that about 20,000 garment workers employed in union establishments were conceded

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the eight-hour day the early part of the present month. The matter was arranged through friendly negotiation. The garment workers, as well as their fair employers, are having a hard fight with the sweaters. Some of the large concerns that are running open shop are the worst among the sweaters. Huge stacks of their clothing are manufactured under the most unsanitary conditions in the attics, cellars and hovels of the great cities. The best manner to help the garment workers, who are among the poorest paid trades is to demand the union label in clothing, and take no other.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

GERMANY.

Public interest in Germany has been revolving around two trials. The first of these was that of Dr. Karl Liebknecht, son of "Der Alte", for high treason, based upon the publication of his book upon militarism. As a result of the trial he was sentenced to one year imprisonment. This is not so bad a punishment in Germany as in some other countries, since political offenders are only confined in a fortress, and are allowed many privileges. Many of the German Socialists disavowed Liebknecht's teachings in the extreme form in which he stated them, but to an American they sound mild enough. The German movement, however, it is agreed by all observers is tending toward excessive respectability, not untinged with conservatism, and shrinks from any action that might endanger its great vote.

The other trial was that of Max Harden, editor of the "Zukunft", a radical publication. Some time ago Harden published an article that created a tremendous sensation throughout Germany. He accused a number of high offcials, including Count von Moltke, Eulenberg, and other prominent officials of forming a secret inner circle, which to a large extent controlled the actions of the Kaiser. He declared that this circle not only dabbled in spiritualism, necromancy and other occult affairs, using these things as means of influencing the court, but he made far more serious charges than these.

He stated that the men composing the group were a lot of degenerates and sexual perverts, guilty of the most unnatural crimes. It is claimed that the Kaiser compelled Von Moltke to sue Harden for libel as a means of clearing the character of the court. In the trial both sides asked that the emperor be summoned, but he was not called and the verdict was a complete victory for Harden. It was shown that his charges were justified and as a result a tremendous blow was struck at the prestige of the court and its supporters.

On the 2nd of October, Julius Mottler, the "red postmaster" died. He secured his name from the fact that he had charge of the distribution of the Socialist papers during the "laws of exception", and to him, perhaps more than to any other person was due the wonderful success with which police were outwitted and workers served with their favorite journal during those years.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Demetrian, By Ellison Harding. Brentano's, Cloth, $1.50.

For several years there has been a change in the character of the utopias produced. Formerly they were elaborate schemes to be adopted by society, often with a plea for their adoption by the reader in the last chapter. Of late years they are rather fanciful sketches of something which the author expects will be realized by natural evolution. The theme of The Demetrian is eugenics. In the new society foreseen, by the author, which is a sort of hybrid socialism, there is a religious cult that has charge of the breeding of its devotees. The plot of the work hinges on how "love will find a way" in spite of priestly regulations and how finally love upsets all the well laid plans, government and all in order to attain its ends. There are, as usual with such works, just sufficient references to socialism to enable the author to expose his complete ignorance of the subject.

Ghetto Comedies, by Israel Zangwill. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, pp. 487, $1.50.

Zangwill is a Jew with a sympathetic understanding of the Jewish race that never would have come to him had he not been born with a sense of humor and achieved a grasp of economic determinism. He has found both tragedies and comedies in the Ghetto; perhaps the difference between the two is rather in the way events are viewed than in the way they happen.

This is a book of fourteen short stories, mostly of London, but two or three are staged in Russia; the closing one, "Samooborona", ends tragically enough with the massacre of all the characters, but the comedy of it is in the persistent way in which, on the eve of an attack by the Russians, each petty fragment of a Jewish reform society with many initials insisted strenuously on its own panacea, and refused to co-operate in any plan for defense. However, the author makes it clear that defence would have been futile in any case.

"The Model of Sorrows" tells of a distressed Hebrew with a face like that of an ideal Christ and a tale of woe that touched the heart, and who nevertheless turned out to be a liar of more than ordinary ability. Space prevents our summarizing the other stories, but they are all social and psychological studies that are worth while.

C. H. K.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

When Things Were Doing.

How is the Social Revolution going to come? What will the Co-operative Commonwealth be like?

No socialist who has learned the most rudimentary principles of Marxian socialism claims to be able to answer these questions. All we can know is that the answers will be determined by the development of industrial processes, of the mode of production.

We can not know, but we can guess. And our guesses may be useful rather than mischievous if we put them out simply as guesses without pretending that we know what we don't know. For one trouble with the people who do the working and the voting is that they have not been able as yet to imagine how we could get along without capitalists.

Comrade C. A. Steere has made some of the most delightful guesses about the social revolution that ever happened, and he has framed them up in a story in such a way that no one will be in much danger of mistaking them for anything else.

One of the most annoying obstacles to the spread of any clear notions of socialism is a story by Edward Bellamy, a non-socialist writer, called "Looking Backward". He pictures a system under which the workers have nothing to do with controlling the conditions under which they work, but are under the control of the people over 45 years of age who have served their term as laborers and have begun to play the part of capitalists. The book is moreover steeped in capitalistic ideas in a way that makes it simply ridiculous as a statement of socialist principles. However, because "Looking Backward" is a readable story, many socialists have continued to circulate it for lack of something better.

When Things Were Doing is the something better, which has heretofore been lacking. It is a book that nearly every clear-headed socialist will enjoy, and one that can be offered to new inquirers without fear of giving them a false impression. About the only ones not

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likely to enjoy the book from cover to cover are fanatical prohibitionists and those who still take orthodox theology seriously.

We expect to publish the book about the last of November in a handsome cloth binding, to retail at one dollar with our usual discounts to stockholders.

THE ART OF LECTURING.

Arthur Morrow Lewis, whose regular Sunday morning lectures crowd the Garrick Theatre, one of the largest in Chicago, has been repeatedly asked to conduct a class in lecturing. As he has no time for doing this, he has put the practical suggestions growing out of his long experience into a little book, handsomely printed, which will be ready for mailing by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers. Paper, 25 cents, postpaid.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Students who have gone through the **American Esperanto Book**, and would like to test their knowledge of the language on something really worth studying, will be glad to know that the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels has been turned into Esperanto by Arthur Baker, and will soon be obtainable in a neat cloth edition, with the English and the Esperanto text on opposite pages. This will be the 24th volume of the Standard Socialist Series, and will retail a fifty cents.

The books announced in the October Review, on pages 255 and 256, are either ready or soon will be ready. We have not room this time to describe them again, but we want your orders for **Marxian Economics** by Ernest Untermann ($1.00), **The Republic**, by N. P. Andresen ($1.00) and **Anarchism and Socialism** by George Plechanoff (50 cents). These will be ready by the time your order can reach us. A little later we shall have the enlarged and revised edition of **American Communities** by William Alfred Hinds (1.50).

THE SOCIALIST BOOK BULLETIN FOR NOVEMBER.

Probably nearly every reader of the Review has seen the Socialist Book Bulletin for June. We have just issued a November Bulletin in the same style, the exact size if the Chicago Daily Socialist. It contains descriptions of all our books, revised up to date, a leading article by Robert Rives LaMonte entitled "What's Wrong, How to Right It and Who're Going to Right It", in the course of which he outlines a course of reading; also an editorial by Charles H. Kerr on "Leaders and Followers", and a story, an article and verses by Mary E. Marcy. On the front page of our regular edition of this Bulletin, occupying the last seven inches of the three middle columns, is an explanation of our co-operative plan for supplying books at cost. We

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have also printed an edition with this omitted, and can furnish copies to any socialist Local, or to any publisher or bookseller, with special printing in this space, at $7.00 for the first thousand and $5.00 for each additional thousand ordered at the same time; this includes prepayment of charges to any address in the United States east of Denver. We will send copies of the regular edition free to any one who will agree to distribute them to people interested in socialism and will pay the postage or expressage,—one cent each if mailed to individual addresses. Thirty-five cents will pay the expressage on from 70 to 500 copies in one package, according to the distance. Do not ask for more copies than you can put where they will be read, for we can not afford to waste them.

FINANCES FOR OCTOBER.

Last month we explained the desirability of voluntary contributions from stockholders to pay off the debt of the publishing house and thus make it safe for us to use all receipts in enlarging our work. The contributions thus far received have been as follows:

Previously acknowledged,	$308.82
Fred Schleit, New York,	1.00
J. R. McCormick, California,	10.00
George D. Herron, New Jersey,	100.00
J. O. Duckett, California,	3.30
Charles H. Kerr, Illinois,	114.30
Total,	$537.42

The total is still far short of the $4200 we set out to raise. Probably the small number of contributions is due to the fact that the stockholders are not seriously alarmed about the condition of the publishing house. In this they are perfectly right. Its condition is not alarming, on the contrary it is better than ever before. The manager is suggesting these contributions and is duplicating them with contributions of his own because he is convinced that the addition of a few thousand dollars to the working capital of the publishing house at this time will double its effectiveness for circulating the literature of international socialism. There are a few of the readers of the Review who could contribute from $100 to $1000 each to this work with less personal inconvenience than is experienced by the laborer who sends a dollar for a socialist book. The one question is whether the publishing house is using the money entrusted to it in an effective way. As to this we invite the fullest investigation on the part of any one who has money to put where it will do the most for the socialist movement.

Our main dependence however is not on the few with much money but on the many with little money. During the month of

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October we received $172.97 from the sale of single shares of stock, part of them in instalments, $216.74 in subscriptions to the Review, and $1530.67 from the sale of books, making, with the contributions mentioned above, a total for October of $2148.98. With the number of new books nearly ready for delivery, the sales for November should be far in excess of those for October, but this depends on the united effort of the stockholders of the publishing house. The new Book Bulletin will almost surely make sales if brought to the attention of the right people, but whether this will be done depends mainly on the 1832 socialists who own the publishing house. If you are a stockholder, do what you can to get others to buy books, besides buying all you can afford yourself. And if you are not a stockholder, subscribe for a share now. The terms are clearly explained in the Socialist book Bulletin for November. If you have not received one, ask for it.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. VIII DECEMBER, 1907 NO. 6

The Social Democratic Party-School In Berlin.

THE PARTY-SCHOOL in Berlin which was established last year by the committee of the Social Democratic party, did not spring up by chance; on the contrary, it is a quite necessary product of the conditions, into which, through its developments, the German party has come. In the beginning, when the labor movement was still small, and when it was comprehended only by a few chosen enthusiastic persons, the study of the scientific principles of socialism was eagerly pursued by them. They had time for it, and it was necessary for them, if they would win for the cause the mass of their comrades who either pinned their faith to bourgeois parties, or were indifferent; the bourgeois teaching had to be refuted, and the indifferent workingmen aroused by pointing out the necessary tendencies in the development of capitalism, and the goal of the working class. In order to do this they must themselves be thoroughly grounded in the scientific principles of socialism; and, as we have said, they found time for this effort, all the more readily as the discussions added something to the pleasure of sociability, and to the entertainment of the tavern. In this way a strong nucleus of educated comrades was created, who were able to grasp clearly the tactics of the party; to trace out new paths for the international movement, and to carry through victoriously, under the laws for German socialists, the fight with the Bismarckian government.

Since then, however, circumstances have changed. After the decline of the laws against socialists, when the labor movement could develop freely and openly, it grew with giant strides. The unions, especially, could better bestir themselves. Their

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growth was so enormous, particularly after the crisis of 1896 when good times set in, that Mehring, in his history of socialism, called the ninth year the *Jahrzehnt* of the unions. Co-operative societies were founded also, and grew with great rapidity. Everywhere was going on the ceaseless work of organization, — not only the chosen ones but the great mass of the workers were brought in; everywhere were founded socialist newspapers which constantly increased the numbers of their subscribers.

This development, which is still in full swing, soon brought its dark side which began to work an ever unceasing injury to the movement. The work of organization absorbed all the energy — no time was left for study. For the inexorable demands of practical work must weaken the passion for knowledge. The small industries clamored for new powers, the more aggressive workmen demanded the full measure; and every young man who showed some eagerness and capacity was immediately set to work, and henceforth found no time for theoretical study. It happened further that the bourgeois parties ceased to fight with theories, principles and arguments. Abuse, personal attacks, misrepresentation of facts took their place. Therefore in order to wage war with the bougeois, theoretical knowledge was not necessary, but rather polemic agility and knowledge of facts; at least the need of fundamental knowledge was little felt in such a contest.

It is easy to see, therefore, why those words of Engels, in which he exalted the German workingman's ability to use and understand theories, are no longer true, no longer hold good. There was no time for theories,—practical work absorbed all their strength. But little by little it began to be apparent that even for practical work, this state of things was dangerous. We make use of the theories of socialism not alone to argue with the bourgeois parties, but also in order to correctly determine our own tactics. We must clearly understand the nature of capitalism not simply to incite the workingmen to fight against it, but also to find out for ourselves the best *method* of fighting it. Wherever this knowledge is lacking, tactics will be governed by established tradition or by superficial empirics. Only the present, the immediate, will be taken into account, appearances will deceive, and deep-lying cohesiveness will be lost sight of.

In the theoretical strife within the party carried on by those who call themselves Revisionists, the theoretical defects of the movement have found an unsightly expression. When Bernstein came forward with a criticism on Marxism and the old program, and demanded a revision of the former tactics,—advocating social reform as genuine socialistic tactics, instead of the "revolutionary phrases" formerly laid stress upon,—this

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theoretical confusion was recognized only by certain spokesmen. It lasted for many years before the great mass of the working people understood the untenableness of Bernstein's views; and then it was not because of their theoretical grasp of the matter, but through practical experience which did not agree with Bernstein's conclusions. These contentions have strongly demonstrated the need for a theoretical clearing up of the subject.

This need appeared still more pressing when to the German party was set the task of considering new methods of tactical warfare. The breaking out of the Russian Revolution pushed the masses into the foreground as instruments of war. Traditional methods, traditional catch-words, would no longer serve; theoretical discussions were necessary, and the interest in theory therefore grew stronger. The Russian Revolution also brought to light that the franchise was no longer the all-important thing, and the social democratic societies became conscious of a higher mission than that of extending the franchise. The instruction of members and the grounding them in socialistic studies, was attempted. The newspapers which increased their subscriptions enormously demanded the same object. The lack of theoretical knowledge in the agitators and journalists then became more and more apparent. The situation was a contradictory one. Those who demanded redress, themselves stood in its way. The Party-School has been one means of escape from this contradiction.

The purpose of the Party-school as its origin shows, is not to give a kind of university training in socialistic principles, but only to educate party members as far as it can be done, in the theory of socialism, so that thereafter they may be able to work independently in any party position. Accordingly, some 30 comrades have been selected to reside for a half year in Berlin, their support, and the support of their families at home to be paid for out of the funds. These are all workingmen, actively prominent in their own localities, some of them holding salaried positions in the party. After finishing the course, they may offer themselves for the post of editor or agitator. They are given places as the need arises, and in the meantime they shift for themselves.

As a matter of course, these men placed all at once in a position to study, to cultivate their intellectual side, use their opportunity to the utmost. In order that they may not study without plan, they follow daily courses given by different teachers. In the first year the principal direction of the school fell upon the head of comrade Hilferding, who gave the courses in political economy and in the history of economics, and upon Pannekoek, who taught the history of materialism and social theories. A few weeks before the beginning of the second term, the Prus-

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sian police did what they could to injure this Socialist educational institution. Both these comrades, who are foreigners, were threatened with banishment if they continued their teaching. But their places were filled by Comrade Rosa Luxemburg and Comrade Cunow; so the plan to cripple the work of the school came to nothing. The well known historian, Mehring, gives a course in the history of politics; there are courses in communal politics and in trade unionism, and a systematic training in public speaking and in journalism. Not only the theoretical but also the practical training which an agitator or a journalist may need in Germany, is considered. To the regular courses five hours are devoted daily. The remaining time is given to independent study and to a personal inspection of all branches of the Berlin labor movement. The present prospect is that a good quality of intellectual work may be looked for from the Party-School.

Can the school attain its end? It may seem difficult to train in half a year those men who have simply passed through the elementary school, to train them sufficiently in such deep scientific theories. Still, it must not be forgotten that they have passed through the school of life, and therefore the theory of that life is easily taken up by them. Then it is possible that socialist workingmen well acquainted with the practical side of life and with the labor movement, should have a good understanding of the fundamental ideas of socialistic theory. The first half year of the school has shown this. A foundation for the further study of classical and current literature has been laid; but farther study is of course necessary. It is clearly understood in the German party that not enough can be done through this Institute alone. Everywhere committees are springing up, mostly from unions and party branches, whose object is to provide lectures, courses and lessons for the workingmen. Interest in theory, in the theoretical question is awaking everywhere; libraries are being founded and lecturers provided. In this way the German working class is preparing itself for the hard battle of the future; and the hardest task it will have to accomplish, is to be well armed.

A. P.

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Socialist Unity In The United States.

The question of a union betwen the Socialist Party of America and the Socialist Labor Party is being persistently urged, and the subject is one that demands full consideration and discussion. There are two obstacles to a clear understanding of it in the ranks of the Socialist Party. One is that about nine tenths of our members have joined since the days when the Socialist Labor Party was the most important socialist organization in this country. The other is that most of the old members are still unconsciously influenced by the bitter feelings growing out of the fight in 1899 for the control of the party organization. My excuse for urging my opinion at this time is that at the time of the fight I was a new convert and an observer, not a combatant on either side, while I am fairly well informed as to the facts which are pertinent to the decision we have to make at this time.

The nature of the decision is well shown by the following resolutions lately adopted by Local Redlands, California, of the Socialist Party of America. I print them in full for the reason that they illustrate better than anything I could say the artless eagerness of our new members who are unfamiliar with the history of the Socialist Labor Party.

PREAMBLE.

We, the Redlands local, believing that too much stress cannot be put upon the necessity of unity in the Socialist movement, are desirous of bringing about a union of the two Socialist political parties, believing, as we do, that the reasons for their separation are neither permanent or necessary, and that both having been stripped of their errors, remain essentially as one in their endeavor.

We also believe that the Haywood incident has taught the workingmen of America, better than theory can teach, the necessity for the solidarity of the working class, and has forcibly shown its effectiveness. And we further believe that in the face of this event the workers have realized that the end for which they are striving, to wit, industrial emancipation, holds them closer together, than their difference in tactics can hold them apart.

We also believe that the great question before the working class today is the relation of the Industrial Organization to Political Action, Socialism being realized in the social ownership of industries, which at once results in the destruction of the wage system, the workers must be organized on the plan of industrial unionism. It is self-evident that capitalist craft-unionism can offer at best only temporary benefits and never can emancipate the wage-slaves, but that the proletarian must organize on the industrial plan so as to control and direct industrial affairs, when the political party shall be successful on the political field and thus assure to the worker the full product of his toil.

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RESOLVED.

Therefore be it resolved, in view of the above preamble, we, Local Redlands, initiate a National referendum calling for the union of the two Socialist parties of America; — unity to be based on the recognition of industrial unionism as the economic basis of the socialist political movement.

And be it further Resolved, that the official press and means of publication shall be owned and managed by the Socialist party and that no literature be considered official unless sanctioned by the National Executive Committee.

And be it further Resolved, that no officer of any union shall be eligible as an officer or candidate of the Socialist party.

And be it further Resolved, that if this referendum be carried and a convention called for the purpose of completing this consolidation, the delegation shall consist of wage workers holding no official position in either party.

H. M. McCOY, Chairman Comm.
M. SHELLY, Secretary.

No special comment is necessary on the first two paragraphs. Throughout four fifths of the states, socialist unity has already been reached by the virtual disappearance of the Socialist Labor Party. It is perfectly true, however, that there are still a few hundred tireless, energetic workers who cling to the S. L. P., and that their efforts are now largely wasted in fighting the Socialist Party instead of fighting capitalism. So that if union could be brought about without committing the Socialist Party to unwise tactics, it would be a substantial gain, well worth some trouble.

In the third paragraph, the resolutions call attention to an important fact. It is indeed true that the great question before the working class today is the relation of industrial organization to political action. But directly after stating this fact, the resolutions plunge into a tangle of Utopian speculations that are perfectly futile, and flounder there in a fashion which would make us think that the comrades who prepared them had never heard of Marx's law of economic determinism.

It seems a very simple thing out in California, thousands of miles from the storm centers of the economic fight between capitalists and laborers, to argue theoretically that industrial unions are necessary to help run things when the Socialist Party, years hence, is in control of the government. But to offer such an argument seriously shows a weak grasp of the motives that really make people do things.

Here in Chicago most of the members of the Socialist party are members of every-day, commonplace trade unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This is not because Chicago socialists are less revolutionary than the socialists of Redlands, California. The Chicago Socialists, most of them,

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joined these trade unions long ago, and for the very good and very prosaic reason that they wanted better wages and depended on the unions to help get them, or perhaps found that they could not get jobs without carrying union cards. They remain inside these unions today for the most part because there are no industrial unions here in the trades in which they work. If they were to withdraw from the existing unions to join the budding organization of the Industrial Workers of the World, they would stand a very good chance of losing their jobs. Moreover they would seem to their shopmates to be acting like scabs, and they are more sensitive to the opinion of their shopmates whom they have seen than to the opinion of their comrades of Redlands, California, whom they have not seen.

And there is another reason why they should stay inside the existing unions. If they were to withdraw, they would enrage the other members of the union both against the Socialist Party and against the idea of industrial unionism.

There is a far stronger argument for the adoption of the Industrial Union principle than that offered by Local Redlands. The old-time craft unions were the logical form of organization when industry was for the most part carried on by small capitalists in small plants, each employing a few men. Under such conditions, craft unions served their purpose well. But the growth of the trusts has put them out of date. This is day by day becoming more evident to the rank and file of the unions. Simply as fighting machines to keep up wages, they have grown ineffective. A union that shall enroll in its membership all the workmen of a trust is a necessity if the trust is to be met on anything like equal terms.

Every clear-headed Marxian socialist understands that people's ideas and institutions at a given moment are in the main the result of the *former* economic environment of the social group in question, and that these ideas and institutions are being continually modified by the *changing mode of production.* To overlook these social laws discovered by Marx and Engels, and denounce people because all unconsciously they act according to these laws, is to talk like a utopian, a single taxer, an anarchist or a reformer, but not like a socialist.

Apply these laws to the mass of American trade unionists, those who vote with us and those who vote against us. They are all obliged to make a living if they want to live, and most of us do, whether it is reasonable or not. They find their unions useful in the process of making a living, and unless they have the religious temperament that makes bigots out of the leisure class and revolutionists out of proletarians, they will not give up these practical unions for the sake of theories about the

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unknown future. Furthermore, if the zealous revolutionists call them names for clinging to their unions, they will probably call equally picturesque names in return, and resist any change in the form of their union organization with a good deal of indignation.

This being the case, the rational thing for us revolutionists to do is to stay inside the old unions, strengthen them, not disrupt them, but argue calmly and patiently, day in and day out, to show the other trade unionists that the craft union is as much of a back number as the stage coach. Let us keep clear heads and not mix our arguments. If we are talking to socialists inside the old unions, we may well urge the argument offered by Local Redlands in its third paragraph. But if we are talking to non-socialists, let us put all our stress on the need of an industrial union as a better fighting machine to keep up wages.

Let us especially avoid mixing the party question and the union question. The Socialist Party needs no endorsement from trade unions as organizations. What it does need is new members and new voters. Industrial unionism needs no resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party. What it needs is a united effort on the part of socialist trade unionists to secure the support of the industrial principle by the existing unions, not to disrupt these by organizing rival unions.

The traditional policy of the Socialist Labor Partv has been to denounce all officers of the real trade unions as "fakirs," and to encourage the formation of new unions. In the nineteenth century they organized a considerable number of paper unions under the name of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. In 1899, when two thirds of the members withdrew from the Socialist Labor Party to form an organization now included in the Socialist Party, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had a nominal membership of possible thirty thousand, but five years later the organization was practically dead. Its remains, however, entered the Industrial Workers of the World when that body was organized, and have been the most serious obstacle to its growth.

Another traditional policy of the Socialist Labor Party has been to control its party press through the national executive committee. The practical result of this method has been to place the editor of *The People,* wielding the power of the National Executive Committee, in full control of the sources of information of the party membership, so that he has dominated and still dominates the opinions of the rank and file. Personally I do not believe the charges sometimes made that this editor is in the pay of capitalists; on the contrary I think he sincerely believes that his tactics are for the best interest of the working class. But I

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am decidedly opposed to a system placing such absolute power in the hands of any one man or small group of men.

To sum up the situation briefly, the method of the Socialist Party since its organization in 1900 has been friendly co-operation with existing trade unions, and a large measure of local self-government throughout the party organization. The method of the Socialist Labor Party through these years has been one of bitter war on existing trade unions and extreme centralization of power within the organization. During these seven years the Socialist Party has multiplied its membership by five, while the membership of the Socialist Labor Party has declined.

The Redlands resolutions propose a consolidation of the parties. So far, so good. But they propose that the larger party should discard its successful methods and adopt the disastrous methods of the smaller party. I am for consolidation, but not on these terms.

The sanest official proposition that has yet been made is a National Committee motion by Vernon F. King, of the Socialist Party of Michigan, inviting the Socialist Labor Party to state definitely on what terms they will unite. I hope that this motion will prevail and that it will bring a definite answer from the S. L. P. And if their answer is that they are willing to merge the two organizations, leaving all questions of platform, tactics, organization and party press to be settled by the majority after consolidation, then I am heartily in favor of union. But if they are only willing to consolidate on some such basis as that of the Redlands resolutions, then I think we may safely wait for further developments.

CHARLES H. KERR.

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Socialistic Tendencies In American Trade Unions.

Trade-unionism and socialism are commonly assumed to be unrelated, if not antagonistic, movements. The president of the United Mine Workers of America, for example, states that

> There is no fundamental or even necessary relationship between trade-unionism and socialism; they are entirely separate and distinct movements, one economic and the other political; and in some respects each movement accepts and recognizes a condition of society diametrically opposed to that recognized and adopted by the other.*

Such statements as the above are made almost daily by capitalists, labor leaders, and politicians, and seem to be generally accepted without question.

Careful analysis of the two programmes, however, does not bear out popular belief. It seems to show, on the contrary, that at bottom trade-unionists and socialists hold to practically the same views and are seeking the same ends; and that it is only a question of time before trade-unionists in America will recognize this fact and lend their support to the Socialist Party. In support of this conclusion, it is proposed here to show that the most characteristic features of the Socialist movement are characteristic of trade-unionism also, and to furnish evidence that trade-unionists, as such, are coming more and more to indorse the Socialist programme.

Among the chief characteristics of a socialistic labor movement are the following: First, class-consciousness; second, a tendency to resort to political action for betterment of the social and economic condition of workers; third, a demand for collective ownership and administration of the means of production. How far are these features likewise characteristic of trade-unionism?

I. CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

The American Federation of Labor is at once the most powerful and the most conservative labor organization in America. It has always been an anti-socialist anti-revolutionary body. Yet as early as 1897 President Gompers expressed what may

* John Mitchell, "Trade-Unionism and Socialism." Sunday Magazine, February 27, 1907.

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be considered the attitude of the organization upon class-consciousness as follows:

The term class-consciousness indicates that those who belong to that class are conscious of the fact, and are conscious, too, that their interests as a class are separate and distinct from any other class; and that while by organizing in a class organization they may and do benefit all others, yet they organize in a class organization for the betterment of the conditions of that class. Class-conscious! as a matter of fact there is no other organization of labor in the entire world that is a class organization or is so class-conscious as are the trade-unions.*

Another of the more conservative labor leaders, President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America, states in the opening lines of his work, *Organized Labor,* that,

The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come where he himself will be a capitalist and asks that the reward for his labor be given to him as a workingman.

If this does not mean that the workers are already class-conscious, it does mean that the conditions are present which will soon make them so.

Even stronger expressions of class-consciousness come from the rank and file almost daily. During the recent telegraphers' strike, for instance, meetings have been frequently held in Brand's Hall by the operators of Chicago. At these meeting speaker after speaker from various organizations has assured the strikers that, "Your fight is our fight. If you defeat the telegraph companies you will gain a victory for all organized labor." And the best proof that these speakers expressed the sentiments of their fellow unionists is the fact that their unions made liberal contributions to the telegraphers' strike fund. The same attitude has been taken by trade-unionists toward all great strikes in recent years. They have contributed liberally to help miners, printers, lithographers, and machinists, in their respective struggles for better conditions.

During the telegraphers' strike, referred to above, President Small of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, addressed the Chicago Federation of Labor. At this time he stated that it would be well for the American Federation of Labor to accumulate a defense fund of ten or twenty millions to be put at the disposal of any union engaged in a great strike. This proposition, which is based squarely upon the idea of a

* Editorial in American Federationist, August, 1897.

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class struggle, was received with great applause by the three hundred or more delegates present.

The attitude of the unions toward arbitration is further evidence of growing class-consciousness. In the recent strike one of the most insistent demands of the operators has been that there hould be no arbitration. The attitude of the telegraphers is noted here particularly because one would naturally expect such a union, if any, to be conservative. It is composed of relatively well-paid, skilled workers, whom one would expect strongly to indorse business unionism. President Hawley of the Switchmen's Union of North America indorses the attitude taken by the telegraphers. He says:

I am decidedly against arbitration of the telegraphers' strike or any other strike. Arbitration in every case means a loss to the union. The ideas of the men who compose boards of arbitration are those of the capitalistic class.

The President of the Chicago Federation of Labor likewise declared recently that he was strongly opposed to the arbitration of strikes. Of course this is not the sentiment of all trade-unionists, but there can be no doubt that it is that of an increasingly large share of them.

Class-consciousnes is, perhaps, in no case demonstrated more strongly than it is in the sympathetic strike. When men in one craft, enjoying satisfactory conditions of employment, quit work to aid their union brothers in some entirely different craft, then there can be no question as to the existence of class-consciousness. Such strikes occur with great frequency, especially in the building trades. In some cases unionists find that to engage in a sympathetic strike they must break a definite agreement or contract with an employer. Even then they usually do not hesitate to stand by their brother unionists. As a general rule when a trade-unionist faces the alternative of working with a "scab" or breaking a contract, he breaks a contract. His class-consciousness proves itself to be stronger than is his respect for the business code of honor.* Many labor leaders, among whom may be mentioned the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, now declare that trade-unions should not make any contracts whatever. Thus they would be entirely free to engage at any time in a sympathetic strike.

The existence and growth of class-consciousness among trade-unionists is a necessary and direct result of the conditions under which workers gain their livelihood. In an era of large production wage-earners have found that they can bargain to

* An explanation of this and other phases of the trade union attitude mentioned here are to be found in a paper written by Dr. R. F. Hoxie, "The Trade Union Point of View," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. XV, No. 6, June, 1907.

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better advantage collectively than they can individually. They have found that they can, bargaining collectively, secure higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better sanitary conditions in mine, mill, and factory. Hence they have organized into trade-unions. But that is not all. Wage-earners have found that they can further increase their strength by forming city, state, and national federations of trade-unions. Thus they have identified their interests not only with those of their fellow-craftsmen, but with those of their fellow-workers regardless of craft. When one union goes out on strike others feel the necessity of lending moral and financial assistance, even though they are not directly affected. They know from experience that in the near future they themselves may be forced to call upon their fellow-workers for help. They have found that if they fail to help one another they are unable to withstand the onslaughts of powerful capitalistic organizations. In a word, experience has taught trade-unionists the need of united action and mutual assistance.

While, however, practically all trade-unionists are class-conscious in the sense that they feel an identity of interests with fellow-workers, yet until recently few have indorsed the extreme position taken by such organizations as the Western Federation of Miners, and the Industrial Workers of the World. These unions, with a membership of between 50,000 and 100,000, have officially recognized the "class struggle," and have declared that there can be no lasting peace between capitalists and wage-workers.

During the past few years, however, the radical class spirit of the western labor unionists has been spreading to other parts of the country. This has been due chiefly to agitation occasioned by prosecution of the officers of the Western Federation of Miners for murder of the late Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, and to the activity of employers' associations in fighting certain phases of trade-unionism. During the past year the attention of all organized labor has been turned to the trial of the officers. Meetings have been held in all large cities and industrial centers to raise funds and to arouse sympathy for the prisoners. These meetings, which have been generally promoted by socialists, have reached thousands of trade-unionists who had hitherto looked upon the labor problem as a craft, rather than a class, problem. In New York City, alone, over three hundred unions contributed to the defense fund for the prisoners. All told, over $100,000 was raised, most of it coming from unions scattered throughout the country.

The socialist press has made the most of this opportunity to create a strong feeling of class-consciousness among workers. One of the most radical and widely circulated of the socialist

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weeklies, for instance, has devoted more than half its space during the past year to the trial of Haywood, and has, moreover, furnished accounts of the trial to dozens of labor papers throughout the country.

It is not in order here to pass upon the merits of the Haywood case, but simply to point out how it tended to promote a class-conscious spirit among trade-unionists. The labor press, especially the socialistic element, represented the case as an attempt of the capitalistic class to crush out of existence a strong labor union by brutal and illegal methods. That this statement had considerable effect upon even the more conservative unions is shown by the fact that such an organization as the United Mine Workers of America contributed $5,000 to the defense fund. Indeed, it is a matter of common knowledge that this trial tended to break down the barriers between labor organizations in all parts of the country. Trade-unionists and socialists in industrial centers united to form Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone conferences. As a result of this co-operation in a common cause unionists and socialists are much more in sympathy with each other today than they were two years ago.

A much more potent factor making for radicalism has been the aggressive action of employers' associations. From 1903 to 1905 employers' associations and citizens' alliances made vigorous attacks upon certain practices of American trade-unions. They declared that unions must give up the union shop, the sympathetic strike, restriction of output, and the boycott. The chief issue was the union shop. In Chicago, San Francisco, Dayton, Battle Creek, and in many other cities the fight over this issue was a bitter one. Unions in all parts of the country became aroused. The labor press declared that unionism was facing a crisis, and that for self-protection unionists must stand shoulder to shoulder. As a result of these widespread and bitter conflicts unions soon developed a class spirit which they had never before felt. The very organization of powerful employers' associations to combat the demands of unionism made unionists feel that they were engaged in a class struggle. They lost faith in the doctrine of identity of interests between employer and employee and have since expected to gain concession by force only.

The resolution passed at a recent convention of the National Manufacturers' Association in New York City, to raise $1,500,000 in the next three years "To federate the manufacturers of the country to effectively fight industrial oppression," has merely further aroused the fighting spirit of trade-unionists. President Perkins of the Cigar Makers' Union has made the following declaration:

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Every labor organization should immediately start collecting a war fund of its own, not for the purpose of fighting fair manufacturers, but to offset any move the Parry-Post-Van Cleave combine may make against us. . . The time for peace is, so far as the Van Cleave outfit is concerned, past. Let labor meet this crowd with its own weapons.

President Lynch of the International Typographical Union expresses the opinion that,

"With $1,500,000 in the strong-box of the National Manufacturers' Association, and with $5,000.000, $10,000.000, yes, even $20,000.000 in the coffers of the American Federation of Labor and its units, the international and national trade-unions of the North American continent, "industrial oppression" will become a very different quantity and will be "fought" on very different lines."

Secretary-Treasurer Skemp of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers, and Decorators expresses himself as follows:

If the opposition decides to raise an immense industrial war-fund, if there is to be a general combination of employers to crush out trade-unionism, if evolution must give place to revolution, we shall be compelled to meet the issue, but it will be on the initiative or with the consent of American trade-unionism; the responsibility will lie entirely with the American business man.

Another note is sounded by President Hawley of the Switchmen's Union of North America:

Van Cleave says nothing of the trusts which are daily making fortunes for a few individuals through the hard labor of the wage-slave; but he bitterly attacks the trade-unions which only aim to secure the emancipation of the wage-slave.*

As one observes the increasingly warlike attitude taken by employers' association and trade-unions, one is forced to conclude that the day of business unionism is rapidly passing.

That many far-seeing capitalists and labor leaders recognize this fact is shown by the attitude taken by civic federations and other associations formed for the avoidance and settlement of labor disputes. From the outset they have opposed the attacks of employers' associations upon unions, declaring that such attacks can result only in making the labor movement more radical. The *Wall Street Journal* well expressed this view recently

* For the full opinion of these and other labor leaders regarding the attitude taken by the National Manufacturers' Association, see the American Federationist, September, 1907.

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when it commented as follows upon the decision of the National Manufacturers' Association to raise a "war fund" of $1,500.000.

It were better to adopt the suggestion of Secretary Strauss and invite the leaders of organized labor to meet with the manufacturers for joint consultation and action. Co-operation, not war, should be the programme.

It seems hardly necessary to adduce more evidence in proof of the assertion that in the industrial field trade-unionists are thoroughly class-conscious. In this respect, at least, they are essentially socialistic.

2. POLITICAL ACTION.

Since its organization in 1881 the American Federation of Labor has consistently advised its members to use their ballots regardless of party ties to secure social and economic advantages. Until recent years these resolutions have never been taken seriously, and have had little or no effect upon the course of current politics. Indeed, in so far as the unions have taken any positive stand as unions, it has been to taboo political action altogether. "Keep politics out of the union, and the union out of politics!" has been until recently the shibboleth of union leaders generally.

In the summer of 1906, however, the Executive Council of the Federation took a decisive step toward independent political action. They declared that,

Congressmen and senators in their frenzied rush after the almighty dollar have been indifferent or hostile to the rights of man. They have had no time and as little inclination to support the reasonable labor measures which we have urged, and which contained beneficent features for all our people without an obnoxious provision to anyone. We recommend that central bodies and local unions proceed without delay to the election of delegates to meet in conference or convention to formulate plans to further the interests of this movement, and in accordance with the plan herein outlined, at the proper time and in the proper manner, nominate candidates who will unquestionably stand for the enactment into law of labor and progressive measures.*

The following recommendations were then made:

1. Defeat all who have been hostile or indifferent to the demands of labor.

2. If both parties ignore the demands of labor, a straight labor candidate should be nominated.

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* See American Federationist, 1906, p. 530.

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3. The men who have shown themselves to be friendly to labor should be supported and no candidate nominated against them.

To carry out this policy the Executive Council appointed a "Labor Representation Committee" composed of three leading officials of the Federation, and contributions were solicited with which to carry on the campaign.

This move marked a distinct advance over the "resolution" stage toward the active participation of American trade-unions, as such, in politics. The president of the Federation and several other labor leaders took an active part in the congressional campaign of 1906, notably in an effort to defeat certain representatives from Maine, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

While the labor campaign of 1906 brought little direct result, it was, nevertheless, significant in that the unions actually got into the political arena. As the president of the Federation remarked, this was only the beginning. The Federation has given every indication that it will take an active part in future political campaigns along lines suggested above. In this connection it may be well to note that with the increasing class-consciousness in the industrial field, unions will be better able to participate successfully in politics. So long as loyalty to party is greater than loyalty to class the entrance of unions into politics can lead only to confusion, if not disruption. But when unionists stand together and vote as members of a class, there will be much less danger of ruptures.

A noteworthy example of the entrance of American trade-unions into politics is afforded by the city of Milwaukee, where the unions and the Socialist Party are practically co-operating. Of the twelve Socialist aldermen in the city council, five are members of trade-unions; of five Socialist supervisors, four are members of trade-unions; of six Socialist members of the state legislature, four are members of trade-unions. In the words of the state secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, in that state, "The trade-union movement is the economic wing, and the Socialist Party the political wing of the labor movement." Another fact showing the tendency of trade-unionists to co-operate with socialists in the political field is brought out in the following statement from the national secretary of the Socialist Party:

Of the 275 congressional candidates nominated by the Socialist Party in the last election (1906) more than 65 per cent held membership cards in trades organizations, and a large percentage of the balance were men engaged in occupations where no unions exist.

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When trade-unionists do not support the socialists, they generally favor the next most radical candidate. In the New York gubernatorial campaign of 1906, for example, the Democratic candidate, Mr. Hearst, received a large part of his support from the trade-unions. Union after union indorsed his candidacy, and several unionists were put upon the stump by his campaign managers.

It is a significant fact that many prominent labor leaders are now urging their followers to strike at the ballot-box. They go beyond the position taken by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and say that this is the only solution of the labor problem. Among those who have lately taken that position is President Small of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union. He has declared to the striking telegraphers that,

One man at the polls is worth a dozen men on picket duty. This fight [between wage-workers and capitalists] will go on as long as capitalism exists, and right voting is the only thing that will win a permanent victory.

One may ask why trade-unionists are now beginning to favor independent political action. Doubtless there are many contributing causes, but the chief factors seem to be these: (*a*) Failure of the trade-union lobbies at Washington and at the state capitols; (*b*) Political activity of employers' associations; (*c*) Privation and loss incidental to strikes; (*d*) Success in politics of foreign trade-unions; (*e*) Socialist agitation.

The effects of these forces can be clearly traced. In the resolutions of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, quoted above, and upon many other occasions trade-unionists have expressed their dissatisfaction with the treatment which they have received at the hands of our legislatures. They claim that their demands have been ignored and their bills pigeon-holed. At the same time the lobby of the employers' associations seems to have been remarkably succesful. Ex-President Parry of the National Manufacturers' Association claims that it was largely through his efforts that the eight-hour legislation and anti-injunction bills advocated by the labor leaders failed of passage. Under these circumstances labor leaders seem to feel that if they cannot meet employers on equal terms at the lobby, they should apeal directly to the voters. Thus they hope to secure representatives in our legislatures pledged to support labor measures.

It has been well said that every strike is a socialist opportunity. Then it is that wage-earners feel most keenly the conflict with capitalists. And then it is that they are most ready to

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listen to any measure which promises to curtail the employers' power. This is especially true if the workers are forced to endure the privation of a long and bitter struggle. At the time of the anthracite coal strike of 1902, for instance, the socialist vote in Pennsylvania increased several hundred per cent. It is said also that the strike at the Chicago packinghouses in 1904 was directly responsible for the election of two socialists to the Illinois state legislature.

It is dicult to say to what extent the success of working-men in politics abroad has affected the attitude of American trade-unionists. But when the Independent Labor Party sent twenty-nine representatives to the English Parliament a deep impression was made upon American unionists. In other European countries, notably France and Germany, working-men have long supported strong socialist parties. As, however, conditions are quite different in those countries from those prevailing in the United States, the example has not appealed with especial force to American wage-earners. The success in politics of the working-men in Australia and New Zealand has not been without effect. In the former country, after the employers had practically destroyed the trade-unions, the workers resorted to independent political action. They now hold the balance of power there, as in New Zealand, and have succeeded in passing many of their important measures. Moreover, as times goes on, the labor party in those countries is becoming increasingly socialistic.

Finally, the trade-union offers a peculiarly favorable field for the socialist agitator. Every union meeting affords a forum. In the course of time half a dozen intelligent socialists will leaven a whole union. It is true that many unions have constitutional provisions barring the discussion of politics; but the socialists can get in their work without even mentioning politics or the word socialism. Moreover, trade-unionists are much more willing to listen to the socialists today than they were five or ten years ago. At the meeting recently held by the striking telegraphers at Chicago, no speakers were more warmly received than the socialists who frequently addressed them.

Thus we see how many forces are operating to bring trade-unionists to united and independent political action. Hitherto one of the chief distinctions made between trade-unionism and socialism has been that the former was purely economic, while the latter was political. If American trade-unions continue getting into politics this distinction will eventually lose most of its force here as it has done already in England and in several other countries.

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3. COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP.

The third and most distinctive characteristic of a socialistic labor movement is a demand for co-operative ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution. Has this idea been getting any foothold in American unions?

In recent years the socialist delegates have always been more or less prominent in the convention of the American Federation of Labor. They have usually endeavored to pass resolutions favorable to collective ownership of the means of production, but have never been entirely successful. The strength of the socialists in these conventions can be judged fairly well by the fact that in 1905 representatives of about 214,000 members voted for socialistic resolutions, while representatives of 1,128,000 voted against them. This was certainly a very large majority for the anti-socialists, but it should not be overlooked that the vote indicates about 20 per cent of the trade-unionists are socialists. Socialism has, it appears, been making much greater headway among trade-unionists than among the rest of the population. For if 20 per cent of all citizens in the United States should vote the Socialist ticket, the party would poll about 3,000,000 votes.

Several conventions of state federations of labor have officially declared for collective ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution. Such resolutions were passed as early as 1900 by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; in 1901 by the Michigan State Federation of Labor; in 1902 by the Iowa State Federation of Labor; and in 1903 by the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Similar resolutions have been passed in recent years by the central federated unions of New York, Cleveland, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Columbus, Erie, Wilkesbarre, Haverhill, Brockton, Terre Haute, and in many other cities. Of course this does not necessarily mean that even a majority of the trade-unionists in these cities are socialists. But it does mean that at the times when these resolutions were passed at least a majority of the delegates representing the unions of the city were socialists.

In the last decade several national and international unions have officially indorsed the socialist programme by resolution, constitutional provision, or otherwise. Among these are the following:

International Association of Machinists	48,000 members
Pattern Makers' League	9,000
United Metal Workers	22,000
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders	14,000
Amalgamated Engineers	2,000

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United Brewery Workmen	39,000
Bakery and Confectionary Workers	14,000
Boot and Shoe Workers	32,000
Textile Workers	10,000
Ladies Garment Workers	1,800
United Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers	33,000
Woodworkers	20,000
Flint Glass Workers	10,000
Amalgamated Glass Workers	2,800
Carriage and Wagon Workers	3,200
Western Unions, incl. W. F. of Miners	100,000
Total	330,800

While all these unions have indorsed socialism in one way or another, it does not follow that majority of the members in every case are socialists. In fact, the secretaries of some of these unions have stated that their unions cannot be considered socialistic organizations. Delegates of such unions sometimes pass socialistic resolutions one year which are repudiated by another group of delegates the following year. As a general rule, however, any union which has passed socialistic resolutions in the past six or eight years may be looked upon as favorably disposed to socialism.

There are many unions having a large proportion of socialists which have never passed socialistic resolutions. Among these may be mentioned the Cigarmakers with 45,000 members, the Printers with 47,000 members, and the Carpenters with about 145,000 members. Over a third of the Cigarmakers are socialists. The proportion in the other two organizations is probably not so large.

Aside from noting the passage of socialistic resolutions there are several other ways by which one may judge the growth of sentiment favorable to collectivism among trade-unions. We can learn much, for example, from the opinions of laber leaders, the attitude of the trade-union press, and the general support which unions are giving the Socialist Party.

The editor of the *Switchmen's Journal* states, for instance, that judging from personal observation and the correspondence which he receives from members, there is a strong tendency toward socialism in the Switchmen's Union (about 15,000 members). The secretary of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers, and Decorators (65,000 members) states that there is a marked tendency toward socialism in that organization. The opinion of the secretary of the Bricklayers and Masons Union is that in his organization (68,000 members) "there is a very

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large growing sentiment favorable to many of the ideas that are advocated by the socialists as a party."

One of the best indications o fthe growth of socialistic sentiment in trade-unions is the attitude taken by their official journals and newspapers. A decade ago, not only were there few union papers advocating socialism, but there were relatively few which would print socialistic articles and communications. Today all this is changed. Nearly all the union magazines and papers will print articles and letters for or against socialism, and a growing number advocate the socialist solution of the labor problem. Among the union papers which openly advocate socialism may be mentioned the following:

1. *The Cleveland Citizen.* Owned and controlled by the United Trades and Labor Council, Cleveland, Ohio.

2. *The Labor World.* Organ of the Trades Assembly, Columbus, Ohio.

3. *Labor.* Indorsed by the unions of St. Louis.

4. *The Toiler.* Indorsed by Central Labor Union, Terre Haute, Indiana.

5. *The Social Democratic Herald.* Official journal of Milmaukee Trades Council, and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

6. *Union Labor Journal.* Indorsed by Central Labor Union, Erie, Pennsylvania.

7. *Central Union Times.* Indorsed by unions of Jacksonville, Florida.

8. *The Laborer.* Indorsed by unions of Dallas, Texas.

9. *The Crisis.* Organ of Salt Lake City unions and the Utah State Federation of Labor.

10. *The People's Paper.* Indorsed by the unions of Santa Barbara, California,

11. *The Brewers' Journal.* Owned and conducted by the National Brewery Workers' Union, Cincinnati, Ohio.

12. *Bakers' Journal.* Dwned and concluded by National Bakers' Union, Chicago.

13. *The Glass Worker.* Organ of the Amalgamated Glass Workers, Chicago.

14. *The Miners' Magazine.* Owned and conducteNd by the Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colorado.

Other national organs, such as the *Machinists' Journal*, *The Painter and Decorator*, and the *Switchmen's Journal*, incline strongly toward socialism.

Aside from these official organs of local and national unions there are a large number of socialist papers which receive much of their support from trade-unionists. For instance, about 550

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local unions have subscribed to the *Appeal to Reason*, a radical socialist weekly, to be delivered to each of their members, or a total of over 40,000 individual subscriptions. The same paper probably has upon its list at least as many more individual trade-unionist subscribers.

A large part of the stock sold to equip the *Chicago Daily Socialist* was purchased by local trade-unions, as unions. In the same way the unions of New York are supplying fully one-half of the funds with which to start a local socialist daily. The fact that trade-unionists are giving such extensive support to socialist papers shows that they are becoming increasingly favorably to socialistic ideas.

Not only in purchasing their literature but in other more direct ways trade-unionists are aiding the socialists. The Brewers' Union, for instance, contributed $500 to the campaign fund of the Socialist Party in the last national election. Local unions in all parts of the country frequently contribute to socialist campaign funds. Indeed, the organizer of the Socialist Party in New York City states that not only are at least 60 per cent of the local dues-paying members of the party trade-unionists, but that the party receives 35 per cent of its annual campaign funds in contributions from trade-unions. These facts are all the more remarkable when we consider that trade-unions seldom, if ever, contribute to other political parties.

All these facts, the passage of socialistic resolutions, the opinions of labor leaders, the attitude of the trade-union organs, and the general assistance which trade-unions are giving the Socialist Party, show that American trade-unionists are inclining more and more toward the collectivist programme.

The causes for the favorable attitude of trade-unionists toward collectivism are rooted deep in modern economic conditions. The majority of trade-unionists are manual laborers. Of course more or less intelligence and skill are required in their work, but as a rule they deal with physical forces and physical products. They work with visible, tangible things. In factory, mine, and mill the process of production apparently consists solely in the application of physical force to material objects. Few trade-unionists have anything to do with the investment and management of capital or with the marketing of products. Hence they usually fail to see how these activities have any connection with the actual production of commodities.

The present-day middle-class philosophy of rights generally recognizes the act of production as the ultimate source of property rights. All wealth belongs to the producer thereof. When

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trade-unionists more or less consciously apply this philosophy to modern productive processes, they begin to feel that they, the producers of physical goods, should get the entire product of the establishment. They cannot see that the capitalist renders any productive services, and hence they cannot understand how he is entitled to any share of the product.

Of course relatively few wage-earners consciously formulate any of these propositions. Nevertheless the great majority of working-men hold to such views more or less strongly. Regarding millionaires, for example, no expression is more common among wage-earners than that, "they got rich off our labor." One cannot discuss the distribution of wealth with the average trade-unionist for five minutes without hearing this sentiment expressed in some form or other. Indeed, so strongly is this idea rooted in the minds of the orkers that several trade-unions have inserted it in the preambles to their constitutions. In the preamble to the constitution of the Bricklayers'Union, for instance, one reads that, "The trend of employers, assisted by combined capital, is to debase labor and deny it its lawful and just share of what it produces;" in the preamble to the constitution of the International Association of Machinists it is stated to be "The natural right of those who toil to enjoy to the fullest possible extent the wealth created by their labor;" the preamble to the constitution of the Iron Molders' Union declares that, "Under the present social system there is a general tendency to deny the producer the full reward of his industry and skill." Some unions especially in the West have made even more radical assertions.

These quotations illustrate a very general attitude among trade-unionists. They feel that the capitalist is more or less of a parasite living upon wealth produced by others. He is a fifth wheel in the industrial mechanism. He does nothing but extract profits. Hence unionists naturally favor an industrial system in which there will be no capitalists, and the entire economic output will be divided among the workers.

Not only do trade-unionists want a larger share of the economic output, they are also striving to gain greater control over the conditions under which they work. This is apparent in their agitation for the union shop, shorter hours of labor, better sanitary conditions, and protection against dangerous machinery. They usually seek to gain their end in two ways — directly from the employer and indirectly through the state. In so far as the resort to the state — and they are doing so more and more freely — the unions will find themselves in close relations with the socialists, with whom they will undoubtedly find it advantageous to co-operate.

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Indeed, socialists go but a short step beyond trade-unionists when they demand co-operative onership and operation of the means of prouction and distribution. Both trade-unionist and socialist believe that the wage-earner should secure a larger share of the wealth produced, and that he should have greater control over the conditions of his employment. The socialist maintains that the co-operative ownership and control of capital by the workers is the best if not the only means of attaining these ends. Apparently trade-unionists are coming to be more and more disposed to indorse the socialist position.

The evidence cited above seems to show quite conclusively that unionism and socialism are fundamentally associated. In a paper of this kind it is necessary to treat the subject somewhat dogmatically. The tendencies are, however, undoubtedly as described. American trade-unions are becoming more class-conscious; they are going into politics; and they are beginning to demand collective ownership and management of capital.

Some unions manifest these tendencies less markedly than others, but the general tendency is unmistakable. In view of these facts the writer feels that it is not rash to predict that in the course of a few years the situation now prevailing in Wisconsin will become general throughout the United States. "The trade-union movement will be the economic wing, and the Socialist Party the political wing of the labor movement."

JOHN CURTIS KENNEDY.

The University of Chicago.

(From the Journal of Political Economy.)

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Another Foreign Language.

In view of the fact that an effort is being made to impose a new and strange language upon a world already too much linguistically divided, and that some if not many socialists are joining in that effort, it will, perhaps, not be considered superfluous or impertinent for another socialist to make a few observations thereon. And now is an appropriate time for discussing the matter as there are rumors of an intention to bring the project before the Internationalist Socialist Conference for endorsement.

It of course cannot be denied that the existing diversity of languages throughout the world is the cause of very much inconvenience, confusion, misunderstanding and estrangement, and that the universal adoption of one common form of speech would be of inestimable advantage to all mankind. The Socialist advocates of this designed to be universal language bring the additional argument to hear that its introduction and use would be of great value to the Socialist movement, by making, as they claim it will, a highly convenient means of communication between the different divisions of the international body. It would also be, as they assert, a most powerful instrument in establishing a closer and stronger bond of union between comrades now entirely unknown to each other.

The object is certainly one worthy of our best efforts as some such mechanical connection between the parts seems absolutely essential to the success of a world movement such as Socialism is. A little examination however, of the obstacles to be overcome will show that the hope our zealous comrades entertain regarding the possibilities of this or any other new medium of communication, is chimerical in the extreme. That desirable as the object undoubtedly is, it cannot be attained in any reasonable time, if at all, by means of a new and artificial language no matter how easily it may be learned.

Similar experiments have been tried before and we are all familiar with their fate. The pages of history are strewn with the records of their untimely deaths, which alone would be almost enough to discourage other like attempts. In answer to this objection, it is claimed that Esperanto is so much more simple in its construction, so much more comprehensible, so marvelously easy of acquirement and so much better adopted to the purpose of its being than any that have gone before or that now

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exist that it is in no danger of meeting the fate of its predecessors.

Now all this may be perfectly true but in these strenuous days and under the present industrial slavery, when almost every man's time, particularly those in the socialist party, is taken up with the absolute necessary work of fighting the capitalist for a living, he has little leisure or inclination for any mental or physical exertion which has no promise of immediate personal or class benefit.

Furthermore the great body of international Socialism is made up by men and women who have little capacity for the learning of a new language be it ever so simple. Even under the most favorable conditions that could be imagined, its use would not extend beyond a few intellectuals who might find it convenient for personal intercourse. But that would have its objectionable side, in that it would create a sort of hierarchy in our counsels which would deliberate and perhaps promulgate its conclusions in a strange and unknown tongue, and that, obviously, could not be tolerated for a moment in any community or organization of Socialists. These considerations would seem sufficient to deter any comrade from committing himself or endeavoring to commit the party to a proposition whose success is so extremely improbable.

A still stronger argument can be advanced against the launching of this new linguistic creation, which is that we now have ready to our hands a much more powerful and effective instrument than any artificial or spontaneous production could ever be, viz., the English language.

Any one who has observed the movements of population over the earth's surface of late years must have been struck with the magnitude of the gravitation of all nationalities towards English speaking countries. The irresistible force of economic necessity is driving millions of the inhabitants of the Eastern hemisphere to the shores of America, to Australia and to South Africa where they are compelled by force of circumstances to learn the language and where their children learn no other.

Not only that, but English speaking people, traders, tourists, pioneers, explorers and adventurers are pushing their way into every part of the known world, impressing themselves and their speech so strongly upon the nations of those lands as to excite in them an eager desire to know the language, a desire shared by all classes.

Look for a moment at the status of that language to-day. England with her thousand colonies. The United States dominating the Western hemisphere and stretching an arm out to the antipodes, each spreading a knowledge of the mother tongue

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over great and ever greater areas of the earth's surface, with the result that the whole world is now practically doing homage to the sturdy Anglo-Saxon speech.

There was a time not many years ago when French was the language of diplomacy, the language that gave some promise of becoming universal, the language that every gentleman of education was obliged to know.

Now that proud distinction is passing to English and all conditions seem to be shaping themselves for its perpetuation and for its universal sway, the adventurousness of the Briton combined with the enterprise and boldness of the American make a force for the predominance of English against which nothing can prevail.

We the victims of an unprincipled plutocracy justly decry the possession of great individual fortunes and condemn the manner of their acquisition and use, but we must acknowledge that the possessors of that wealth are by their travel and sojourn in foreign lands, helping greatly to spread the knowledge of this coming common tongue in the remotest parts of the world. Thus, by their wanderings and social alliances they are unconsciously, but none the less certainly, preparing the way for a more effective Socialist propaganda, and are large factors in the laying of that foundation upon which the superstructure of solidarity will be constructed.

The forces, therefore, seemingly arrayed against us, are in reality co-operating with us for the establishing of that brotherhood of man and that ideal society ultimately to arise from the present anarchy and chaos.

Granting then that English promises to be the universal language the question suggests itself, in what way does it particularly concern us? Of course we as Socialists are indifferent as to what form of speech will prevail whether it be English, German, Italian, Russian, Egyptian or Yiddish. But assuming it to be English, it is important that the language which is to play so great a part in our work of propaganda should be made as easy of acquisition as possible. To that end, therefore, it is pertinent for Socialists to consider ways and means for its simplification and further extension.

As we have seen, the language is being widely advertised, so to speak, but unfortunately its written form is presented to the world with all its flagrant absurdities, inconsistencies and exasperating exceptions so that the normal difficulties involved in the study of a new language are increased a hundredfold. A native of an English speaking country has no realization of the mental and physical wear and tear the foreigner suffers in trying to master the tongue. The great variety of words to express

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different shades of virtually the same meaning and the eccentric use of the same letter to convey different sounds, are enough to discourage the most persevering.

If with these difficulties, and many others that might be named, the language has forced its way to the position it now holds, how much more rapid would be its extension if relieved of those great handicaps.

Of course it is all a most beautiful, perfect and reasonable system to us who are to the manner born, and we, that is some of us, can discourse very learnedly on the derivation, definition and sensibleness of every word, and explain, to our own satisfaction, anyway, the necessity of using a vast multitude of absolutely superfluous letters in their construction.

A foreigner may think that the only proper function of writing is to express the sound of the spoken word, but we smile at his ingenuousness and inform him that such a use is really a secondary consideration. We say, in effect, that every coach requires a fifth wheel. That all these apparently useless letters are really necessary to make the form a thing of beautiful and symmetrical proportions which it is—not. In truth our system of spelling has been established by custom rather than by reason, and we Socialists know that custom is the greatest enemy to progress the world has ever known.

If we are to be consistent in our beliefs and in our professions as scientific Socialists we must favor the greatest possible extension of the labor saving idea to productive industries, and improve every opportunity to encourage the introduction and application of devices for the elimination of superfluous work. And where is there a more inviting opportunity than in this industry of writing, the greatest of all industries?

It is perfectly fitting and proper, therefore, for us to take an active part in modifying our form of spelling, and aid in the attempt to reduce it to a system based on simplicity with the greatest utility and thereby lessen not only the physical labor of writing for ourselves, but also make the learning of the language easier for those who by economic necessity or for literary culture take up its study.

The peculiarities of English spelling are so well known that it would be superfluous to give examples here but in order to illustrate the point that the only proper function of writing is to convey the sound of the spoken word a few specimens of orthographic freaks will be submitted together with the common sense substitutes:

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Old.	New.	Old.	New,
acknowledge	aknolej	missed	mist
above	abov	meagre	meger
brighten	briten	neighbor	nabor
bouquet	boka	noticed	notist
Coffee	kofy	occasion	okazhun
character	karaktur	oppressed	oprest
delight	delite	possessed	pozest
discipline	disiplin	persuasive	purswaziv
encourage	enkuraj	queen	qene
entrance	entrans	quadruple	qodrupel
follow	falo	righteous	riteyus
fascinate	fasinate	sought	sot
grotesque	grotesk	resolve	rezolv
glass	glas	suspicious	suspishus
honorable	onorabel	taught	tot
hour	our	thorough	thuro
island	iland	eucharist	ukarist
income	inkum	unconscious	unkonshus
jealousy	jelusy	voracious	vorashus
journey	jurny	native	nativ
kick	kik	virtue	virtu
knee	ne	write	rite
loquacious	loqashus	whence	whens
lapse	laps	youth	uthe

In this table of words in everyday use a saving of about 22 per cent. can be made by using the improved spelling, which is some indication of the enormous waste of time, energy and material under the old form. It will be observed that the revolutionary spelling follows certain simple rules which give it a ending with a vowel the vowel has the long sound as in tri, much greater degree of consistency. For example in words mi, si, pra, le and slo. Words ending with a consonant, add "e" to lengthen the vowel, as ran, rane; kot, kote; set, sete; etc. All the letters are restricted to their primary sounds so as to avoid such inconsistencies as bur, her and sir, which should sistences as her and sir, which should be spelled, hur or s. Where the proper phonetic spelling would lenghthen some words it will be better to follow custom as in cold (kold) sold, bold, the aim being to lessen the labor as much as possible.

It is impossible of course to enter upon a full elaboration of this system in a short magazine article, but enough has been given to show that Socialists are just as much justified in eliminating, superfluous work in writing and printing as in any other department of human activity. In fact there is greater justi-

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fication for the reason that the labor saving device can be applied to this industry without any initial expense or loss of time. It is simply a matter of the will and surely when the adoption of the improved form will be of great benefit to himself and to the party, is there any good reason for his hesitation or opposition?

L. JULIAN M. INTYRE.

New York, June 22, 1907.

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A Program For A New Social Order.

I.

THE FIRST DEMAND OF THE PROGRAM.

The first demand of this program for a new social order is a tax on property equal to its income less interest on the improvements.

To illustrate: Let there be four pieces of property—a sky-scraper, a factory, a mine, and a railroad—yielding respectively a net income for the current year of $20,000, $50,000, $100,000 and $10,000,000.

Let the standard rate of interest on money, at this time, and in the place where the property is situated, be four per cent per annum.

On this supposition these several pieces of property will pay a tax for the current year of $20,000, $50,000, $100,000, and $1,000,000, respectively, less four per cent on the appraised value of the improvements.

The foregoing fairly indicates the scope and purpose of the first demand of the program, which purpose is the absorption, by the community, of all income from property except the part thereof which is an income from the improvements. Only this latter remains an individual source of revenue.

II.

THE SECOND DEMAND OF THE PROGRAM.

The second demand of the program calls for the absorption by the community of all property having no improvements upon it.

THIS TAKES THE FORM OF A PROCLAMATION DECLARING THE SAME NATIONAL PROPERTY.

Under this Proclamation the nation at once becomes the owner of all naked town lots, all unused broad acres, all unopened mineral wealth, all forest or timber lands and so on.

III.

Simultaneous with its reductions to national ownership however, the national government turns over the entire body of this property to the several local governments or municipalities in which it is situate—saving certain reservations to be hereafter noted.

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Thereupon, this municipally owned land, destitute of improvement, becomes "open to entry"; or, so to speak, can be acquired as individual property, without price, on a proper undertaking to improve it.

In other words, one will be able to obtain free, or without cost, such of this land as he is prepared to use and will undertake to suitably improve.

What suitable improvement means, in respect to any particular tract or parcel of land, will be determined by the ordinances of the municipality directly concerned.

Under the regulations of the city government of New York for instance, suitable improvement would presumably mean, in respect to a tract of ground in the business quarter, the erection of a very costly building.

On an equal tract of ground in the outskirts of the city however, a modest cottage home might be the only improvement required and demanded.

Further afield, or in the rural communities, where the proclamation will throw large areas of land open for use and improvement, the local regulations will doubtless enable one to obtain acreage property, free of cost, and go to farming, if he likes it, with practially no initial expense.

Thus if a man wants to make a home, secure a small allotment for intensive truck culture, fence and cultivate a field on land that no one else is using, build a factory and start an industry, the land will be given to him for nothing.

He will be under no necessity, as now, to pay out a goodly portion of his money for the mere privilege of improving. He can put the whole of his into betterments.

To be sure, after he has done this the tax gatherer comes along. But he always leaves the owner the prevailing rate of interest on the betterments he has effected—as also, of course an adequate allowance for depreciation.

With such a guarantee one cannot conceive any check to the improvement of property. Rather, indeed, it is reasonable to look forward to increased activity in this direction.

IV.

As we may suppose, of course, the people of each particular nation in the world—speaking through their Congresses, Parliaments, Reichstags or what not—will reserve from local jurisdiction, or retain as national property, such of the lands, falling to it under the proclamation, as seems to them wise and expedient.

Thus let us suppose the Congress of the United States of America to reserve, for administration by the national govern-

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ment, the mineral wealth and timber lands escheating to the nation.

These timber lands, quite naturally, will be turned over to the existing national Bureau of Forestry. And its timber will be disposed of, from time to time, in a manner similar to that which the Forest Service now disposes of the timber from the existing national forests.

As regards the mineral wealth, the nation will not necessarily engage in the mining business.

It will grant or devise such wealth—without any purchase consideration—to whoever will take it out of the ground. The property becomes his, for nothing.

The property is only subject, as it comes to yield a net income, to the payment of an income tax, as made and provided.

This tax, by its very nature, as we have seen will leave the mine owner, in addition to all expenses of operation, wear and tear of his machinery and so forth, interest on the money he invests.

But it will leave him no income from the mine, as such, or from the land which the government gives him for nothing.

V.

RECAPITULATION.

This then is the net outcome of our proposal for the establishment of a new social order:

(I) A tax on improved property equal to its income less interest on the improvements.

(II) The reduction of property with no improvements on it to common ownership, and its transference at cost (or nothing) to bona fide improvers.

(III) The application of the tax to this latter property as soon as it yields any income.

If so be, of course, a piece of property which is already improved, or a piece of naked property after it is improved, yields no more clear income than interest on the improvements, then that property is absolutely immune from taxation.

VI.

THE COLLECTION OF THE TAX.

The programme advocates the collection of the entire tax by the national government.

But no portion of the revenue therefrom is to constitute a national income.

The ground is taken that the transition to the new social order must not be hampered by unnecessary innovation.

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So, for the time being at any rate, no portion of the tax will be applied to national uses.

The several governments of the world will continue to derive their revenues from the customary channels of indirect taxation.

VII.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TAX.

The national government is simply used by the people as a tool for the collection of the tax and its more or less direct distribution to themselves.

The concrete demands of the program in the matter of the distribution of the revenues from the tax are, substantially, as follows:

(I) All taxes must be paid over in their entirety to the several municipal governments within whose limits they are collected—saving such taxes as the national legislature, by specific enactment, may not see fit to distribute in this manner.

(II) That these latter taxes be "pooled," or placed in a general fund for periodic division between all the local governments of the entire nation, pro rata to their population.

Thus suppose it be the expressed or implied will of the people of the nation that the taxes from the railways, from the mines, from the oil wells, the telegraphs and canals, as also the revenue or "stumpage" from the national forests, be placed in such a fund.

Very well then. This fund is divided between the local governments of the land. A town of one hundred thousand inhabitants will receive, out of such fund, a hundred times more than a hamlet of one thousand souls.

But each local government will be the direct beneficiary of the whole of the taxes levied upon property of a local character, such as its residences, stores and office buildings; its fields, factories and workshops.

To each local government will also accrue the taxes paid by the local public service corporations.

VIII.

THE EXPENDITURE OF THE TAXES.

Over the monies accruing to it from the tax, in the foregoing two ways, the local collectivity is sovereign.

Each municipal government applies its revenues to whatever objects and purposes conform with the common or collective sense of the neighborhood.

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IX.

THE SELLING VALUE UNDER THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

Stated as clearly as may be, within the limits we have set ourselves in this communication, the foregoing is the substance of our program for the establishment of a new social system.

Under such an organization of things, by reason of the very character of the proposed income tax, the revenue or profit from the ownership of all property will be reduced to an equation with interest on the mere improvement or building value.

The owner of property as owner, can henceforward obtain no income from his property, other than the equivalence of interest on his betterments.

Any excess of income which accrues to the property owner over and above this does so, not in his capacity of proprietor, but as manager, superintendent, or actual renderer of services in the productive process.

In the last analysis, any income which a man gets, under this order, in excess of interest on his improvements, will be an income from his labor and ability.

Now, when the income from property is reduced to interest from the improvements, the market price of property will spontaneously fall to the worth of the improvements.

In a word, under the proposed new social order, the selling price of all property will spontaneausly adjust itself at, or revolve round, the value of the betterments.

Not only will the market price of property of the more modest character adjust itself at this value, but all property of the most imposing nature.

When, for instance, the tax absorbs the whole of the enormous profits now being made by the railroads (saving interest of betterments and rolling stock) the whole of the value will be squeezed out of all railroad securities (saving the value of the betterments.)

Thereupon the stock exchange quotations of the securities issued by these corporations will fall to an equation with the appraised value of the betterments owned by the railroads.

The value of the securities of our mining corporations, of our industrial trusts, of the express and telegraph companies, and so on, will at the same time likewise undergo a parallel transformation .

X.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP UNDER THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

Under the resulting new social organization the community will be free to establish, from time to time, as may be, whatever

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quantum of public ownership—national, provincial or municipal — is deemed socially necessary and desirable.

When, for instance, in any country, there be a sufficiently voiced demand for the national ownership of the railroads, their nationalization will follow.

When the people of any municipality make up their minds to own their lighting plant, or any other enterprise, its municipalization will be a matter of course.

Moreover any movement in this direction will be immensely facilitated by the tax and the consequent reduction of the market price of these undertakings to the worth of their improvements.

XI.

THE COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

For, when the new social order we have in mind is established, and property falls in value to the price contemplated thereunder, public ownership will not be the big and difficult thing to consummate it now is.

But be this as it may. It is possible to conceive, through the gradual installation of such a form of ownership under the new order—through the steady absorption of improvements by the community and the consequent reduction of both land and the capital upon it to common ownership—the final organization of society into a Co-operative Commonwealth or Socialistic Order.

To be sure, if the world is determinedly set on this it will come. But we do not pretend to say whether it is or not.

XII.

CONCLUSION.

Such, in conclusion, is a summarization of our program for the realization of an essentially simple, but at the same time the most absolute revolutionary and most tremendous structural alteration of property since the world began.

Summarization as we say; for there are problems of detail which in this brief paper one may not venture to discuss.

This much however we hope to have made clear, that our proposed new social order is not a castle in Spain, but, whatever we may think of its equities, an eminently practical proposal, which in these days of universal suffrage can be instanter put into effect.

In a volume that will soon follow this brochure we have promulgated the programme at greater length and hope to have demonstrated not only the practibility but the justice thereof.*

Libby, Mont,. U. S. A.
1892—1907. HENRY BOOTHMAN.

* The New Social Order, cloth $1, postpaid, from the author.

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The Causes Of The Panic*

Lecture delivered in the Garrick Theater, Chicago, Sunday morning, Nov. 24, 1907.

That which is self-contradictory must be transitional; a house divided argainst itself cannot stand. Change is the law of all things, and the only thing in the universe that never changes is the law of change. Everywhere in the cosmos new combinations arise. If some endure longer than others, it is, so far as we can see, because their parts are more harmoniously related, while other less fortunate combinations are the victims of an internecine war, carried on between the various parts of the whole, and resulting in rapid, and, perhaps, violent disintegration.

Ninety-five thousand years is Morgan's estimate of the longevity of tribal Communism, and when we examine that social state and find that it contained no private property, no class divisions, no unemployed problem, we are able to form some opinion as to the reasons for its stability. On the other hand, capitalism, which contains all these things, and many more of the same nature, is tottering to its fall after a reign of little more than a century.

The truth is that the existing social order is a mass of contradictions; its main feature is the antagonism of its parts. To explain how these antagonisms arose, in what they consist, and how they may be abolished, is the task of sociology. So far, the efforts of the official sociologists have resulted in a dismal failure. "We have no real science of society," wailed Benjamin Kidd, and it was impossible for a thinker of his theological tendencies and class affiliations to perceive the reason.

Perhaps no greater misfortune could befall any man, following the university for a profession, than to hold a chair in sociology, or its subdivision, political economy. The most rudimentary attempt to apply to sociology those illuminating methods which have transformed physics and biology, brings him face to face with the fact that the people who have endowed his chair, and to whom he is indebted for his salary, belong to a class of

* Permission Indiana Socialist.

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useless social parasites, who expect his theories to harmonize with the way they get their living.

And so he must choose between the loss of his position, and becoming a practitioner of the noble art of "how not to do it."

In political economy the case is even worse. The professors of political economy have danced on hot plates, and in their efforts to escape the truth have exhibited an intellectual dexterity that has made their so-called science a perpetual comedy. At last, realizing instinctively the hopelessness of their position, they have stopped thinking altogether, and have degenerated into mere collectors of statistics.

Nowhere does this colossal incapacity, resulting from compulsory self-stultification, appear more clearly than in their abortive speculations as to the causes of panics.

In point of absurdity we are fairly safe in awarding the cap and bells to the English economist, Stanley Jevons. Endowed with a brain which had much in common with that of Mr. Mallock, he succeeded in attracting much attention to his theory of sun spots. It appeared to Jevons that sun spots showed periodical fluctuations which ran in cycles of about ten years. If the presence of many sun spots meant unusual activity on the face of the sun, that would mean the radiation of more heat, which would mean more sunshine for the earth, consequently better crops, and, therefore, a season of prosperity. On the other hand, when sun spots were scarce, sunshine would decrease, cold and wet weather would prevail, crops would fail, and then would come the panic.

Unfortunately, Sir William Herschel, the greatest astronomer of that day, declared that it was impossible to say whether or not the sun spots had anything to do with the climate, deciding that on this point "nothing decisive can be obtained." Again, the dates of the various panics contradicted or supported the sun spot dates with an impartiality which led Mr. Jevons to express his "disgust" with the behavior of both.

These difficulties, however, did not prevent the publication of an extensive literature on the theory and the printing of enough books to load a ship.

In his "Commercial Crises of the Nineteenth Century," H. M. Hyndman dismisses Jevons' theory as follows: "This theory was actually accepted for a time, until what was perhaps the worst crisis of the century came in the same year with one of the finest harvests ever known on the planet, and when also the sun's disc was exceptionally afflicted with spots. Then it became apparent to the most credulous that the spots on the sun had as much influence on industrial crises as the spots on the leopard

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in the Zoological Gardens; and that the genius before whose shrine our professors of political economy at Oxford and Cambridge still prostrate themselves had only added another to his long list of blunders."

In the first half of the last century panics had become a recognized item in English social life, and many theories as to their causes were put forward. The theory that there was too much paper that was not backed by gold, until people lost confidence in it, was pressed by so many that in 1844 the Peel Bank Act was passed. This law divided the Bank of England into a banking department and an issue department. The banking department could only get notes from the issue department by depositing an equal amount of gold with the latter. When the banking department was called upon for deposits, in order to get the gold it had to return the notes, which were thus withdrawn from circulation. This act had no effect in staving off panics, but instead had to be itself suspended during the three successive panics of 1847, 1857 and 1866, the first suspension occurring only three years after the passing of the act. A similar act adopted by Austria met the same fate.

In fact, panics seem to pay little attention to monetary systems or currency regulations.

Prof. Jones, of Wisconsin University, who took his degree by writing on this question, and whose book is perhaps the most extensive extant on the subject, says: "The diversity of monetary conditions among the principal countries of the world, coupled with the fact that most of them have been visited by crises, warns us from attaching too much importance to details at this point."

We may here dismiss that group of idealists who hold the "psychological" theory of crises. Horace White, who is a type of this school, observes: "These undulations of trade, of alternate activity and depression in business, have their root in the mental and mortal constitution of mankind." This is, of course, the precise opposite of the position of the materialist who maintains that things mental and moral grow out of the material facts, and that these latter are the "root."

"Loss of confidence" is a result of the panic, and has no place in any statement of the "causes."

Insufficiency of gold, wild-cat speculation, the greed of trusts, and many other things of the same order undoubtedly accentuate the horrors of a panic, and, it may be conceded, that some of them hasten its coming. But he would be a bold Socialist, or rather, no Socialist at all who would assert that any

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one, or all of the above mentioned items combined, would be sufficient to explain the phenomenon we call a panic.

We shall now take up the Socialist explanation of this problem.

We shall here dispense with that analysis of the origin and growth of capitalism, bringing with it those various antagonisms essential to its nature, which has been so brilliantly presented by Engels in his reply to Duehring.

But before proceeding to the main theory we shall consider the antagonism described by Engels as "An antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally." This anarchy in general production has played an important part in all crisis. As no one capitalist knew what other capitalists were doing with regard to the supply of any commodity, all engaged in a mad rush to get to the market first and dispose of their goods.

It is just at this point that the Revisionists, who claim to have outgrown Marx and discarded his obsolete theories, imagine they have found an excellent foothold for their criticism. Anarchy of production, Bernstein maintains, belongs to the early stages of capitalism, and the crises, produced by that cause, will disappear as capitalism reaches later stages.

This was to be accomplished by the trusts regulating production according to the normal demand. Unfortunately for Marx, this could not be foreseen in his day, so his theory explodes and his self-appointed successor, Bernstein, comes forward to take his place. It must be a little disconcerting, however, to have so many Socialists object to the substitution.

Nay, the trusts had already sufficiently regulated industry as to break through the cycle of crises so that they did not reach over into the twentieth century, although one was supposed to be due about the beginning. The appearance of a panic at this time, in the most trustified country in the world, while it may not shake Bernstein's faith, will probably lose him some followers.

"Their (the Revisionists') mistake lies," says Louis Boudin, one of the foremost Marxian scholars in America, "in assuming that the 'anarchy of production' is, according to Marx, the only cause of commercial crises. As a matter of fact, the cause mentioned is not only not the only, but not even the chief cause of crises mentioned by Marx."

That chief cause, says the same writer, is a "constant" factor which no trust can ever regulate, and which cannot be abolished until the capitalist regime is abolished. It is "the dual position of the laborer as a seller of his laborpower and a purchaser of

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the products of his labor-power, and the creation of a surplus-product flowing therefrom which must result in an overproduction of commodities quite apart from the 'anarchy of production.'"

Overproduction, or, as it is sometimes expressed by its other phase, compulsory underconsumption by the working class, is undoubtedly the real cause of panics.

This theory is referred to as "orthodox" and "rather stereotyped," both of which criticisms apply with even greater force to Gravitation and the diurnal motion of the earth. The only thing that is relevant is the question of its truth. Revisionism, with an air of profound wisdom, hints like Hamlet, "I could an' I would," and suggests that great truths have been discovered, which are destined to replace the fallacies of Marx and Engels. Some day we shall be told what these epoch-making principles are, and "the jig will be up." For the present, however, revolutionary conservatives will have to wait until Bernstein lets the cat out of the bag.

One reason for the orthodoxy of the overproduction theory is that its truth is so readily perceived. The great Utopians made no mistake on this point. Robert Owen understood what had happened at the close of the war of 1815.

He said: "The war was the great and most extravagant customer of farmers, manufacturers, and other producers of wealth, and many during this period became very wealthy. * * * And on the day on which the peace was signed, the great customer of the producers died, and prices fell as the demand diminished, until the prime cost of the articles require for war could not be obtained. * * * Barns and farmyards were full, warehouses loaded, and such was our artificial state of society that this very superabundance of wealth was the sole cause of the existing distress. Burn the stock in the farmyards and warehouses, and prosperity would immediately recommence, in the same mannner as if the war had continued."

Fourier called the crisis "a crisis from plethora," when "abundance becomes the source of distress."

Jones says: "The first writer to furnish a consistent theory of the relation between crises and the industrial problem generally was Rodbertus."

Rodbertus' book made its appearance in the middle of the last century, in the form of a letter to his friend Kirchmann. Of this letter Marx said: "It sees through the nature of capitalist production."

Rodbertus says: "If every participant in exchange always retained the entire product of his labor, if his purchasing power,

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therefore, consisted in the market value of the entire product, then no glut could arise from an increase of productiveness; either in respect to any one or to all commodities, until all the participants had received enough of them for their use, until more of them had been produced than is required by society."

Marx, in the second volume of Capital, expresses the same theory thus: "The production of surplus value, and with it individual consumption may be in a flourishing condition, and yet a large part of the commodities may have entered into consumption only apparently, while in reality they may still remain unsold in the hands of the dealers; in other words, they may still be actually in the market. "Now, one stream of commodities follows another, and finally it becomes abvious that the previous stream had been only apparently absorbed by consumption. The commodity capitals compete with one another for a place on the market. The succeeding ones, in order to be able to sell, do so below price. The former streams have not yet been utilized when the payment for them is due. Their owners must declare their insolvency, or sell at any price in order to fulfill their obligations. This sale has nothing whatever to do with the actual condition of the demand. It is merely a question of a demand for payment, of the pressing necessity of transforming commodities into money. Then the crisis comes."

H. M. Hyndman, one of the foremost Socialist scholars of England says: "The times of greatest distress for the mass of the people now, are the times when there is a complete glut of the commodities which they need and which they make."

By far the clearest and most graphic of all the statements of this theory is the one by Engels, in his reply to Duehring: "Since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a

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perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began —in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again."

Professor Jones describing Rodbertus' theory, very cleverly depicts and illustrates the futility of the methods adopted by capitalists to stave off the panic: "The accumulation of a surplus implies a curtailment of the market. The attempt to employ this surplus productively calls for an expanding market, and if this is not found the profits of capital invested in production begin to fall. So long as the capitalist attempts to prevent this fall of profits by reducing wages, he reduces the demand and tightens the noose which strangles industry. Like the backing horse with the lines wound around the hub, every movement to comply with the apparent demands of the situation only tightens the pressure."

The women workers of New York held a meeting in 1893 to discuss the panic of that year. They were not economic scholars, but they concluded from their own observations that the only hope was in the consumption of the things which still remained on the overloaded market. They said to their messenger to the rich women of the city: "Tell them not to cut off their luxuries."

That the present panic, like the rest, is the consequence of overstrained markets, seems to be the opinion of the Wall Street Journal, which has about the best news service in the world. The issue of Friday, Nov. 15th, contains the following:

"Ever since the beginning of the year, thoughtful observers of the situation have been looking for a contraction of business. These observers, however, were mostly in the East and in closer touch with the strictly financial conditions, so that they could feel the strain which was being experienced in all the international markets."

So, "the ditch of a crisis" is the result of the gap between the price of labor power and the value of the commodities which that labor power produces. The trust may regulate industry and modify the anarchy in production, but it can not reduce that gap. On the contrary it does actually widen the chasm by increasing the productivity of labor more rapidly than it increases wages, thus increasing the ratio in which labor is exploited, and, though wages remain stationary or even advance, really reducing the worker's purchasing power relatively to the increased value of his labor products.

So, "the vicious circle," in spite of all that trusts can do, grows more vicious, and its movement as Engels says: "becomes

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more and more a spiral and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by a collision with the center."

The one insoluble problem of capitalism is to dispose of its surplus products. They remain in its system, producing convulsions, which must eventually result in its death. Its hopeless inability to reconcile that contradiction guarantees the impossibility of its perpetuation.

The soil is prolific as ever, the bowels of the earth teem with the fuel and metals which men require. We have the most highly productive machinery the world ever saw, and workers by the million beg the chance to keep the wheels revolving. Society possesses everything necessary to abundantly supply all the wants of all her children. But class ownership of the means of production grips her like a palsy, and poverty stalks abroad in the midst of plenty.

Says Rodbertus: "What, then, should society do? She must step out of this fatal circle, in which she is driven about by prejudices alone, and replace the 'natural' laws, in so far as they are harmful, by rational ones! For this she needs but clear vision and moral strength! It is the part of political economists to sharpen the first. Should the last be lacking for a free resolve, history will indeed have to swing the lash of revolution over her again."

ARTHUR MORROW LEWIS.

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EDITORIAL

What of the Future?

Last month it was a question as to whether there would be an industrial crisis. That question is now settled, unfortunately in the affirmative. The crisis is now upon us. From all directions come reports of countermanding orders, discharging of men, reduction of output, closing down of shops and all the other signs of an industrial crisis.

Steel, long taken as the barometer of industrial prosperity has been the first to feel the shock and has given forth the most striking manifestations of the falling market. The iron trade journals announce that the United States Steel Corporation has cut its production fully one-half with the prospects of reducing it further in the immediate future. Railroads announce a declining rate of income in spite of the rapid increase of population in the localities which they traverse.

The giant bluff of the bankers seems to have succeeded. They have issued Clearing House certificates, had holidays granted and in every way made sport of the law and order of which they ordinarily are the most ardent defenders. The United States Government finally came to the rescue with an issue of fifty million dollars of Panama Canal Bonds, and one hundred million dollars certificates of indebtedness. This is the first time that the national debt has been increased in time of peace, save when President Cleveland took similar steps on a much smaller scale during the panic of 1893.

There has been much discussion among Socialists as to the cause of this panic. Some have even shown an inclination to throw overboard the well known explanation that it is due to the constantly widening margin between the consuming power of the workers and the amount of surplus value derived from exploitation. Several Socialist writers have expressed themselves that this theory had already been discarded though just who discarded it and when, none have stated. A fairly careful examination of such works of Marx as are at hand fails to show any place where he rejected it.

In the second volume of "Capital," pages 86 and 87, his position is stated as follows:

"Thus the production of surplus-value, and with it the individual

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consumption may be in a flourishing condition, and yet a large part of the commodities may have entered into consumption only apparently, while in reality they may still remain unsold in the hands of dealers, in other words, they may still be actually in the market. Now one stream of commodities follows another, and finally it becomes obvious that the previous stream had been only apparently absorbed by consumption. The commodity-capitals compete with one another for a place on the market. The succeeding ones, in order to be able to sell, do so below price. The former streams have not yet been utilized, when the payment for them is due. Their owners must declare their insolvency, or they sell at any price in order to fulfill obligations. This sale has nothing whatever to do with the actual condition of the demand. It is merely a question of a demand for payment, of the pressing necessity of transforming commodities into money. Then a crisis comes. It becomes noticeable, not in the direct decrease of consumptive demand, not in the demand for individual consumption, but in the decrease of exchanges of capital for capital, of the reproductive process of capital."

Boudin in his discussion finds no new theory of crises in Marx aside from this so-called orthodox one. Hyndman's theory of crises lays more emphasis on the limitation of gold than on the lack of the consuming power of the workers, but he does not by any means suggest that the theory as stated above has been discarded by Socialists. In Jones' work on crises, by far the most elaborate in the English language and which is based on by far the most exhaustive study and reading of the subject ever made, he rejects the "over-production" or "under-consumption" theory only because its acceptance implies the labor value theory, an objection which should not be offered by Socialists.

It is true that in the process of circulation of capitalist production as expressed by Marx in his famous formula M-C-M (Money-Commodity-Money) that there is a stage in which the amount of the circulating medium and the manner in which it is used have a great influence. But to imply that a great fundamental upheaval like the present one is caused by a manipulation of the money of a country is to reject the whole philosophy of the Ecoonmic Interpretation of History.

The theory that seeks to explain the present crisis by an insufficient volume of currency is especially weak since never in the history of the world have there been such rapid additions to the gold supply of the world as during the ten years which have just past. Extensive discoveries in the Klondike, in South Africa, Australia and the United States have added new sources of supply. Of even more importance have been the inventions and application of the great mechanical dredges and the improved cyanide process of reducing low grade ores. These have made possible the utilization of low grade placer and quartz deposits respectively and have made gold mining a prosaic manufacturing industry instead of an adventurous lottery.

During this same period the credit system has been increasing and

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developing to an unprecedented extent, making the need for money in proportion to the work done very much less than at any previous stage. Again the amount of money absolutely and per capita is much more in the United States than in many other capitalist countries where there is no crisis at the present time.

Approaching this question from another point of view, — crises overleap all bounds set by varying monetary systems and play havoc with "elastic currency" countries as well as with those with a fixed amount of circulating medium. Hence some cause must be found that will follow the effect across these varying financial and national lines.

There has been another explanation put forward of the present crisis, and sometimes this has been done by Socialists. This is that the collapse came as a result of the fight between Heinze and the Rockefeller crowd which took place just as the panic was starting. That this battle of the industrial giants helped to kick over the tottering sructure is at least probable. But if it had not been tottering they could not have knocked it over. The similar fight between Harriman and Hill over the Northern Pacific a few years ago, although it caused a greater commotion in Wall Street than anything that has occurred at the present time did not bring on an industrial crisis.

Others would explain the crisis as an act of revenge by the great trust magnates as a revenge for Roosevelt's use of the big stick. The reverse of this theory is that Roosevelt caused the panic by too liberal use of the same big stick. There are many things the matter with this theory. In the first place the big stick has not wrought any such havoc in either direction as would cause it to be so very much feared. Not a single trust has been destroyed or seriously interfered with.

The only things that have been accomplished was the levying of the twenty-nine million dollar fine against Standard Oil, which no one is foolish enough to think will ever be paid, and the seizure of a few thousand dollars worth of cigarettes from the Tobacco trust.

But the really weak point in this theory lies in the idea that it is in the power of any body of men to create and prevent crises. Industrial and social progress is controlled by forces that are far more powerful than any few individuals. This is at least true of those great fundamental movements such as produce crises. If this were not so, if capitalists could produce or prolong prosperity and adversity at will, then there would be little hope of the success of Socialism. This would imply sufficient control to prevent the concentration of wealth and the growth of an exploited, rebellious proletariat. The economic interpretation of history is either true or false. If it is true, then any such great social phenomenon as a far-reaching industrial crisis is due to features in the industrial structure itself.

If the Marxian theory of surplus value is true, then it follows that the degree of exploitation is continually increasing with the perfecting of the means of production and that the margin of surplus value is growing

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ever greater. The most frequent objection to this is that there was no evident overproduction preceeding this crisis. The weakness of the objection is that such an overproduction is always invisible immediately prior to the crisis. The overproduction is always potential at the moment immediately preceding the break.

We have made quite an extensive study of the literature of every panic in the United States and never found a mention of overproduction immediately preceding the financial crash, which introduces every industrial crisis. The limit of the market is reached and here and there a few firms begin to feel the pressure while the majority are still apparently overwhelmed with future orders. There comes a slight depression, a calling for financial support by the firms that have first felt the pressure. This causes a slight "tightness" in the money market. Then comes this first falling off in production which instantly reduces the already insufficient consuming power and the potential overproduction becomes active and the crisis is on.

A slight examination of the trade papers during the last summer shows that this was the exact condition during the past twelve months. While these underlying causes are the same in each great crisis, yet the phenomena vary with the changes that take place in capitalist oragnization in industry. During the highly competitive period, the crisis wipes out a majority of the firms. This occurred in 1873. With the coming of the trust, certain firms rose above the crash and were uninjured by it. This was the case in 1893-5, when only the smaller firms went down.

In a completely trustified society, there could not be any bankruptcies, because there would be but one firm in each industry to fail and its failure would practically be impossible.

How near we have approached that stage has been seen by the present crisis. Trusts do not go bankrupt. They simply stop producing until they can commence again.

The effect on the workingman in all cases is practically the same. He is thrown out of employment, goes hungry, becomes a tramp, sees his family suffer.

The question now arises as to how long the present condition will continue. Remembering that the capitalist class is organized thoroughly, that it is fighting for existence before the advancing army of Socialism, we may be sure that every possible means will be taken to shorten the time of depression. Much can be done in this direction. The expenditure of a few hundred million dollars in permanent improvements would afford labor for the great army of unemployed and would wipe the surplus out of existence in short order and start the wheels of industry in motion. That such steps will be taken seems quite likely.

One of the effects of this crisis will be to arouse a rebellious feeling among the working-class. A hungry mass of unemployed workers is not apt to remain satisfied with present conditions. But this discontent will not become spontaneously intelligent. Quite the reverse. It will

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be fruitful ground for the work of the demagogue. It will be a difficult task to direct it into intelligent paths.

If the Socialist Party can do this, if it can rise equal to the task that will be set for it during the coming months it can make history, If not it will be shoved aside until it shall have grown equal to the task.

Social Programs.

We publish in this number an interesting suggestion of how society might be revolutionized if there were no class struggle, no laws of social evolution, no internationalism, no existing society from which we must begin, and which is never twice the same, but whose fundamental law is continuous change.

There are suggestions in the article that may help in formulating Socialist platforms, although it is based more largely on Single Tax than Socialism. It belongs rather in the literature of a generation and more ago, yet we believe it contains enough that is interesting and suggestive to justify reading at the present time.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The Norfolk convention of the American Federation of Labor has come and gone and on the surface no great departure has been made from the policies of previous gatherings of that body. But a beginning has been made that will probably lead to good results. One fact that stands out clearly above all else is that President Gompers dominated the Norfolk meeting more completely than any yet held. It cannot be said that Gompers resorted to unfair methods to enforce his will upon the convention. The simple truth is that the vast majority of delegates agreed with him, outwardly at least, upon every proposition that he favored.

The most powerful influence that aided Gompers in maintaining absolute control of the Norfolk convention was unquestionably the savage attacks made upon him, as well as other trade union officials, by the National Association of Manufacturers. If Van Cleave, Parry, Post & Co. believe they could secure the downfall of Gompers by arranging to assault his integrity while the delegates were assembling they could not have chosen a more inopportune moment. The labor-haters simply fired a boomerang. Those who have differed from Gompers most radically upon questions of principle and policy, and who, by the way, have the highest regard for his rugged honesty and sincerity of purpose, were among the first to pledge him their support in his battle against that branch of capitalism that has dropped the mask and boldly announced its intention of destroying the trade unions.

When during the convention Gompers took the opportunity to reply at length to the charges of dishonesty and insinuations of immorality made against him through certain daily and weekly newspapers, which charges were inspired by the so-called Century Syndicate, a creature of the National Association of Manufacturers, he presented sufficient evidence to satisfy the most exacting critic that not only had the Van Cleave cohorts held out a bribe to make him "safe financially," but also that they intended to resort to the same tactics in the East that the Mine Operators' Association and its Pinkerton hirelings have been practicing in the Western country.

"Gompers did not reveal all the information that he had," said a prominent member of the Federation, executive council. "We have positive knowledge that Van Cleave and his plutocratic friends are developing a thorough system of espionage throughout the organized labor movement. Their minions are instructed not only to spy upon union workmen and gather evidence regarding the activity of agitators and organizers, but they are likewise expected to secure all

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the damaging information that they possibly can against the private character of union officials, and to manufacture such evidence if none can be obtained."

The bosses of the National Association undoubtedly believe if they can destroy the reputation of union officials they will turn the rank and file against their organizations and cause them to become disheartened and withdraw from the unions. Just as the Colorado capitalists started a hullaballoo against an alleged "inner circle," so the Van Cleave outfit has started a loud cry against an "inner circle" in the American Federation of Labor. While it is unlikely that the Eastern plutocrats will go to the lengths of their Western colleagues, especially after the monumental fizzle to railroad Haywood to the gallows; still there will unquestionably be many prosecutions and persecutions to record during the next few years, as the oppressors are not raising a fund of $1,500,000 for fun or because of their love for labor. They have already had several local union officials imprisoned for alleged contempt of court, and they made a desperate effort, during the past month, through the Typothetae, the printing branch of the capitalistic federation, to drive President Berry, of the printing pressmen into jail at Cincinnati for disobeying an injunction, but they failed.

Under the circumstances those delegates who attended the Norfolk convention who are Socialists, agreed among themselves, and unanimously and spontaneously at that, that it was not only their duty as trade unionists to do their part to present a solid front to the common enemy upon the industrial field, but they also owed it to their party to protect it from any charge or even suspicion of being used as a cat'spaw or an ally to assist the damnable work of the labor-haters. The Socialist party made a noble fight to rescue the Western miners from the slutches of the tigerish grand dukes of capitalism, and it can do as much for any and all other trade unions, even though they are conservative and move slower than we could wish.

The class lines are being sharply drawn in this country, and the most indifferent trade unionists are beginning to understand that they are not engaged in a mission that is going to be a summer picnic. We are in a period of transition and entering a new stage of development in organization effort. Heretofore it has been a comparatively easy matter to conduct union business and follow a certain routine and well-defined plans. But in the future, unless the signs of the times are misleading, the trade unions will be compelled to fight step by step to hold what they have gained and make further progress.

So while it is stated above that no apparent change has been made in policies, yet ground work has been prepared that will in all probability lead to a much-needed departure from old moorings.

For example, there was marked impatience manifested with the narrow factionalism born of the jurisdictional entanglements, and every utterance upon the necessity of closer affiliation and more thorough unification struck a responsive chord. The general clamor that the brewery workers' charter be restored and that unions outside of the Federation be invited to join became infectious, while sincere efforts were made on the part of rival organizations to begin the task of establishing lasting harmony. This fact was fully demonstrated when the building crafts, by unanimous vote, agreed to form a department of the Federation and arrange all their jurisdictional disputes without dragging them into conventions. It is not improb-

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able that the long standing controversy between the carpenters and woodworkers will be adjusted by an alliance or amalgamation in the new department, and a number of other annoying contests between rival organizations may likewise be settled.

The fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor from the British Trade Union Congress, Messrs. Shackleton and Hodge, made some interesting observations while in this country during the past month. Both gentlemen are members of Parliament, having been elected by the Labor-Socialist combination in Great Britain, and they are hard-headed, practical workingmen who have had great experience in the labor movement of the old world. Both men are agreed that the organized workers of America are far behind their European brethren in battling for political power. In Great Britain, they say, there has been a tremendous awakening during the past few years. The agitation for political action has become so widespread that the politicians have been thrown into a panic, and today Tories and Liberals are joining hands to beat back the socialistic propaganda. But the action of the old party leaders simply adds fuel to the flames. Meetings by the hundreds are being held throughout the kingdom nightly to stamp out socialism and the daily newspapers teem with columns and columns of "exposures" calculating to picture the horrible conditions that would prevail under a socialistic government. The English delegates are hopeful that the labor representatives in Parliamnt and in local governing bodies will be largely increased during the next few years, while the popular vote is bound to be greatly angmented.

The eight-hour strike of the bookbinders and printing pressmen is growing highly successful. As will be recalled, the United Typothetae of America, the employers' association in the printing trade that stands for the open shop and is affiliated with the new capitalistic federation, made a desperate effort to prevent a strike by securing an injunction against the pressmen in the United States Court at Cincinnati. The restraining order was granted to prohibit the pressmen from voting to strike the Typothetae offices or pay strike benefits on the ground that they would be violating an agreement previously made by President Higgins with the open shop employers to recognize the open shop and institute the eight-hour day in 1909. However, the vote had already been ordered and was proceeded with and resulted in declaring a strike. Thereupon the Typothetae brought proceedings against President Berry upon charges of contempt of court and attempted to have President Berry, of the pressmen, imprisoned, but met with signal defeat. A peculiar situation developed during the trial. It was brought out that affidavits were filed against the pressmen's officials by Ex-President Higgins and Editor Galaskowsky, who conducts the official journal. This treasonable conduct created a sensation in the printing industry, and Higgins and Galaskowsky were denounced in severe terms, even by employers, who expressed heartiest contempt for individuals who had been honored and trusted by their organization, only to endeavor to betray it at a critical period. Meanwhile scores of employers made their peace with the pressmen and inaugurated the eight-hour day, until at present fully 85 per cent of the membership has gained the demand. About 75 per cent of the bookbinders have also succeeded in securing the shorter workday, and, while the battle is in progress in a number of localities, the indications are that the contest will come to an early and satisfactory close.

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A gratifying outcome of the two years' battle in the printing trades, which has cost the workers upward of $4,000,000, is the probability that a printing federation, composed of a half dozen branches, will be established in the near future. Since Higgins has been deposed the best of feeling has prevailed between the officers and members of the printing crafts, and mutual assistance has been extended by the various branches during the last half year.

About the time the Review is issued the balloting for officers among the miners will have concluded. As is generally known, John Mitchell, because of ill health, refused to accept re-election and sought to drop his mantle over the broad shoulders of Secretary W. B. Wilson, who was elected to Congress in one of the Pennsylvania districts last year. Mitchell and Wilson have been close friends for years, and, feeling certain of the latter's promotion, another strong lieutenant of Mitchell, W. D. Ryan, secretary of Illinois miners, was put forward for national secretary. But Vice-President Tom Lewis, who has disagreed with Mitchell upon matters of policy quite frequently, and whose crowning ambition has been to fill the presidential seat, refused to be effaced and took the field against Wilson. A hard campaign has been fought throughout the various mining districts, as it was well understood that, aside from Mitchell's withdrawal from active work in the organization, either Wilson or Lewis would be retired with him, and these two familiar figures would disappear from the surface of the Miners' Union. At this writing it looks as though Lewis is elected, although later returns may change the tide that appears to be running against Wilson, who, if defeated, will have a desperate fight to secure re-election to Congress next year because of the prestige he will have lost. Despite denials to the contrary Mitchell is slated for a public position. For several years there has been some agitation in favor of establishing a governmental department of mines and mining under control of the Department of Commerce and Labor. At the coming session of Congress President Roosevelt is to recommend the formation of a department of mines and mining, and if Congress creates such a bureau Mitchell is to be appointed director of the department. At least that is what several high officials in the miners' union declare.

The injunction proceedings at Washington to restrain the American Federation of Labor officials from maintaining or publishing an unfair or "We don't patronize" list, and which was stubbornly contested by both sides, will be carried from the lower court to the United States Supreme Court. As is well known, the employers' associations who are supporting the Buck Stove & Range Co., plaintiff in the case, have collected an enormous fund to be expended with the specific purpose in view of outlawing all boycotts. On the other hand the A. F. of L. has levied an assessment on the entire membership for the purpose of defending the right to refuse to patronize unfair concerns and to make that fact public. It should be stated that a number of state and local courts have already decided the boycott illegal while others have held that it is lawful to boycott individually or collectively.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

ENGLAND.

The municipal elections which were held during November were widely reported in this country as a "defeat for Socialism." When the returns came in this defeat was found to be of the regular character. All other parties had combined against the Socialists and had thereby prevented any increase in the number of Socialist officers elected while the number of Socialist votes had increased.

Perhaps the livest thing in English politics at the present moment is the suffragette movement. The women who have taken up the fight for the right to vote are adopting the tactics which compelled so much attention last year. They are attending liberal meetings and raising disturbances that compels the police to eject them, and are preparing to make it decidedly warm for Parliament when it assembles. There is plenty of criticisms of these tactics. The general conclusion is that they are not polite and ladylike, but there is a tradition to the effect that revolutions have seldom been noted for these characteristics, and it is certain that more attention has been attracted to the subject of woman suffrage during the last year than in all the years that have been given up to "polite and lady-l'ke" propaganda.

GERMANY.

The Harden trial will not down. The flash light view which it gave of the rottenness of official society was just enough to rouse a suspicion that a further investigation would but show that this was a fair sample of all that lay beneath. On the assemblage of the Reichstag Bebel at once took up the revelations of this trial and gave the government several "bad quarters of an hour" in explaining.

Now it is announced that von Buelow's **bloc** of all the little reactionary parties, obtained at such tremendous cost in the last elections, cannot be depended upon, but is showing signs of dissolving at the first attempt to put any definite program through the Reichstag. Consequently von Buelow is already talking of resigning. Just who the Emperor could call to take his place in such an event has not yet been suggested. It might easily be possible that inability to form a government would compel anew elections, although this is not thought likely, since the German government is by no means as strictly on the cabinet plan as that of some other European countries.

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RUSSIA.

In spite of the fact that the most strenuous and repressive measures were used to prevent the election of any "undersirable" members to the last Douma, that body has proved to be by no means as subservient as the autocracy had expected. There are between twenty and thirty members of the Socialist Party among those elected and many of the remainder are strongly opposed to the government. These have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded them to denounce the Czar from the floor of the Douma until in one case the one speaking was mobbed by the reactionary members of the Douma. The first official action was in reply to the speech from the throne and in this reply the word "autocracy" was stricken from the form of address to the Czar. Famine and starvation are reigning over Russia today. The harvest of wheat and rye is fifty million bushels less than the average for the last five years. As a result of this, the price locally is raised to a great height. In the attempt to raise wages to correspond with the increased cost of living, strikes have broken out that are little more than desperate struggle against starvation. These have been met at once by the Russian government with a reply of "Cossacks, whips and lances." The Jewish Social Democratic paper, Hoffnung, has been again suppressed and six of its force imprisoned. Manuscripts and letters were discovered and confiscated.

BELGIUM.

The trade union conflict has extended to Belgium, the country that has always boasted the absence of any such problem. Individual unions have insisted on managing their own affairs. To some extent these individual unions are following the same policy of the Syndicalist movement of France and this Belgian phase is but a part of a movement that seems to be sweeping over all Europe.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Limit of Wealth, by Alfred L. Hutchinson. The MacMillan Co. Cloth, 285 pp., $1.50.

Just how such a book came to be issued by a house like MacMillan is something of a mystery. It is the sort of book that is usually "Published by the author" and consigned to the "freak shelves" of the library. It is one of the crudest possible sort of Utopias. A marvelous young man from the West discovers a remarkable scheme, elaborates it in a country school house, everyone is converted and the plan is adopted. It consists in limiting "the amount of wealth which a man may accumulate. Disintegrate the surplus beyond that limit, by having the Federal government collect it; distribute that wealth by having the Federal government inaugurate such enterprises as will not come in competition with existing industries, but which will give employment to the unemployed at remunerative wages."

The government then proceeds to build magnificent boulevards across the continent, to inaugurate a new system of education (the description of which enables the author to display his complete ignorance of all modern pedagogy), return the postal service to private ownership (where he can again prove his ignorance of the history and theory of the transmission of mail), to place all persons with the slightest anarchistic tendencies in a sort of cross between a boarding school and an insane asylum (the discussion of which enables him once more to expose his ignorance, this time of anarchy), and to abolish all trade unions and strikes, — in the discussion of which he demonstrates more ignorance of the principles and practices of organized labor than it would seem possible for one man to possess in this day.

In fact the thing that impresses the reader is how a man could have lived and thought enough to have assembled as many words together on the social problem and known so little.

Not that there is absolutely no merit in the book. The author could not absolutely quarantine himself from all knowledge, and he congratulates himself upon the fact that some of the things which he suggests have also been advocated by others, and that some of them bid fair to be realized. This is inevitable. It would be wellnigh impossible to elaborate an imaginary society, some portions of which would not prove prophetic. But in so far as there is anything original in the book it is silly, and is one more horrible example of the danger of writing on a subject so technical as sociology without some knowledge of the literature of the subject.

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Orthodox Socialism, by James Edward Le Rossignol. New York: Thos. Y. Crowell & Co. Cloth, 147pp., $1.00.

Here is a book that is certainly worthy of more attention than the majority of the criticisms of Socialism. The author at least has read the standard writings of Socialists, sufficiently to enable him to use the phrases, although the reader will sometimes wonder if he really grasped the meaning.

He makes much pretense of fairness, yet opens his work with a chapter on "The Creed of Socialism," a covert sneer, and then after asking "If Socialism is a Science, how is it that socialists display so little of that openness of mind, that love for truth, that indifference to contradiction, that sublime patience so characteristic of the true scientific spirit?" He then shows his own true scientific spirit in the next sentence by declaring, without proof, "In fact, Socialism is not a science at all, but a faith, a religion."

He sets out nine articles which he declares are held by the socialists, and while most of these are stated correctly although generally with a bias, more or less distorted, we are somewhat surprised to see that the "iron law of wages" is a part of the Marxian doctrine. He takes up the various fundamental propositions of Socialism and ends by pretending to refute them. On "the labor cost theory of value" he repeats all the long, out-worn objections and insists on confusing prices with value and making it appear that Marx held that the price of everything was fixed by the amount of labor embodied in it.

His chapter on the "iron law of wages" may be passed over, since this is not held by the socialists and certainly not by Marx, who emphatically pointed out that wages could be raised by the associated effort of the workers.

In his description of surplus value, he falls into a most ridiculous error. He says, "A grain dealer buys the crop at 75c a bushel, which he presently sells in a neighboring city for 80c a bushel, thus making a profit of $50.00 upon the transaction. At this point Karl Marx discovered robbery and exploitation." While it is undoubtedly true that some socialists have overworked the idea that the laborer is exploited only in production, it is most certainly true that Marx never claimed that surplus value was produced in any such act of exchange as is here described.

In his reply to the claim that the capitalists are parasitic, he brings forth the old, old argument that some laborers own capital and some capitalists do work, and then justifies interest by saying that it is payment for the use of something. No one denies this, but if a man takes my watch from me and then charges me for using it, it is hardly a justification to say that I get the use of the watch.

The ownership of capital gives the power to extort a return for its use by those who created it, and there is no reason why this property should not be owned co-operatively and used co-operatively and the returns from it enjoyed co-operatively.

His chapter on industrial crises is especially interesting just now since he goes on to show that crises are being eliminated in our present society. He makes a few weak criticisms of the economic interpretation of history, granting its importance but seeking to belittle it with objections, all of which have often been presented and discussed before.

He quotes with approval the statement of Seligman. "There is nothing in common between the economic interpretation of history and the doctrine of surplus value, except the accidental fact that the

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originator of both theories happened to be the same man." This argument has been so often destroyed that one is somewhat surprised to see its reproduction by a man as familiar with socialist literature as Prof. Le Rossignol would seem to be. Very properly for one who is fighting socialism, he spends most of his time over the class struggle. Here he repeats the Bernsteinian argument to show that the miseries of the working class are decreasing. This argument rests partly on a misstatement of a socialist position and partly on a misstatement of the fact. No one who has studied the East End of London, the East Side of New York, or the slum section of any of the older cities will deny that there is an ever increasing degradation such as it is doubtful if the world has ever seen.

On the other hand, the socialists all agree that a portion of the working class have fought and secured conditions for themselves better than what were enjoyed by previous generations, and it is upon this fact that socialists depend for a victorious outcome of the class struggle.

His supposition that "the higher paid laborers will necessarily be conservative" is contrary to facts, since the socialist organizations in every country are composed of just these workers. It is the diamond workers of Amsterdam, who are at once the most highly paid, the best organized and most thoroughly socialistic of any workers in Europe and it was most strikingly brought out when a number of voluntary workers were called for to assist in installing the printing plant of the Chicago Daily Socialist, that it was the most effective and best paid workers who were to be found in the socialist locals.

He denies the coming of a social revolution, but would substitute instead a scheme of social reform. When it comes to guessing about the future, he is beyond possibility of absolute refutation. Socialists can only point to the fact that their predictions have been fulfilled, while those of professional economists have generally proved false, and claim this assures a probability that the same may hold true in the future. On the whole, the book is a good one to sharpen socialist wits, and it would be a good idea if every socialist speaker would read it and be prepared to answer it before starting out.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

NEW BOOKS AND NEW EDITIONS.

Marxian Economics, by Ernest Untermann, long announced and eagerly awaited, was published about the middle of November, and is already delighting hundreds of readers. We shall have to revise all our "first courses" in socialism and lists of small libraries for popular circulation now, for this new book by Ernest Untermann belongs near the beginning of every course and in every socialist library however small. He undertook a work of tremendous difficulty in attempting to give in simple, popular language a statement in one moderate sized volume of the principles established by Marx in all three large volumes of "Capital." And as fast as the comrades read this book, they will readily forgive the author for not finishing it on schedule time.

After a Foreword of twelve pages in which his view-point is clearly explained, the author follows a historical arrangement, as shown by the following table of contents:

I. What is Capital?
II. Labor and Capital.
III. Animal and Human Societies.
IV. Biological and Economic Division of Labor.
V. Societies Without Capital.
VI. The Rise of Commerce.
VII. Commodities and Money.
VIII. The Development of Merchants' Capital.
IX. Merchants' Capital in Phenicia and Greece.
X. Merchants' Capital in Rome.
XI. Merchants' Capital Under Feudalism.
XII. The Rise of Industrial Capitalism.
XIII. From Ancient to Classic Economics.
XIV. The Marxian Theory of Value.
XV. The Marxian Theory of Surplus Value.
XVI. Merchants' Capital Under Capitalism.
XVII. Ground Rent.

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XVIII. Profit, Interest and Rent Under Capitalist Competition.
XIX. The Drift of Industrial Capitalism.
XX. Closing Remarks.

This is one of the very few books that we can commend both to the beginner and the advanced student. A careful reader with scarcely any previous knowledge of socialism can enjoy the book and get much out of it, while even the most advanced students will find it suggestive in a high degree. Cloth, $1.00.

When Things Were Doing, by C. A. Steere, is just ready. It is a story of the coming revolution, and in our opinion the most satisfactory book of the kind yet written by an American author. We are constantly asked how it would be possible for socialists to run the industries of the United States if they should get control of them. Just how these things will be done no one knows nor can know, but how they might be done is told in a delightful fashion in this story. It is just the book to give any new inquirer except the few who take orthodox theology seriously. (These will be better suited with McGrady's "Beyond the Black Ocean, cloth, $1.00, paper, 50c.) "When Things Were Doing" is published in cloth only at $1.00, and it is handsomely bound, so as to make an attractive Christmas present.

The Republic, by N. P. Andresen, deals with some of the same questions, but in the form of a long dialogue on the present and future conditions of American society. It is a book to be recommended to new inquirers rather than to socialists, and to inquirers from professional, business and farming circles rather than to wage-workers. It will with these limitations be an admirable book for a Christmas gift. Cloth, $1.00. Now ready.

Anarchism and Socialism, by George Plechanoff, translated by Eleanor Marx Aveling, now ready, is one of the classics of socialism, and ought to have been published in this country long ago, but we have only lately been able to undertake it. The book is especially timely at this time, because the only serious criticism of the socialist party from a working-class point of view is from revolutionary trade unionists who told that no political action is necessary. Robert Rives La Monte has written an American introduction to the book, in which he points out its value for meeting this criticism, and for showing the historic failure of every revolutionary movement that cut itself off from the political activity of the working class. Cloth, 50c.

God And My Neighbor. This is at once the ablest and the most charming of the books by Robert Blatchford, author of "Merrie England." It has already run through several editions in this country and we know not how many in England, but it has never been offered in such attractive form as now. The new edition, just ready, is in the International Library of Social Science, of which this is the

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18th volume. It is in green cloth, stamped in dark green ink, uniformly with the other volumes of the series.

This book by Blatchford is not a book on socialism but on religion. While the author is a socialist we do not offer it as a socialist book. We offer it as an able presentation, in charming literary style, of a clear thinker's views about the question of religion. If you are a Catholic or an orthodox Protestant, and do not wish to have your opinions criticised, let the book alone and it will not hurt you. If you take no interest whatever in the question of religion, let the book alone and it will not bore you. But if you have studied science more or less and are interested to learn how the newly discovered facts of modern science bear on the question of religion, you will find the book well worth a careful reading. And if you have been connected with some church that is making war on socialism you may be deeply interested in a calm and courteous examination of the church's claims to authority. Cloth. $1.00.

The Universal Kinship, by J. Howard Moore, the third edition of which has just been published in the International Library of Social Science, is one of the most delightful books on Evolution ever written, and makes the complicated subject interesting to thousands who would get no clear ideas from the books usually recommended. The book is enthusiastically praised by Mark Twain, Eugene V. Debs and Jack London, all of whom read it with intense delight. You will do the same if you send for it. Cloth, $1.00.

Love's Coming-of-Age, by Edward Carpenter, is another volume in the same series of which a new edition is just ready, and this book has run through so many editions that we may have lost count; we believe however that the present one is the seventh, and that seven thousand copies have now been printed in America, to say nothing of English editions. This is another charmingly written book. It deals with that delicate subject the sex question, and radically too, yet with such reserve and good taste that even Anthony Comstock has never questioned our right to send the book through the mails. Carpenter, as we have said before in other words, has the double qualifications needed by one who would write on this subject; he is a man of science and poet in one; otherwise he could not have written so clearly nor so sympathethically. Our sex ethics are already being profoundly modified by changing economic conditions, but those who are alarmed over this may be cheered by Carpenter's healthy optimism. Cloth, $1.00.

The American Esperanto Book, by Arthur Baker, of which two thousand copies were printed a few months ago, is now in its second edition, and the demand for the book is increasing. No wonder, for interest in the new language is growing, especially among socialists, and this manual by Baker is the most practical text-book of the

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language to be had, containing exercises, grammar and dictionary all in one handy volume. Cloth, $1.00.

Manifesto de la Komunista Partio. This is a translation by Arthur Baker of the Communist Manifest into Esperanto, with the standard English version printed on opposite pages. It will be an excellent book for those who have advanced far enough in the study of Esperanto to do a little reading, and who prefer to study something worth remembering. The Manifesto, written in 1848, is still one of the most valued books circulated by the Socialist Party in every civilized country today. It is well worthy of being preserved in the international language. This is the 24th volume of the Standard Socialist Series, price 50 cents. Cloth, 50 cents.

Marx's Capital. In December, 1906, we published our own edition of the first volume of Capital, after having for several years been importing and selling the English edition. We thought ourselves rather venturesome in printing so many as two thousand copies, since of the imported books we had sold scarcely five hundred in any one year. But we took the chance, and the comrades have surprised us by buying 2,000 copies inside a year. The second edition of 2,000 is now ready and selling rapidly, though not so rapidly as we could wish. The second volume, published last July, is now in its second thousand, and Ernest Untermann has nearly finished his translation of the third. That volume will be larger than either of the others, and to publish it will involve an outlay of nearly $2,000. Whether we shall be able to publish this third volume early in 1908 will depend in great part on the demand for the first two volumes during the next few months. Either volume is sold separately at $2.00.

OUR FINANCIAL SITUATION.

The book sales for the month of November were $1887.18; this however included about $700 worth of books sold to the Appeal to Reason and paid for in advertising, making the cash receipts from book sales about $1200. The receipts of the Review for the month were $237.88, the increase being due to our advertising the Review in the Appeal to Reason. The sales of stock for the month were $165.51, the smallest monthly receipts from this source for a long time. The only cash contributions during the month were $2.00 from W. W. Harris of New York and $1.70 from W. Frankland of New Zealand, to which contributions Charles H. Kerr, in accordance with his offer for 1907 published some time ago, adds a like amount, $3.70. (This offer expires with the present month, and any who have money to contribute toward putting the publishing house permanently on a cash basis can make it count double by sending it during December.)

The falling off in November receipts is of course due to the financial panic. We explained this in a circular letter to our stockholders mailed just before the end of November, and a number of them have responded already with special cash orders for books or with loans of money. If the panic had struck us earlier, when we

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had large obligations outstanding to printers and binders, the publishing house would have been in serious danger. As it is, we are going to pull through, but we need every dollar that can possibly be raised within the next few days after this number of the Review reaches its readers. It happens fortunately that we are not at all behind with our payments to those who print our books and supply the paper for them. On the other hand, some of these houses are themselves hard pressed for ready money owing to the panic, and are offering us special cash discounts in consideration of our paying their bills before they come due. If we can do this, there will be a substantial saving, and we shall also be able to place future orders on more favorable terms. To do it we need the help of every reader of the Review. Our paid-up capital is now $24,080, but a larger amount than this is already invested in books, plates, and copyrights, not to speak of the accumulated advertising which has resulted in a constant sale for our books, so that more capital is urgently required. Thirty of our stockholders have lent us sums of $50 or more, and there are probably a hundred readers of the Review who could and would do the same if they fully understood the situation. Some of the loans are without interest, and these we agree to repay on five days' notice. The usual arrangement is, however, that we require thirty days' notice, half the time usually required by a savings bank, and pay four per cent interest, one per cent more than is paid by banks in Chicago. Our business was established in 1886, and has grown gradually to its present size. The total debts to non-stockholders are much less than an average month's receipts. Moreover we are not running the business at a loss; the regular monthly receipts are enough to cover each month's expenses; our difficulties arise wholly from lack of sufficient capital. We can therefore show that money will be safer with us than in an average bank today, and it will be used in the interest of the working class instead of against it.

If you are not already a stockholder, send ten dollars now for a share of stock, and you will also receive any books published by us that you may select, to the amount of $4.00 at retail prices if we mail them, or $5.00 if we send them by express at your expense. If you are a stockholder, and can lend us fifty dollars or more on the terms mentioned above, now is the time it will help the most. If you have not, can you not at least send at once a cash order for books for yourself and for your friends? Use our books for your Christmas presents this year. And if you do not know what books you want when you read this, send the money and order the books later.

The Review for 1908.

This has been the most successful year the Review has had, that is to say, the deficit to be made up from the book business and from contributions has been smaller than ever before. Next year we hope to improve the Review, making it no less scientific, yet easier to understand for those comrades whom capitalism has defrauded of an education. Several hundred subscriptions expire with this number, and we hope that each of these subscribers will send in the dollar for his renewal by an early mail. This in itself will be no small help in meeting the problems of the panic.

But whatever you decide to do in view of all we have said, do it now.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Socialism and Art.

WHEN I was asked to speak about "Socialism and Art" involuntarily my mind turned to the days, when, with other thoughtless boys, instead of going to school I preferred to ride to Pompeii and stroll around the ruins, or peep in to the different museums at the silks, gold rings, masks, cameos, columns, mosaics and thousands of other things.

It was there that for the first time I happened to run across a bit of marble inscription in Latin, where it could yet be easily read: Art in Vita et Vita in Arte. Art in Life and Life in Art.

Man in all ages has liked to see his own ideas take form in the material in which he worked. In fact the very rudest races made images of fishes, birds and other simple forms in pottery, long before the art of drawing was developed. The craftsman of the middle ages, who wrought beautiful things in leather, metal and stone was merely engaged in transforming his ideas, his dreams, into a material form. His work was the expression of what he saw, of what he felt.

Man's desire to create cannot be better illustrated than in the play of a child. He is happy building with his blocks or piling the sand and we are led to believe that the desire to make, to create is one of the instincts inborn in man.

In a book entitled "The Physiology of the Brain," Jacques Loeb, Ph. D., formerly of the University of Chicago, says:

"Human happiness is based upon the possibility of a natural and harmonious satisfaction of the instincts. One of the most important instincts is usually not even recognized as such; namely the instinct of workmanship. Lawyers, criminologists and philosophers frequently imagine that only wants make men work.

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This is an erroneous view. We are forced to be active in the same way as ants or bees. The instinct of workmanship would be the greatest source of happiness if it were not for the fact that our present social and economic organization only allows a few to gratify this instinct."

It is upon this physiological basis that William Morris founded his claim on behalf of Labor, which, as he says, "No thinking man can deny is reasonable, that"

> "It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over wearisome nor over anxious."

No other man but an artist and socialist like Morris could conceive such a correlation. First, productive work; second, beautiful forms; third, pleasurable exercise. There we have the *workshop* the *studio* and the *playroom* in one and the same place.

But let us return to the short Latin phrase: Art in Life and Life in Art.

The average man and woman associate "Art" with large halls having wide floors swept and polished spotlessly clean, walls covered with paintings; palms and ferns banked here and there at various turns; electric lights and a few statues supposed to be *ancient productions.* This is their conception of Art.

Webster defines Art as "acquired skill, dexterity, aptitude; method of doing well some special work; the application of knowledge to practical purpose."

John Ruskin, who, with William Morris, gave a real new impulse to Art, defines it, I think, in the true sense. He says:

"Art is man's expression of his joy in labor."

Here he correlates art with the whole of life. These words in their deepest sense mean, man's effort to create his ideal, to decorate with beauty his home, his city, his spirit; to dignify and enrich his sensibilities; to elevate his moral qualities. In a word, it is the unity of parts to the whole.

Whether we speak of Art in this broad sense or in a narrower meaning, the divorce is almost complete.

Note the finish of each piece of handicraft around your home; go into your streets, your theatres, parks and cemeteries. Look about you and you will get a fair idea of the miserable life forced upon the great mass of the people by the Competitive System of Capitalistic Production.

I have said by the Competitive System of Capitalistic Production and I repeat it, because the Philosophy of Economic Determinism shows that class ownership of the means of life is the root of all social evils. The basis of our social structure is the production of "goods." How much pleasure is the portion of our producing men and women? How many do really wish

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to perform the essential labor in the present society? Count them on your fingers. We are all trying to avoid this necessary labor; and why? Because there is no pleasure in it. As Comrade Simons, of Chicago, said:

"The production of goods has become an evil. Here we find the fundamental cause of the whole 'inartistic' and hence painful character of our present society."

We often hear that this or that artist is doing his work mechanically, that he is putting no feeling and very little beauty into it. Our own age must be a part of the "period of decadence" of which the Europeans speak.

It seems sometimes that the wares exhibited for sale in our stores must have been purposely made in ugly and shabby designs when we understand the pleasure and interest the maker might have found in their execution. Take the familiar art of bric-a-brac, pottery or plaster statuary of which we all have small pieces in our homes. If these small statues were given into the hands of the retoucher the result might be that they would rival some of the terra cotta statuettes found in Greece and well known under the name of Tanagras. But this would add a few pennies to the cost of production, and the manufacturer does not want to add the "unnecessary expense."

This is true in the other branches of art. Some mild afternoon take a walk in any of your cemeteries. You will pass rows of monuments arranged in haphazard fashion, without individuality or character, with shabby traceries, and letters and carving wrought with a careless hand. All are executed without thought and in a hasty manner that bears the impress of Commercialism.

From the Monumental News published in Chicago, I clipped this. It was under the heading: "Simplicity in Monumental Design."

> "As a rule the manufacturers of monuments are making monuments, like the manufacturers of barrels or boxes, having as a sole object the desire to get all they can out of it without regard to the question of Art in the design."

And I think that if the present system of production for profit lasts fifty years longer instead of cemeteries in America, we shall have a good many stone yards of dilapidated and indistinct markers to be measured by the perch and the cord. On every hand we have what Morris would call the "Pretence of Art." You may find exceptions but they are in spite of, not on account of it. And the working people have no opportunity to enjoy it.

Construction and Decoration should go hand in hand. Utility and Beauty must be indissolubly united. To test this assertion, let us examine the houses of the middle class as well as

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the homes of the laborers. We find long monotonous rows of brick flats, ugly, shoddy and gloomy outside as well as in, and two story frame shacks that degrade the name of house. The builder has been commanded to decorate them. A few strips of fluted plank are nailed on the outside, with crude gew-gaws meant to be bas-relief pasted on in so careless a fashion that after the strain of the first winter you may pick them up from the ground and cast them into the ash barrel.

The editor of Country Life in America, a non-socialist publication, attributes it to the following cause:

"Much of the architectual degradation in America is due to the New World Commercialism and should consequently be considered prayerfully and with humility. There is nothing quite so hideous as an entire street lined with houses all alike with the possible exception of a few superficial details. No aisle of elms or maples will ever serve to relieve such a street of its bourgeois hideousness. It ought to be possible to secure an injunction restraining real estate companies from perpetrating such crimes against good taste."

All this Architectural degradation the editor of Country Life in America says is due to Commercialism. This is another way of saying the Capitalist System of Production.

No man could speak like this at the time of Greece and Rome, or in the dear old days of Michel Angelo. In the former case the architects and sculptors of the Parthenon knew well that all they created was for all the citizens of the Republic. The slave could enjoy the beauties of the Coliseum as well as the patrician. Both could intelligently understand what Art is.

Art was popular in those days. It was not a fad for the parasitic few.

The same can be said of the Middle Ages. The four preceding centuries of popular Art laid the foundation of the great Italian Renaissance. I will try to tell you about this large army of craftsmen, who have left us the Vatican and Notre Dame with their beautiful traceries and original carvings, full of dignity and character.

The oppressive Baron was on their backs and a pretty rigid line separated the serf from his Feudal Lord. You must remember that this was arbitrary.

The crafts divided into Guilds were strictly watched at the door of each Craft. But the production of wares was for domestic use and only the very little surplus of what was needed at home went into the market. There was not yet the division of labor which has taken away the joy in work.

A boy accepted as an apprentice would learn his craft from beginning to end. For illustration take the marble worker.

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Accepted as an apprentice he learned to polish. As soon as he had mastered the first step he was given a chisel and practiced squaring a simple slab. He spent two or three hours daily training hand and brain in elementary geometry and architectural drawings. Ere long he was attempting small free-hand drawings or modeling at odd moments and by and by he carved in marble the roses he had already modeled. He never stopped, was always working, striving and progressing. He became more or less master of his trade but this did not satisfy him. He continued to try bigger designs, to "better himself" as they say. There was always something new to be conquered. The combination of many different colored marbles made beautiful interlaced patterns for altars and pulpits. He made new designs and used them and became a skillful mosaic worker. The master demanded only that the work be thoughtfully and well done. The workman was not used like a slave. There was no foreman to rush about at his heels demanding that everything be accomplished with his eternal "RUSH" and "Hurry." Men were allowed to execute their work leisurely, with thought pleasure.

And at this point I wish to lay all possible emphasis on the fact that it is during the leisure time that the mind of man turns to higher things. It is leisure that enables a true appreciation of Art to take root in the masses.

The cry we hear nowdays of indifference to Art is due to lack of education in taste, as well as to a lack of leisure. This cannot be otherwise under the present system. The mass of the people have little or no leisure in which to divert their minds collectively or individually from the more sordid necessities of life. Under a better and happier system of society when the essential class, who perform the useful work of society, have more leisure they will soon learn to recognize, to love and understand Art in all its forms and manifestations.

During the Renaissance the workman's hand and brain had an opportunity to develop according to his capacity because one man could design and supervise the work as well as carve the statuary and fresco the walls not only of the Vatican but of the other public buildings as well.

It is true Michael Angelo did not work alone. Other artists worked under his direction, with him. It was a co-operative labor of both hands and brains. Each did his best, subordinate to the whole. No one lost his individuality.

Competition was unknown. Waste and destruction, the main features of the present system of society, were impossible. It was unnecessary to cut another man's throat in order to protect your own. Your gain was not another's loss. The motto

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of those days was not "Each man for himself and the Devil take the Hindmost." To quote Morris again,

"It was this system which had not learned the lesson that man was made for commerce but supposed in its simplicity that commerce was made for man."

Love for the beautiful was the only incentive to these artists and craftsmen. To them beauty of form was more than a pleasure to the mind and eye. It means education in the loftiest sense and refinement of soul. Beauty was to them a religion.

But the world is always evolving. Toward the beginning of the 17th century, as competitive commerce began to develop, the glorious Renaissance faded rapidly into oblivion. At the end of this century we still possess these arts and crafts, but their vitality, the Soul is dead!

As the master craftsman became a small capitalist, the free craftsman of former days became a journeyman. Here we have the workshop. Man's ingenuity invents the machine so that the unit of manufacture is no longer a man. He is become but a fragment of it.

New markets are opening. Commerce demands continually larger and more expansive factories where the workmen collected are helpless without the body of officials over them known as foremen. The laborer may have nothing to do from the begining of one year to another but feed a machine; he may merely lift a lever at monotonous intervals. The foreman, clerk, draftsman, manager, drummer, and the capitalist are all over him, each deemed more important than he who does the work.

Here he is only a part of the machine, performing the same tasks year after year. He works automatically and the faster he works the greater are the profits accruing to the masters.

All through the 18th century old machines were being discarded or perfected and new ones invented so rapidly that it is with difficulty that we keep pace with the changing order.

The automatic machine appeared toward the end of this century and has transformed the workman into a tender or operator. His brain is useless in the work he is now called to perform. He has become mere hands. In fact the capitalists' advertisements read, "Hands Wanted." And the laborer applying at the factory gates asks "A'nt you employing any 'hands' to-day?"

In the 20th century the pace is accelerated until every year or two brings complete and marvelous changes in the wonderful tools of production. Now we see in every large factory a few experts directing each department and a multitude of untrained men, women and children operating an infinity of machines.

And still the cry of our manufacturers to-day is, "More

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machinery! Labor-saving machinery!" Machinery to save the cost, not the pain, of Labor. It is in saving the cost of labor that profits are increased. This is all the capitalist desires. For this reason he embarked in business. Profits! More Profits! Larger dividends! What does he care about Art?

It was John Ruskin who said: "Life without industry is guilt and industry without art is brutality."

I am sure he referred to modern industry which has robbed work of all joy and pleasure. I still see the bit of marble slab in the National Museum of Naples. Though I was unable to understand the sentence then, I have never forgotten the words,

Art in Life and Life in Art."

The present society has ruined art and thus destroyed the pleasure of life. And life without joy, life without pleasure, life without art is brutality!

Is there anything more brutal than the Greed of Capitalism! The Greed that has bowels for profit only! That buys and sells miserable young artists, seeing nothing but Dividends!

All through Europe the shops and studios are filled with young men and young women of talent who are striving, suffering year after year to see realized their sacred ideals. They live unknown and despised in an environment where Greed, Lying, Cheating, Humbug, Bigotry, and Hypocrisy reign supreme, where the only ideal is Profit!

But in spite of the brutality which surrounds us, Art is not dead. We know that Art is vital to humanity, but what is our hope for a full revival of it? How can the world become art-loving! Revolution is the price to be paid for making the world happy!

The best artists in Europe are turning to the Socialist movement because it is the only revolutionary party. When the people will rebel in a body and throw Capitalism in the same grave with Chattel Slavery, Serfdom and Feudalism, then shall Art revive in all its glory.

It will be then that my children can be educated, each according to his capacity instead of according to the amount of money I have. It will be then only that Humanity will enjoy that Art that is the

"Expression of Man's joy in production."

GIOVANNI B. CIVALE.

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The Element of Faith in Marxian Socialism.

ONE of the main postulates of any really modern view of the world is the entire relativity of all knowledge, whether it call itself scientific or religious, historical or exact. At times this may have a distinctly depressing effect upon any thoughtful man or woman. In the search for truth, or in our efforts after an ideal society, in our longing for the satisfactions of our higher life; we are constantly confronted with the admitted possibility of entire mistake and utter failure.

It is at this point that the individual is sustained by the Social hope, and the sense that at the worst his efforts if honest will by their very wreckage, perhaps, warn others from the rocks. This fundamental faith in the "worth" or "value" of life devoted to knowing and being is ultimately un-analysable. We may speak of it as the product of all evolution—as it doubtless is—but that does not prove that it is rational. It is open to any one to maintain the contrary without any intellectual suicide (Schopenhauer—Buddha).

Again the modern religious teacher is constantly distinguishing between the ultimate religious elements in any view of life, and the dogmatic forms under which these elements seek to express themselves, though often losing themselves in so doing. And one of the chief causes of the failure of middle-class Protestantism to-day is its identification of worn-out and false dogmatic formulae with the essential message which gave it organizing value as a factor in the word's renaissance. Many things are true as long as they are the simple expression of life's experience, and the formulation for practical purposes of what we know, as far as we can know anything, and of what we feel with every heartbeat of our body. And these same things cease to be true when hardened into dogmas and made the "rule for every rational being" like a maxim of Kant.

Surely we who acknowledge with humble thankfulness our indebtedness to Karl Marx will best repay that indebtedness by seeing to it that his high scientific faith and his tentative philosophic formulae do not harden into dogmas in just the way the sayings of Jesus and Paul, of Luther and Wesley have been hardened into the bondage that make the relative social fruitlessness of their followers an historic tragedy.

Laws in any realm are only tentative hypotheses. The "law" of gravitation is simply our formulation of our limited experience of earth and stars. Our faith, however, is that it will

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serve our purpose until a still wider generalization takes its place. This fundamental faith is "religious" in the highest sense. It is the resting upon an assumed order in the universe, an order we cannot prove, but which underlies all our trying to understand.

Exactly the same religious element underlies the philosophy of Karl Marx. Amidst poverty and neglect, persecution and scorn, his faith in an underlying order in men's affairs working itself out in economic laws, kept him true to himself, and led him to fearlessly stake not only his own seeming welfare, but what was far greater heroism, the welfare of wife and children upon the issue.

The three generalizations which rudely express that faith all represent various aspects of life actively. The economic interpretation of history is socialism interpreted principally as a philosophy of life. The theory of surplus value is socialism mainly thought of as an economic theory and a really scientific political economy. The class struggle is socialism mainly treated as a political tactic for the consummation of proletarian hopes. Into each of them there enters at the very beginning elements of really quite sublime faith. The successful comfortable middle-class thinker can with sneer and scoff most easily resist the impact of the new conceptions involved. But denial of them all involves even intellectually no necessary mental suicide. It is easy to say the class struggle will be no more successful now than in Babylon, Egypt, Rome or all down the century, and no demonstration of new industrial conditions or of seeming tendencies can be really conclusive, for after all we have no experience that shuts off the possibility of the hopeless bankruptcy of the existing social order, and the establishment, say, of a new chattel slavery.

We who have faith, see that this cannot be the case. We see the facts whose interpretation in the light of Marx and Darwin, of Kant and LaPlace make us joyfully certain of the outcome. But without this faith a contented bourgeoisie or even a discontented proletariat may blindly stagger on in the bogs of social selfishness and industrial individualism. Faith is not believing without evidence, but without initial faith in an ultimate order, giving content and meaning to life's struggle the rational thing is to selfishly seek the greatest amount of such values as remain, and say *"apres moi le deluge!"*

The writer is personally particularly interested in the formula of the economic interpretation of history. The danger that it harden into a barren and utterly unscientific fatalism lies easily at hand. The historic analogy of the history of theological determinism suggests both the danger and the rem-

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edy. To a small persecuted group of un-influential protestants against the social order there was, no doubt, tremendous strength in the sense that success was foreordained, and that God was sovereign. They had no such generalization of history as might entitle them to say, as we say, that the economic outcome is assured on the basis of economic law. Theirs was a strictly religious faith in a magic setting, and as such gave to them as to Paul and Augustine a wonderful source of power and influence. But when in the seventeenth century this faith hardened into a dogma of divine decrees, separated from all real social hope and enthusiasm and ministering only to the selfish individual wish to escape hell and gain heaven, it became a horrible lie, a misinterpretation of life and an insult to God.

In exactly the same way we may absolutely misunderstand our world, by teaching it as a non-psychic mechanism. Any thorough-going view of the world assumes throughout orderly sequence and unbroken law. The laws, however, are in the highest sense psychological and ethical as well as mechanical and historical. Psychic and ethical factors are as much part of the economic web as climate and geography. It is no "explanation" of ethics to say that they are the "product" of social mechanism, any more than it is true to say that social mechanism is the "product" of ethics. To raise this question of priority in time is to confuse issues that should never be confounded.

There are no single causes, there are no single effects. We move in a complex of conditions, and it is impossible to alter one condition without at once changing the whole complex. The doctrine of causation has proved useful, indeed so useful that it is doubtful whether we now could ever, save in theory, rid ourselves of it. But the classification of causes and effects in priority of time save for practical purposes is child's play to be relegated to scholasticism.

For practical purposes we call human purpose an efficient cause, and must treat it as such, however much we may in the study reduce it to an effect or complex of effects. We must act as though we were free, and appeal to men as though they could act freely, and our appeals become "causes." In the law courts, political assemblies, in business relations, in the class room we deal with psychic factors in a web of causes and effects, whose relations to the non-psychic factors remind us of all knowledge moving in the subject-object relationship. To attempt to escape from the inherent limitations of the thinking process may be natural, but has been so far most distinctly marked by failure. And to separate out one set of factors and call them "causes" and another set "effects" is both childish and un-scientific.

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What then is the social usefulness of the Marxian formulae? Much every way. It expresses to the struggling, hoping minority our firm faith that the whole universe is with us, that the whole warp and woof of conditioned life insures ultimate victory. We may seem helpless and can only protest, but economic causes are fighting, like the stars in their courses, for economic justice and the final consumation of a classless industrial brotherhood. This faith becomes itself a tremendously efficient cause, and even a grain of it can move mountains. It is not as a dogma, but as a philosophic faith that the doctrine has value. And it loses that value when reduced to the almost childish absurd medievalism of a Loria. Surely the function of a really intelligent modern socialist review is to sometimes save socialism from its friends.

THOMAS C. HALL.

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Bernard Shaw.

THE time has come to put in a word for the man who laughs. We have had too many tomes written on behalf of the man of silence—as if negation were a virtue; too many tomes for the sincere man—as if Stonehenge were anything better than some good building material gone to waste. Irreverence is the mainspring of progress, and irreverence is only a vulgar name for the scientific method. At the bottom of the scientific method is a well-defined sense of humor; from which it is to be gathered that the man who would keep abreast of the times and their tendencies, must be born with, acquire or have thrust upon him the capacity to discern between the sublime and the ridiculous.

This attribute is also essential to enable one to perceive the eternal fitness of things, to mark their relative importance and proportion, and to feel certain of the psychological moment to aim a straight jab for the solar plexus or manipulate a coup d'etat. Ingersoll's is a sterling tribute to Abe Lincoln, only because Ingersoll was possessed of and could therefore appreciate in Lincoln the sense of humor. By just the amount that Lincoln towered above his self-sufficient contemporaries, does Ingersoll's tribute excel the mass of lip worship that all but smothers the memory of Abe Lincoln.

The sense of humor is a faculty that Marx had developed to an inordinate degree. Even when his theory of value becomes a household maxim, and the language of the "Manifesto" is common parlance—even then will Marx be read and enjoyed for his magnificent wit. Proudhon's solitary claim for recognition on the part of history rests in the fact that he inspired the "Poverty of Philosophy." The puncturing of the Senior Last Hour bubble is only a pin thrust; the monumental nature of Marx's wit is grasped when we consider how his interpretation of history makes of private property a mere bird of passage, already on the wing before the blasts of the Social Revolution. Had Marx taken the capitalist regime without a grain of salt—which too many Socialists are prone to do—instead of overtoppling the prevailing scheme of thought, and devoting his energies to the organization of the militant proletariat, Marx (with Proudhon) might have terminated his career of usefulness an honored and respected member of the Society for the Mitigation of Unseemly Conduct among Urchins.

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There must be some reason for it when men of mediocre capacities are kept guessing—as they are about Bernard Shaw. "Is he serious; or, is he jester plenipotentiary to the universe?" To be sure, what Bernard Shaw says has an element of truth in it, "grossly exaggerated" though it be. Possibly, in the course of several generations, will our so-called critics (penny-a-line space spoilers), "light-hearted paragraphists who gather their ideas by listening to one another's braying," learn that it is not a question of *how* Shaw says it, but *what* he says.

Shaw was once a very young man and, like a great many of us, the exuberance of youth ran away with him. Having a *normal* vision, he saw that the times were out of joint, and he elected himself born to set them right. Hence his work in the "Fabian Essays." Having tried in vain to revolutionize John Bull's mental attitude over night, he sat down to the task of smuggling his thoughts in by the slower process of suggestion. For some years he foisted good Socialist doctrine upon an unsuspecting, conservative reading public, in the supposition that it was dramatic criticism. Growing impatient, however, with the denseness of his subject (John Bull, of course), he changed his field of operation to the world of the stage. As a consequence, no less than two American actors (really Americanized Britishers) can talk sense upon the stage without acting as if they were cramped for room.

It will not be amiss here to give a taste of Shaw's quality, along about the time he was a journeyman in dramatic criticism. The excerpts are taken from his weekly contributions, now collected in "Dramatic Opinions and Essays."

"It is an instinct with me personally to attack every idea which has been full grown for ten years, especially if it claims to be the foundation of al human society."—Vol. I., p. 313.

"The truce with Shakespeare is over. It was only possible whilst 'Hamlet' was on the stage. 'Hamlet' is the tragedy of private life—nay, of individual bachelor poet life. It belongs to a detached residence, a select library, an exclusive circle, to no occupation, to fat homeless boredom, to impenitent mugwumpism, to the illusion that the futility of these things is the futility of existence, and its contemplation philosophy: in short, to the dream-fed gentlemanism of the stage which Shakespeare inaugurated in English literature: the age, that is, of the rising middle class bringing into power the ideas taught it by its servants in the kitchen, and its fathers in the shop—ideas now happily passing away as the onslaught of modern democracy offers to the kitchen taught and home-bred the alternative of achieving a real superiority or going ignominiously under in the class-conflict."—Vol. II., p. 398.

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From the above it can be gathered that Shaw is aware of the transient nature of the present disorder. The all-absorbing question as to whether or not Shaw's Socialism is sound, will therefore be waived. Such Socialists as are incapable of recognizing the simon pure article when not labeled "class-conscious, uncompromising, militant, revolutionary, Marxian" are herewith invited to exasperate themselves to their heart's content over it and hide their heads for shame between the covers of "On Going to Church."

It is well to remember (strange it would be if he did not profit by his experience with the reading public) that Shaw had to accept the material at hand. What's the use of reiterating sixty times an hour from the soap-box that the capitalist system is breaking down, if the people will not take your word for it? Better to begin with what your audience is willing to concede, and aeroplane it into the unknown. If Ibsen's plays of modern life are essentially rural or suburban, true it is that Shaw's stylus is pointed at the remnants of the middle class and that element among the working class intellectuals which is craning its neck to sniff aroma for inspiration from the putrefying upper class. Practically all of Shaw's plays, in which modern institutions are exposed, concern themselves with life among the middle class and present the middle class outlook. Instead of sanctimoniously anointing the head of the prostitute, or the smug dealer in human flesh, typified by Mrs. Warren, Shaw tells us, in the words of Mrs. Warren's daughter, that prostitution may be preferable to drudgery in a white lead factory, but that neither is a solution to the great social evil, and that there can be no solution under the profit system.

Right here it may be inserted and underscored, that Shaw has nothing but contempt for those among the working class who imagine they are "free and emancipated" when they are merely aping the immoralities of the idle rich. For their edification, he offers "How He Lied to her Husband" as an antidote for "Candida." (Anarchist papers please copy.)

This, indeed, is the keynote and the philosophy of Shaw's plays. Every man has a philosophy, as Shaw points out, an explanation of the events occuring about him, a theory outlining the interdependence of men's actions, the scope of the influence exercised by economic and ideological factors,—however vague may be the lines that unite these forces into one philosophical system. Shaw's plays and his philosophy are therefore the verbal vesture of the thoughts, the impulses and their restraints, the hungers and their satieties, the loves and the hates, the successes and the tribulations, the joy and the anguish, the hopes and the fears,—in short, all the transcendent aspirations and the

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world dreams of that bundle of corpuscles and nerves, of gray matter and life force surging through the frame that men on the street recognize as Bernard Shaw.

The world is somewhat slow in learning that every man has an interpretation of life, be it never so crude and inconsistent; that an author pours out into his work his very life's blood,—aye, he sounds depths in himself the immensity of which startle no one more so than himself,—pours it out for the insatiable thirst of those who run and read and profit by it. It is small cause for wonder that Shaw's Socialism permeates all his work. Different language, different characters, different circumstances, different plots, different plays, but all carry the same message. Those who do not know what Socialism means, who have never experienced the sensation of being possessed, every fibre of you, with the concept of a mission that challenges humanity—such as these can never comprehend Bernard Shaw. For such as these the memory of Chatterton and Keats will waken no sentiment of aversion for a system that crucifies genius; such as these will never know why Eugene Marschbanks is possibly the finest character that ever sprang from a poet's imagination.

Once we accept the Socialist viewpoint for Shaw, the rest follows. Every one of his plays takes its place in the masonry of his philosophy, an integral part of the structure. Every play has for us a profounder significance than merely picturing the particular class institution which it satirizes. We forget that the "Man of Destiny" is Emerson's essay plagiarized; that "You Never can Tell" is Hauptmann's "Coming of Peace" more palatably presented. Embracing it all, infused into it and inspiring it, is the intensest hatred for private property, and class rule—a hatred so bitter, that, were it not for the relief to be found in merriment, would surely drive its possessor to desperation or madness.

With that, too, the characters of Bernard Shaw's plays become flesh and blood. Dickens never drew men and women truer to life. Who does not know the Reverend James Mavor Morrell? And who cannot see in Roebuck Ramsden another Elbert Hubbard?*

To those who believe that Shaw's wit is extravagant, no apology need be made. Possibly the most striking instance of this fault would be considered the personnel of Mendoza's bandits, numbering among them, as they do, three Social-Democrats, none of whom is on speaking terms with the others, and an Anarchist. But is this humor too broad? If humor there be in

* The linking together of the names of Roebuck Ramsden and Elbert Hubbard is purely gratuitous and uncalled for. In the play, Ramsden's ideas are of the vintage of 1860. As is notorious, Hubbard antedates Ramsden by at least a century.—J. E. C.

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the scene of the bandits discussing philosophy when they ought to be about their business of holding up the rich, then it is the humor of the trades union, throwing its floor open to every votary of wage-slavery and denying a voice to the bearer of tidings of deliverance,—it is the humor of our own party, moving to rescind the Dred Scot decision and to repeal the Alien and Sedition laws, instead of dealing with the campaign of the year 1908.

Shaw has not written for the public of to-morrow, the working class. He has written for the public of to-day—even of yesterday. As he himself says, in the introduction to the "Irrational Knot": "I never climbed any ladder. I have achieved eminence by sheer gravitation." In fact, no better evidence is needed to show that Shaw is *behind the times,* that he has "dated," than that he is the subject of attention by those antiquarian twins par excellence, the Ethical Culture and Liberal League lecturers.

But will Shaw be understood tomorrow? We think of a plain, homely man-of-power, who was wont to open sessions of state by reading a chapter from the work of a contemporary humorist. Only in the light of coming civilization, is this plain man of democracy regarded as America's foremost statesman. In the crazy, beef fed world of to-day, *sane* Bernard Shaw is considered a brilliant, a witty wielder of the shillalah, and a genius in the realm of letters. Is this the best we shall say of Bernard Shaw to-morrow?

Jos. E. Cohen.

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Economic Determinism and Martyrdom.

THIS tremendous question of capitalist production, and its ultimate disruption, and displacement by a social system more compatible with the advanced conditions, is today agitating all manner of minds.

I venture to pour my moiety of thought into the river of ideas which is flowing from it.

By a study of the phenomena of history we readily perceive that all great reforms, all social advancement, all religious advancement, all intellectual evolution; all social transitions whatsoever have been accomplished by the red tooth, the quivering arrow and the gleaming steel. Furthermore, between the transition periods with which the course of the race in the past was marked off into stages of development, a certain element is seen to have existed in their composition by virtue of which each successive stage ripened, rotted, and fertilized the ground for the growth of the young organism which followed. We find an economic justification for slavery at the period when civilization was just beginning. It would seem that by an inexorable decree of nature that freedom could be reached through slavery only. The crack of the slave-driver's whip was the herald of a liberty we have not yet gained. It was the first groping effort of the race to organize itself.

Behind all the boasted greatness and glitter of Greece, was a dark and abiding background of hate and suffering. It was in the hells of her slave-worked silver-mines that we find the foundations of that brief splendor. Athens, with her beautiful architecture and sculpture, must have held her ears to shut out the human groans which echoed among the columns of her temples. We know how the slave-merchants fóllowed the Roman armies, and sales on the battle-field were superintended by the state.

And so in similar manner did all ancient nations rise and fall; all of them, as they proceeded, unconsciously recording the symptoms of their own decline, and all leaving a foundation upon which subsequent nations were built.

In medieval society a parallel condition existed. Although the serfs did not have their shackles and manacles forged of iron, yet the shackles of circumstance were no less effective in binding them to a life of sweat and misery; while their masters sang and danced, studied literature and wrote poetry in luxurious courts.

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When capitalism sprouted from the ruined pile of feudalism, it brought with it exhaustive researches in the different branches of science, and a more thorough devotion to art; the result of which was a so-called higher intellectual development. But still the pale nemesis pursues. With the increase of knowledge there is an ever-increasing load of misery, degradation and despair being heaped on the backs of those beasts of burden, the wage-workers, who, by their labor, gratuitously have given luxury to their masters and growth to the state.

By some apparently-inexplicable law this nemesis gives a slow torture to the innocent victims, the laborers, and eventually a quick dispatch to the plunderers, their masters. So it is seen that the great body which is the real savior of society, bears all the long years of punishment, while the guilty few are permitted virtually to go free. In a manner, of course, the guilty few come to grief at last, but it cannot be contended that the punishment they bring on themselves is commensurate with the crimes they have committed against the down-trodden mass.

Thus, we see, by analyzing the progressive stages of social advancement, that the way is paved with human hearts cemented together with their own blood. It is ever the prayer of the martyr mingling with the noise of commerce; the odor of burnt flesh blending with the perfume of the palace. The soul of the social organism is continually lacerated by the relentless claw of circumstance. A bridge of groans spans the chasm of the ages.

Whither is all this leading us? or what does it mean?

We understand from Marx that this is what is called economic determinism. In chapter XXXI, Vol. I of "Capital," he says, "Capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." Verily it does, but he does not tell us that it is possible for capital and its concomitant proletariat-enlightenment, to come in any other conceivable way. He tacitly if not expressly assumes that it is only by the great highway of pain and sacrifice that the working-class can reach emancipation. He says, further, in chap. XXXII: "Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital.....grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this, too, grows the revolt of the working-class. .....Centralization of the means of production and socialism of labor at last reaches a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds."

When Marx denounces Edmund Burke as a vulgar bourgeois, for saying, "The laws of commerce are the laws of Nature, and, therefore, the laws of God," it seems to me that he is

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contradicting himself; for if God is interpreted as being the laws of Nature — that is, the immutable laws of economic determinism — it is obvious that Burke only uses different words to say that which Marx himself had striven all along to demonstrate.

Since he, in his analysis of social events, asserts that it is through the complete development of capitalism only that socialism can be reached, are we not justified in considering him unscientific when, in apparent approval of the full flowering of capitalism, he vehemently reproaches and condemns the bourgeois economists whose teachings are calculated best to accelerate the ruin of their own class?

He has shown us no other path by which we might attain comparative freedom; therefore, we are compelled gratefully to accept capitalism as our only remedy, crucify ourselves, and let our blood flow to irrigate the ground for the propagation of a future emancipated race. In all earnestness is there not something radically preposterous in this continual enslavement of one generation for the betterment of the next. We seem, even at our so-called high scientific and intellectual stage, to be still no better than the blind and brutal savages, our ancestors. Yet, so far as we know, or so far as Marx or any of his disciples has told us, there is no alternative.

"Then I bethought me," says Shelley, "of the glorious doom
Of those who sternly struggle to relume
The lamp of hope o'er man's bewildered lot."

But I fail to see what constitutes the glory of the doom that awaits those who deliver up their lives in the services of their fellowmen. If man's highest desire is the attainment of self-happiness, then it is clear that, in the current estimation, the martyr's self-extinction constitutes the ideal form of happiness, as well as being the most expedient method by which his race may reach the realm where true liberty is presumed to be born. Is there not much pathetic absurdity in this: that the individual fired by the staunchest patriotism and the most love for his fellowmen, should always be the one selected for immolation on the altar of progress? And that the victim almost invariably goes singing to the fire, finding the highest happiness in becoming a sacrifice, seems to be in perfect accord with the theory of race-preservation. Yet, this fact contradicts all the known laws of self-preservation.

We darkly attribute this to the workings of the recondite forces of evolution. It certainly has no rational sanction within the community that involuntarily brings it about.

It appears, therefore, that Logic and Nature are mutually opposed — that Nature gives a sanction to murder; that she

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puts into the hand of man the sword with which he stabs the brother who loves him most. Nature, the murderer, is clearly shown in cannibalistic tribes. She is just as blood-thirsty to-day as ever, but her murders are hidden from our eyes, as her murders were hidden from the eyes of the cannibal.

This, then, is her only method, as far as we know, of bringing about human solidarity and perfection! Through murder we hope to reach an ideal state! Through social dissolution comes social eternal life!

In all this we note the startling contradiction which overwhelms us from all sides. If Marx knew, as he must have known, the murder that economic determinism implies, why did he denounce the murderous methods of its victims, since those methods, according to his own theory, hastened the emancipation of society. Marx, assuredly, has not given us, of the present, any instruments which can be used with any degree of success in defeating our doom — I mean the workers of the present.

"The development of production," says Engels, in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master — free."

It seems to me that neither he nor Marx ever proved how man could become free, in the sense in which he uses the word. Since he and Marx admit that man has come up from savagery by the road of pain — by being slaves to Nature, how, then, can he consistently assert that by a transition more or less cataclysmic or revolutionary, man suddenly awakens to the fact that he is no more the slave of Nature, but Nature is thenceforth his slave? As he puts it, "man emerges from mere animal conditions to human ones."

As has been pointed out, Nature, in her capacity of industrial developer, has been, and now is, a ruthless murderer. Engels, surely, does not mean to tell us that after the comparatively puny event of proletarian revolution, she ceases to act as murderer, and becomes a docile slave? If he does mean this then how are we to know that the race is not being hurled to a still worse form of despotism, or to extinction?

As we know through the medium of history, that man has ever been the slave of his environment — that is of Nature; and as we also know that what is commonly called progress has been made through this subjection only, — is it not logical to conceive that, by a reversal of relations between him and Nature,

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social evolution might change from a progressive to a retrogressive movement?

Since it was possible for Marx and Engels to think only in the thoughts with which their capitalist environment inspired them, what warrant have they for asserting that after the abolition of capitalism, man will become the conscious lord over those forces of industrial and social evolution that, for so many centuries, have lorded it over him?

It is answered that Marx predicted the Trust, therefore his method must be scientific.

He did, it is true, predict the advent of the Trust, but it is also true that there are some phases of the Trust that he did not foresee, or, at least, did not mention; as we of this continent now perceive.

Seeing that our beloved Goddess, Logic, like all the other gods and goddesses, — Reason, Justice, Liberty, the Christian God, and all the pagan host — was engendered by the extremely complex interaction and unfoldment of social phenomena acting in an evolutionary manner on the psychology of man, she must in process of time become disfigured beyond recognition. Therefore, it is obvious that the oracles which our priests wring from her today, will be as inapplicable to the future society as the Delphine utterances would be to ours.

Reasoning from Marx and Engel's doctrine, and using the criteria and ideas provided by my capitalist surroundings (as we all perforce must do), I should be compelled to predict that if the future releases man from the necessity of blood-spilling — from the well known method of making martyrs, he must inevitably become extinct. Furthermore, I should be compelled to say, that since capital begat its own negation, and since this negation is the germ of a higher development, and that higher development will be Socialism, and since Socialism implies a reversal of the timehonored relations between man and Nature (as Engels says), Socialism will contain no negation; therefore containing no negation it will contain no germ of a higher development. Consequently, we are forced to admit that Socialism cannot be progressive. In other words Socialism precipitates a social organism in which no martyrs are manufactured by economic determinism. And as martyrdom, since the dawn of life on the globe, has been borne in the same womb with progress — is, in fact, its twin brother; therefore Socialism cuts off the possibility of martyrdom, and, at the same time, cuts out the womb which, it is held by Marx, gives conception to progress.

And to assume that Socialism would not need to move, evolutionarily speaking, would be the wildest Utopianism.

Let it not be inferred from the above that I have ap-

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proached the subject in a spirit of careless levity. It has been done with all reverence and sincerity. I am aware that I am leaving myself open to the charge of being a fool or a heretic—or perhaps a lunatic.

I shall meekly accept all these epithets and more, if I only succeed in eliciting a spark or two of enlightenment on this all-important, and all-embracing question.

J. C. Mc Pherson.

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The Class Struggle and the Undesirable Citizen.

OUR capitalistic masters and their hirelings of the political arena are fond of telling us that the Socialist propagandist (or "agitator") is bent on creating class hatred, and class antagonisms, though they declare in the next breath that in this great and glorious republic "there are no classes."

As a matter of fact, the history of civilization has consisted mostly in a series of class struggles "between a ruling class that is invariably destined to fulfill its mission and pass out of power and a rising class that, because of economic development, is destined to become a ruling class." The Socialist could no more create class hatred and class antagonisms than the Capitalist could create class love, or abolish the conflict between capitalists and laborers. When the street-car men of San Francisco went out on strike, it was not because they hated the owners of the United Railways, but because they needed more money with which to support themselves and their families: they felt that they were entitled to a larger share of the wealth which their joint labors created. But while it was to the interest of the workers to get the greatest possible reward for their services, it was to the interest of the owners to obtain the largest possible dividends on their investment. And just so, when the wives and daughters of the owning class showered roses and kindly words on the ignorant and unprincipled strike-breakers whom their friend, Mr. Calhoun, had imported for the occasion, it was not because they loved these unfortunate creatures, but because these ruffians, in turning traitors to their own class, had become what President Elliot of aristocratic Harvard calls "heroes" (of capitalism). The aforementioned bejeweled ladies, unlike the recipients of their gracious approval, were class conscious, and were grateful to any kind of brute who would help to preserve undiminished their unearned incomes. They would have cheered the same number of hyenas had they been turned loose on the recalcitrant strikers. Not that they hated the Union carmen. One does not hate a work-mule, one disciplines him. If he is unruly, he must be subdued, or beaten into submission, if need be.

No, the Socialist "agitator" does not create class antagonisms; he merely recognizes them as being vividly in operation before his very eyes. Going back to the dawn of history, he

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sees the class struggle already well under way. As soon as men began to domesticate wild animals, and to rear them on a large scale, the need of a subject class to attend them began to be felt. Having captured wild animals and subjugated them for domestic service, why not capture a few human animals and domesticate them? Why not spare some of the captives of the battle-field? No sooner thought of than done. The class struggle began here, and has continued to this day under one form or another, sometimes openly, as under chattel slavery, sometimes slightly disguised, as under serfdom, and now still further masked under the guise of the wage-system. Under the specious principle of "freedom of contract," the wage-earner is held in the meshes of bourgeois "liberty." The three forms of slavery mentioned have this in common: under each of the three systems adopted, one class of man, the ruling class, have always managed in one way or another to live upon the labor of the working class, by owning the means whereby the exploited class must live. In former times the workers were owned as one owns horses now; later they were attached to the land; in modern times, under capitalism, they are enslaved to both the owners of the land and to the tools of production and of distribution.

Naturally, the owning or ruling class have always made laws and founded social institutions calculated to strengthen their mastery over the oppressed class. The prevailing conceptions of "good" and "bad" have, on the whole, always followed in the wake of "profit" and "loss." A savage, in a state of nature, would scorn to live wholly on the labor of weak women and little children; but our Christian capitalist moralists find ready excuses for those who grow rich on the labor of mothers and infants. Religions, codes of morals, legal systems, all take their form from the prevailing economic system. Not exactly "might," but "profit" is "right." A "good man," under bourgeois ethics, is one whose moral and economic views coincide, not with the preservation of life and human happiness, but, with the preservation of property in the hands of the ruling class, and the continued exploitation of the workers by the shirkers.

Our industrial masters, and their retainers, attempt to justify their brutally selfish course on the ground that confiscation of the wealth produced by the laboring class is their proper reward for "exceptional ability" in separating the workers from the fruits of their skill and industry. Our masters argue this way: Suppose each worker does produce eighteen times more wealth now per day (thanks to the gradual improvement of machinery by penniless inventors), than he could have done forty years ago, does he not have at least two times more comforts

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now than had his grandfather who was just as poor as he? Why should not the capitalist-politician appropriate the remaining sixteen parts of the added wealth produced? What incentive would be left the workers for further exertion if the benevolent capitalist refused to expropriate from the workers the product of the land and machinery, and the "profit" derived from owning the means of distribution! To be sure it's a little hard on the workers to produce so much and enjoy so little; but think of the demoralizing effects of happiness and economic security! No, it is the decree of Nature that to the shrewdest and strongest the prizes of the earth belong. It is a case of "survival of the fittest." If certain men have proved "brainy" and energetic enough to gain possession of the land, machinery, and even the Government of the United States, they have but reaped the reward of their energy and enterprise. This is the ethic of capitalism as applied to the strenuous "captain of industry." But do these little golden rules apply with equal force to the working class? Let us see.

Certain members of the working class, having educated themselves in history and economic science and the philosophy of Socialism, have discovered that what keeps them propertyless and poor is their foolish support of an industrial system and political regime which is no longer adequate to serve the needs of the common people—the wage-earning proletariat. Having discovered that capitalism has already served its purposes, and that the collapse of the prevailing system is inevitable, certain of the more intelligent workers propose to unite with the political party whose ultimate aim is the overthrow of plutocracy and wage-slavery, with a view to the establishment of an Industrial Republic, wherein the ownership of the land and the instruments of production and distribution shall be vested in the People: a system under which each worker would get what he earned, and under which every able-bodied citizen would have to earn what he would get. There would be no more "dividing up" with the owners of the land and machinery, since the owners thereof and the users thereof would be one and the same. Production would be carried on for use, not for profit, nor for the enrichment of a few at the expense of the many. In indorsing this high and noble purpose of the Socialists, the Western Federation of Miners have recently laid themselves open to the most absurd abuse on the part of the now alarmed ruling class, who begin to see the end of their brutal system of greed and grab. Consistently with what we know of the origin and purposes of ruling-class ethics and law, this intelligently directed effort of the proletariat (the "mob," as they are called by their admiring President) to better their condi-

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tion is branded as anarchy, as an assault upon the American Flag! Those qualities and capabilities which, in a member of the ruling class would be vaunted as intelligence, self-reliance, or discernment, in the worker — the wage-slave — go to make up "an undesirable citizen." What an insult to the trading-class, that a common wage-slave should presume to take a guiding hand in politics, should dare to attempt the organization of a party devoted to the aggrandizement of the common people, and the wresting from their throats the death-grip of a judicial oligarchy! On the other hand, this same exponent of the "square deal" and square jaw advises the gentlemen's sons of dear old Harvard to go into politics to rule, or else "become one of the driven cattle of the political arena." The gentleman's son who will not fight for what he wants is a "molly-coddle." The workingman's son who *will* is an "undesirable citizen."

Not in many a day has there appeared such a glaring exhibition of class conscious class ethics as appeared on the editorial page of the Denver Post (June 25th). The article in question was indicted by one Paul Thieman, and while his effusion is totally void of logic or wit, it exposes the hollow mockery of capitalist morality, the utter pretence of bourgeois "patriotism."

Now Paul Thieman is a class conscious minion of capitalism, brought up on small pay and Fourth of July orations. Paul does not own his own job, but he would have you know that he is no "wage-slave." He objects to the phrase. It is undemocratic, and Paul is a thoroughgoing adherent of plutocracy, whose members are known throughout the world for their free and easy (verbal) democracy. Paul is no wage-slave. He is perfectly free to take the job that is offered him or — starve! No, there is always the chain-gang! But Paul's freedom to jump from the frying pan into the fire constitutes for him true liberty. It has not occurred to him that the man or the class who own one's means of livelihood owns the job-takers, and the job-hunters, as a class. Not so unsophisticated our worthy patriot forefathers. They knew wage-slavery when they saw it. At least old John Adams did. "It is of no consequence," declared this plain-speaking nation-maker (in a speech in the Continental Congress), "It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freeman or of slave. In some countries the laboring poor men are *called* freemen, in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand." Were John Adams to make that statement to-day, Paul Thieman would call him a traitor. The man who admits he is

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a wage-slave insults the American Flag, the banner of personal freedom! Now what was the occasion of Mr. Thieman's patriotic outburst? It was simply this, he had read the proposed new preamble to the constitution and by-laws of the Western Federation of Miners, which reads as follows:—

Whereas, The present preamble to the constitution of the Western Federation of Miners is, in many of its clauses, contradictory of the truth inscribed on our membership cards, viz., "Wealth belongs to the producer thereof;" and

Whereas, We realize it to be utterly impossible to promote and maintain friendly relations between ourselves and our employers under existing economic conditions; and

Whereas, In view of the facts it is time for such a preamble to be relegated to the scrap pile of forgotten superstitions; therefore be it

Resolved, That the present preamble be discarded and that the following be substituted for it:

We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that this struggle is caused by the economic conditions.

We affirm the economic condition of the producer to be that *he is exploited of the wealth he produces,* being allowed to retain barely sufficient for his elementary necessities.

We hold that the class struggle will continue *until the producer is recognized as the sole master of his product.*

We assert that the working class, and it alone, can and *must* achieve its own emancipation.

We hold, finally, that an industrial and concerted political action of all wage workers is the only method of attaining this end; therefore,

We, the wage-slaves employed in and around the mines, mills and smelters of the United States and Canada, have associated in the Western Federation of Miners," etc.

Here, then, we have a large body of wage-workers who have become conscious of the fact that the producers get the work and the owners get the wealth produced; conscious of the fact that the class which owns both their jobs and the Government, owns them also, in merely giving "them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life," instead of giving them, as under the chattel slave system, "those necessaries at short hand." Realizing their dependent condition, they agree with that sagacious member of the Continental Congress, that "It is of no consequence by what name you call [laboring] people, whether by that of freeman or of slave," since "the difference is imaginary only." This recognition on the part of the workers, so far from being recognized as the product of intelligence, is re-

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garded by Mr. Thieman, and his class, as the child of "hate." To quote The Denver Post:

"We, the wage slaves" — that line tells the story, for, surely, the men who run that convention are slaves to nothing save their hatreds.....we can offer the advice to ANY convention that nothing can thrive — or even quite long exist — in America, except that which is American [bourgeois]; nothing can survive save that which is patriotic [namely, that which supports the views and policy of the ruling class]; save that which acknowledges the Flag, *and bows to it* [as representing trading-class rule]; we can offer the easy advice that, whenever a man acknowledges hate of the American Flag [which Mr. Thieman seems to regard as synonymous with exploitation of the working class for benefit of the owning class], he ought to be knocked down [since an assault on the "profit" system is an assault on the trading-class, whose business interests the Flag represents] ..... But there is one thing sure, and that is the awful impotency and terrible futility of hate [and false patriotism]."

Here you have a full betrayal of what "the Flag" and "Patriotism" mean to the trading class and their satellites: viz., profits, exploitation, class rule. For the owning class to use their brain and the militia to look after their private fortunes is an indication of intelligence, a proof of their fitness to rule; while, on the contrary, for the producing class to use their brains and their strength to look after *their* welfare is treason, an assault upon the Flag of capitalism: their desire to enjoy the good things of this world as the reward of their own labor is but "an ebullition of the doctrine of hate that has been preached in the name of Socialism—*a cult of hatred* that is both useless and responsible for much." (These are the very words used nearly 2000 years ago by the exploiters of the Orient in denouncing the Gospel of the lowly Nazarene!)

There, there, brother Thieman, we do not take your futile and foolish words very seriously. You yourself have written our reply: "all we can say is, that hate is impotent, that it is inexcusably bad, that all the wisdom of the ages is against it, and that the men who preach it are not good men, or brave men—if it comes to the test—or educated men, for education teaches, *and proves*, that we must not hate." So quit hating the humble workers, brother Paul, and don't expect to keep them always in ignorant awe of your class or the Flag behind, which they seek to hide their fears and hypocrisy and utter selfishness and complete contempt for the hopes and aspirations of those whom dear old Abe Lincoln called "the plain people." And there is something else that "education teaches,"

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brother Paul. It teaches, in the famous words of Engels, that: "In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; and consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; thus the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat —cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoise—without at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class-struggles."

This, then, is the high mission of Socialism, the work which the Western Federation of Miners has had the intelligence and manhood and patriotism to undertake, the abolition of all hatred and oppression, all economic and social injustice due to inequality of opportunity and the evil effects of a vicious and effete social system; they, with the Socialists, would elevate all men to the rank of free and independent workers, self-reliant, self-supporting, happy laborers in the co-operative commonwealth, the Industrial Republic of the United States, whose Flag, whatever its color or pattern, would mean something real and worthy to the common citizens, because waving forever over soldiers of the Common Good.

MAYNARD SHIPLEY.

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Planlessness of Production the Cause of Panics.

The present panic has drawn forth considerable discussion in socialist circles as to the real cause of these periodical crises. Many authorities take the view that it is the surplus value extracted from the workers that causes the mischief.

It seems clear to me however that this surplus would not cause a panic if it were systematically transformed into new equipment. At any rate not until we reached that point where it is no longer possible to improve the world's productive machinery. Of course when that point is reached the surplus value must be wasted, or capitalism would rapidly go to pieces.

But it seems clear that previous panics have not been caused by our reaching that point, and there is no very convincing evidence that the present one was. So we may consider that the cause of the present disturbance is the same as that which caused the panic of 1893, 1873, etc.

What is that cause? It is said that it is the surplus value exploited from the producers, causing an overproduction, thus glutting the market. But how can the surplus value of itself cause an overproduction if it be metamorphosed into new equipment? If it be put into new plants the markets will be emptied, and there will be no reason why the wheels of industry should not continue to turn. Most of the surplus value is at the present time actually invested by the capitalists in new equipment. Of course it must not be put into machinery of which we already have a superabundance. Under the present regime this is very often done. But it is not due to the fact that a surplus value is withdrawn, but to the planlessness of management.

If the surplus taken for new machinery causes a panic, then we would have panics under socialism (which is absurd) as of course a portion of the wealth produced would be withdrawn for the purpose of improving the plant of civilization.

My conclusion is that the real disturbing factor is the *planlessness* in production and distribution and not the surplus value extracted.

It is likely that the anarchy in production will continue as long as capitalism. So we may expect these crises until the New Order is ushered in. But if we may be allowed to indulge in an impossible supposition, and imagine that the entire industry of the planet is brought under the complete control of

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one trust, we would have conditions where the percentage of surplus value extracted would be greater than now, with no resulting panics, as, there being perfect system in production and distribution, the directors of the trust would be able to produce substantially the right amount of every commodity needed, and the surplus would go into improving the equipment. When no further improvement is possible, then of course the surplus must be wasted or the system would break down.

It is the ANARCHY in production and distribution that has caused all our industrial crises including the present one.

The appearance of the trust has a tendency to do away with this anarchy, but the planlessness is still so apparent, that it is preposterous to talk of the cause of panics having disappeared.

The planlessness in distribution is really more to blame than is the anarchy in production. During a crisis a myriad of small retailers is squeezed out and their stocks of merchandise thrown upon the already glutted market. And those dealers not forced into bankruptcy, being badly scared, are exceedingly cautious in giving orders for new goods. This continues for sometime, perhaps several years. During this period of "hard times" many factories are either shut down entirely or running on part time. Hundreds of thousands of workers are unable to find employment. When the glut of goods is pretty well worked off, the retailers begin to give more liberal orders to the wholesale houses and manufacturers, and then times are said to be "picking up." New firms now venture into the wholesale and retail business, and this means large orders to fill their shelves. Business is now "good." In a little while it is "very good," and factories are running overtime to fill orders. New factories spring up and as Engels says: "The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeple chase of industry, commercial credit and speculation." During this period we are producing more of the staple product than we are consuming. They are SOLD and apparently consumed, but in reality they are not consumed. They are on the shelves of the wholesalers, jobbers, and now increased host of retailers and small shop keepers.

Now it is evident that this is all due to the planlessness or lack of system in production and distribution. For had we been producing systematically, we would have produced each year but a small percentage more than was needed, and the balance of our energy would have been expended in improving the plant of civilization — digging canals, building railroads, irrigating the desert, etc., etc.

GEO. W. DOWNING.

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Major Barbara and Petit Bourgeois Philosophy.

THE comedy, "Major Barbara," by Bernard Shaw amuses and interests any reader and excites those of revolutionary tendency. The preface, "First Aid to Critics," with its mention of many of the world's most courageous thinkers, composes an index to a course of study of the philosophy of action. Few can boast a very deep acquiantance with Nietzsche, Ibsen, Bax, William Morris, Krapotkin, Gorky and Marx; yet they should become deeply saturated with the works of these pioneers of thought were they to follow the lines the introduction suggests. Students of the play and its preface should take up this collateral course if they want to be able to appreciate the characters of Major Barbara and Andrew Undershaft.

Barbara seeks religious understanding and Undershaft exposes some of the mysteries of the business world. Their acts and sayings are more lucid to those who have intelligently studied religious and business methods. However, the young student, if he misses these points, will admire the originality of the characters of these two new immortals.

Barbara leaves her home of elegance and luxury and becomes a Major in the Salvation Army. She wants to be of use in the world and she naturally turns to religion. She is too strong minded and willed to live the idle useless life of her class. Hence she leaves the established church, and the occupation of selfish but fashionable charity. She chooses instead to join that great organization whose motto is "Blood and Fire." And having made her choice, she throws her soul into the movement.

She finds that she can assist some of the poor in individual cases by giving them "tea and treacle." That she can buy their professions of belief by the bribe of bread. This partially disenchants her and when she learns that the Army, like the church, can be bought by the donations of people of the stripe of Whiskey Bodger, she becomes entirely disillusioned and takes off her uniform and her silver S. Just as the young man who enters politics with the greatest hopes of being able to do good, and learns the whole mess is one of deep corruption, usually ends by washing his hands of the whole matter.

It is her father, Undershaft, who opens her eyes. He proves to her that her superior officers take his bribes.

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In dismay she asks if religion is not the means of grace what is then?

Her father answers, his doctrine, "the Gospel of St.Andrew Undershaft," is that of the believer in money for the power it gives. He claims poverty is the greatest and the only crime. That no sane person should be poor. That rather than be guilty of being poor himself, he would murder and kill to get rich. He makes money by manufacturing gun powder and cannons. He chooses his motto, "Blood and Money," and he defines his position as follows: "When you shoot, you pull down governments, inaugurate new epochs, abolish old orders and set up new." "Whatever can blow men up can blow society up."

This is, in fine, the doctrine of the ruling class. In the finish it relies on brute power. Barbara asks him if "Killing is his remedy for everything," and she puts the crucial question to him and to the governing class of every country. For undoubtedly that is its remedy. Its structure rests on force. When the sacred institution, private property, is attacked, it calls out the militia and the private detectives.

The secret of the upper class is to slay in order to live in idleness, luxury and ease. Capitalists slaughter men in war and peace, all in the name of trade. They maim and murder children and women in shop and store. They destroy thousands in train wrecks and with poisoned food. They hold out the flag in one hand and the bottle in the other. They butcher the Indian and the Boer, they quarter the negro in the Congo, the Moor on the Mediterranean. Their motto is Undershaft's "Blood and money!" And woe to the courageous fellow who opposes their designs!

Undershaft boldly and brutally hoists the black flag. He justifies his piracy, he flaunts his Kiddism. He sanctifies his system and all with a glorious cynicism.

He is the typical "Honest" Capitalist. More than that, he admits the weapons that rear and maintain his class. And this constitutes the naive originality of his character. For the usual Capitalist hides even from himself the bloody means that he must use to rise above his brothers in the cruel war for success.

Barbara sees that with her belief in the power of God, she has to blame Him for the poverty and misery she sees all around her. He is all powerful, therefore, all responsible. But He could not alleviate the very misery for which He was to blame, without prayers being said, songs sung and sacrificial work being done. To have these accomplished, money is needed. To get money, she has to go to "Whiskey" Bodger and "Cannon" Undershaft. This she refuses to do. She finds that her superior officers take their tainted money and this disgusts her so much that she becomes somewhat disillusioned. Then she becomes

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open to her father's bourgeois teaching. He had lifted up the men of his factory by attending to their physical needs. He had established a model factory town on the benevolent Capitalist idea. And she finds his men and women more promising for her work than the starvelings of the West Ham Shelter, because she can appeal to their intellects directly rather than by the circuitous way through their stomachs.

They didn't need to use the aid of hypocrisy as the poor devils of the slums did. They couldn't be bribed with a few crusts of bread. Therefore, she thought them a better field for preaching as she could appeal directly to their minds. Whether she accomplished anything or not is left an open question. That she obtained possession of her lover and was happy on that account, is made plain and perhaps that's all we can expect in a comedy.

There are revolutionists who would change governments, not as Undershaft would with guns and dynamite, but by the peaceful means of votes. They do not want to cure ills by killing the sick, but by furnishing them with an easy remedy. They fight poverty, not to get riches for themselves but to get wealth for each and every member of society.

Maxim Gorky in his tragic story "Mother," shows what they are trying to do. Undershaft's diagnosis of the ailment of society as poverty is correct. His prescription of the dose of money is good. The trouble is, how are the sick to procure the medicine? He suggests universal pensions for life; Gorky offers Socialism.

Maybe they hold out the same thing. In the effort of the wage slave to free himself from his servitude, he must first strike the wage system a death blow. The workers of the world must unite in a political party against the owners of the machines. They must capture governments. They must establish economic freedom by common ownership of the tools of production. Undershaft half developed the idea. He established the organization. The workers must take the next step and capture it.

Bernard Shaw is looked upon as a wit and satirist of the slapstick order by bourgeois writers, readers and play goers; and as a political economist of deep learning by the Fabians and intellectual Socialists of England and the United States. But he is really at bottom a critic. He makes fun of bourgeois society. He shows its weaknesses and its follies,—he tears down. The constructive school is largely German. Kautsky proves that man started his evolution from the animal when he learned to make tools. That is his great point of departure from the lower order of life; that is what mainly distinguishes him from the ape, the monkey and gorilla. These brutes can use stones to

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crack nuts, they can build shelters with sticks, but they can't make tools. Their forethought doesn't go that far. The beginning of man's superiority dates from the moment he started to make the first rude tool, the stone ax or the arrow head. And the ownership of the tool remained in the maker. Kautsky, Dietzgen, LaFargue and LaMonte would restore the ownership of the tool to the worker; thus they would give him the money that appears to be the god of Undershaft.

The evils of poverty are caused from the separation of the ownership of the tool from the maker. This gives rise to society with its degrading poverty. Individuals of exceptional genius or luck may escape it; whole classes cannot.

Private property in the instruments of production causes the gross inequality of men. Public ownership re-establishes the equality of the early days when manly heroism, huge accomplishment, universal contentment were universally common.

As long as the maker owns his tools, he progresses in civilization, knowledge, science, art. He learns to co-ordinate, he groups, analyzes, comprehends. He evolves by leaps and bounds. No higher law assists him, no Satanic force holds him back. He is neither angel nor devil, but only animal;—MAN. He learns to know from experience things outside that are unknown because not experienced. Nothing is sacred to him and he is sacred to nothing. He is only animal, but he owns and operates tools.

When the ownership of these is taken away from him or from the majority by the few, then mass evolution is stopped and the majority hark back to the primal savage state,— a state of poverty,—and the few move forward in the cycle of growth. Soon a difference between men appears and classes arise.

These classes are founded on a new idea, the private ownership by a few in the tools that are made and used by all. Tools become complex. It takes a multitude to operate some of the most productive machines. That is no good reason for private ownership but is a good one for public ownership.

But we are drifting away from Major Barbara. The play is Comedy like all of Shaw's. It makes fun of bourgeois society; not for it. That is why the usual reviewer can't understand Shaw. People go to his plays and laugh; but generally out of the wrong side of their mouths. They see his comedies trifling with the profit system, government, trade and private ownership; and look on the author as a witty scoffer at sacred things.

He shows that not only bourgeois marriage is founded on an illusion, the man "supporting" the women, but that the whole institution of marriage rests on the foundation of bargain and sale; therefore, is false, ridiculous. This makes the average

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critic howl, the Capitalist editor yawp, the ordinary magazine reviewer explode. They hit the ceiling and see stars.

They can't understand why he makes fun of these holy things. He seems an unsolved puzzle to them. Hence they wash their hands of him. They call him *ex-communicado*.

Revolutionists say, let George Bernard keep on. More power to his arm! He is doing a good work in making the long faced, sober, stupid, owl-eyed bourgeois wise-acre smile at his own bungling society where man is reckoned according to what he has accumulated or been given and not according to what he is doing; where private property is the hall mark of respectability and poverty is the only crime! After Shaw has caused the suspicion to arise that perhaps society is not so perfect as these wise-acres believe, he may then show these short-sighted folk the way out. He may even lead them to open a few shut doors of their minds so that they can enter the room before which they have so long shuddered, in knavish fear. He may even cause them to suspect the divinity of the ordinary bourgeois ideology, which takes for granted the division of classes into the favored few and the unfavored many; and to be inclined to listen to the proletarian philosophy, which teaches that the necessaries of life should be free to all, the benefits to those who ask them.

ROBIN E. DUNBAR.

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A Friend Of Labor In Argentina.

TWO little books of interest to Socialists have recently appeared in Argentina. The first of these publications (The National Labor Problem and Economic Science) is a reprint of an inaugural address given by the author in the University of La Plata, Argentina, and outlines the course of political economy which he intends to run during the first year of study for the aspirants of the degree of Doctor. The remarkable thing about this outline, and this course of study, is that it emphasizes very strongly the idea of social evolution, and more remarkable still, that the author declares he will investigate "with the greatest honesty and conscientiousness the fundamental problem of Socialism, examine its various phases, from the extremely radical ones of the most utopian anarchism to the relatively conservative ones of state socialism and university socialism." He urges his students to study the original works of Marx, Engels and Dietzgen, and even warns them not to be satisfied with Spanish or Italian translations of these works, but to learn German and find out what these writers themselves had to say. From the bad translations of volume I of "Capital" he expressly excludes that of our comrade Juan B. Justo, which he calls "very correct." Again and again he asks his students to "look for the truth," regardless of prejudice or ultimate conclusions, for, he says, "many quote Marx without being aware that he very often said just the reverse, or did not say what is attributed to him" (P. 8). This sounds good and almost leads one to regret, that American university professors do not rise to the pinnacle of such eminent fairness and honesty as their Argentine colleague. But when we read a little further, we quickly come to the conclusion, that Quesada is a conspicuous type of those Spanish Dons who promise you a title deed to their castle, when you pay them a visit, and who chase you off their premises with blood hounds, if you ask for some soap and a towel. For his own leanings are not only antagonistic to Socialism, particularly to Marxism, but he belongs himself to those who attribute to Marx things which he did not say and who pose as great improvers of Marxian economics without understanding them. In fact, Quesada is one of those who have accomplished the remarkable feat of outgrowing and overcoming Marx without first understanding him.

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We are not surprised, therefore, that he calls the opportunist legislation of New Zealand "a tyrannical imposition of uncompromising legislation, which paralyzes life itself" (P. 20), a sentiment which is heartily echoed by every capitalist, who is prevented by the legislation of New Zealand from exploiting children, importing coolie strikebreakers, poisoning rivers, or grabbing natural resources for his private benefit. But this sentiment ill fits into the professed policy of Quesada to establish harmony between capital and labor and keep the Argentina middle class supreme by preventing corporation rule on one side and working class rule on the other. For the legislation of New Zealand is all very mild, made principally in the interest of small capitalists and calculated not only to restrain large capitalists but also to hold down the working class. However, a man who so strongly prefers honest scientific investigation as Quesada will no doubt modify his views on this subject, when confronted with convincing evidence that he is mistaken, particularly if he should find on closer scrutiny, that the New Zealand legislation is realizing the very ideal for which he is so valiantly striving.

And since the "greatest honesty and conscientiousness" are to be his acknowledged guides, we may also hope that he will correct the following statement on page 6 of his lecture: 'Marx attributed to Ricardo the method of constructing absolute economic laws as though they were natural and eternal ones." This, says Quesada, is a wild generalization. It would be, if it were true. But it is not. We recommend to Quesada that he "look for the truth" in the following statements from Marx's "Critique of Political Economy," page 69 of the American edition: "Ricardo confines his investigations exclusively to the *quantitative determination of value*, and as regards the latter *he is at least conscious of the fact that the realization of the law depends upon certain historical conditions.* He says, namely, that the determination of value by labor time holds good for such commodities 'only as can be increased in quantity by the exertion of human industry, and on the production of which competition operates without restraint'. What he really means is that the law of value presupposes for its full development an industrial society in which production is carried on upon a large scale and free competition prevails, i. e., the modern capitalist society. *In all other respects Ricardo considers the capitalist form of labor as the eternal natural form of social labor.* He makes the primitive fisherman and the primitive hunter straightway exchange their fish and game as owners of commodities, in proportion to the labor time embodied in these exchange values. On this occasion he commits the anachronism of making the primitive fisherman and hunter consult the annuity tables in current use on the London Exchange

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in the year 1817 in the calculations relating to their instruments." — To consider capitalist labor as the eternal natural form of social labor, this statement assumes in the honest and conscientious brain of Quesada the shape of an assertion that Marx attributes to Ricardo the method of constructing eternal economic laws as though they were natural ones. The reader can judge for himself, whether Marx or Quesada have here indulged in "wild generalization."

The second publication (The Labor Question and its study in Universities) is a reprint of a lecture which was originally published in the Bulletin of the National Department of Labor. This Department is a recent creation of the spirit that moves Quesada and his like. To the great astonishment of the professor the socialists of Argentina cannot see what good a Department of Labor in the hands of capitalist professors and politicians will do the working class. This arouses the resentment of the messiah of the worn gospel of harmony between capital and labor. He pours the vials of his wrath out over the Argentine socialists, calls them intolerant fanatics, who don't want any reform unless introduced by themselves, and wrings his white hands in agonized dismay at the incomprehensible folly which gives the cold shoulder to a Department of Labor "which realizes one of the immediate demands of the Argentine Socialist Party" (P. 8). However, he tells us in the same breath that the idea of this Department, and his own lecture on this subject, was suggested by the barely settled strike of the railroad employes of Argentina and by the still pending strike of the 'longshoremen of Buenos Ayres. And no doubt the experience of other socialists in other countries has taught the socialists of Argentina that Departments of Labor in the hands of the ruling classes are Trojan presents to be watched with suspicion, and serve as a rule for the principal purpose of breaking strikes of organized working people.

Quesada brings in this pamphlet a vast array of data relating to the creation of Labor Departments in the United States, England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain, and quotes numerous publications issued by these Departments. This portion of his lecture, pages 12 to 37, is a really valuable summary of the capitalist literature on this subject. But it can serve the purpose of the socialists as well as those of the capitalist teachers of social peace. In fact, it serves our purposes even better than theirs, for it is a monument of the paralyzing power of capitalist Departments of Labor upon the efforts of the working class to emancipate itself from capitalist rule. We are certainly much obliged to Quesada for this fine summary.

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Another delightful feature of his lecture is the frankness with which Quesada explains that he does not include socialism in his curriculum, because he believes in it, but because he is of the opinion "that this stubborn contrarimindedness of the majority of our intellectuals cannot and must not continue in the matter of the burning antagonism between capital and labor, and of this disintegrating class struggle, with its Marxian gospel, which makes palpable progress in this country and threatens to convert into a fearful problem what may, perhaps, be but a more or less normal episode in the development of Argentina, if properly handled in time" (P. 5). Because the bourgeois intellectuals were so indifferent in this matter, the intellectual leadership fell into the hands of "professional agitators," so that the working people actually listened to speakers of their own class instead of following the advice of a capitalist professor with a large library of capitalist publications on the labor question. The poor Argentine government finally could not help itself in any other way than by using soldiers to suppress the unruly working people. That the socialists would precipitate such troubles was anticipated by Quesada. And now he can say to the capitalist politicians: "I told you so."

Even the *International Socialist Review* of Chicago, "which condenses the news of the world's labor movement, explained with much elation the Argentine plan of waiting for the harvest season, in which the crops of the country are exported, in order declare great strikes in the transport industries, in the ports, in the great export firms, and thus to paralyze the national life and call forth as much as possible measures of violent repression on the part of the government whereby the mass of the working people sink their differences, close their ranks, become bolder, strengthen their organizations and become a veritable power within the state, with its apostles and martyrs." (P. 5)(This refers to a communication sent by the Executive Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party to the International Socialist Bureau and published by the *International Socialist Review.*

This is where the shoe pinches! The working people get together, because the socialists, and particularly the Marxian socialists, educate them on one side and the capitalist government drives them together by force on the other. And therefore bourgeois professors, who are interested in keeping the workers divided by government concessions, in order that the small capitalist may thrive in perpetuity, if that were possible, must teach bourgeois students to know what Marx really made the working people understand, so that enlightened bourgeois politicians, instead of working into the hands of the socialists by force, may take the wind out of their sails by prudent concessions to the

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rebellious workers, "like the statesmen of England." But England is now becoming a rather poor illustration for the success of this policy.

In other words, Quesada is an Argentine Schaeffle or Sombart, who wants to familiarize bourgeois students with Marxism, in order that they may get together and find effective means of combatting it. This explains Quesada's partiality to Seligman in the United States, Marshall in England, Schmoller in Germany, Gide in France, all of them universitv "socialists," who do their best to build a straw Marx and demolish him with ponderous and dignified reflections about things he never said. Few of this class of "socialists" will disagree with Quesada when he claims that "the greater part of the bona fide socialist propaganda is distinguished by the characteristic mark that it is based upon a half assimilated science, which is dangerous, because it comes to results which are opposed to the true conclusions of the science of truth; and its own constant invocation of the Marxian doctrine, in spite of the schism between Bernsteinian and Kautskyan Marxians, ignores the fundamental rectifications, which have been made in almost all lines of argumentation of the famous agitator by the present copious investigations just enumerated. His sociological thesis of the economic interpretation of history and of the class struggle, of the boasted Communist Manifesto, his characterization of the proletariat, have undergone profound modifications through the evolution of the past half century. His renowned economic theory of value and his terrible fallacy of surplus value have not withstood the statistical investigations and the scientific analyses. Marx himself had a clear presentiment of this, when he decided not to put the finishing touches on his classic work "Capital," and to leave to Engels the task of reconciling the irreconcilable and to Kautsky the duty of saving the remainder of his much retouched surplus value." (P. 39).

Here the "greatest honesty and conscientiousness" do not prevent our bourgeois professor from repeating the silly slander, which Achille Loria had voiced many years before him and which Engels repudiated in his preface to the third volume of "Capital" by showing that Marx had completed the bulk of the second and third volumes before he published the first volume of his work.

Marx had "a clear presentiment" of Quesada and his friends in other countries, when he wrote in his "Communist Manifesto": "The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society

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minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat..... A second and more practical, but less systematic form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labor, but, at the best, lessen the cost and simplify the administrative work of bourgeois government. Bourgeois socialism attains adequate expression when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech: Free trade, for the benefit of the working class; protective duties, for the benefit of the working class; prison reform, for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois socialism. It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois, for the benefit of the working class."

The evolution of the last fifty years, so far from refuting the fundamental claims of Marx, has rather attracted a greater and greater number of organized working people to their support. The "true conclusions of the science of truth" are nothing but the frightened realization of the bourgeois that it is all up with him if the working class adopts the Marxian theories. This proves, not that Marx was wrong, but that the bourgeois "science of truth" is a "terrible fallacy" for the working class. And we need no better proof for the vitality and increasing strength of Marxian theories than the fact that even in so new a country as Argentina the bourgeois socialist has to systematize his policies and send his Quesada out to plough the sea of social life with his pencil and sweep back the tide of social evolution with his fake Labor Department, blaming Marx unjustly for attributing to Ricardo the idea of eternal social laws and doing all in his power to make small capitalism eternal. Or, if Quesada believes in social evolution and does not think that capitalism will last for ever, what does he think will come after it? His answer to this question will certainly be interesting. Whatever it may be, we feel sure that he will not give the same answer as Marx and the socialists of Argentina.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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Bloody Russia.

The Russian revolution has reached the stage of books, and they are pouring forth at a most astonishing rate. Three lie upon my desk that have just come from the presses.(*) All are bound in most brilliant red. Two of them have the word "red" in their tittle. All reek with blood. In fact the general impression gained by the combined reading of the three is of wading in blood. One closes either of them with a sense of sickening relief. Blood, blood, blood flows on every page. The French Revolution has long stood as synonymous with bloodshed. But it was a most gentle affair compared with the struggle which is now going on in Russia. Some day the world will come to realize this. A reading of these volumes will help to that end.

John Foster Fraser's work, "Red Russia" is manifestly the work of a newspaper reporter. It is much such a book as would be produced if the managing editor of the more enterprizing metropolitan dailies should hand out as an assignment to the star reporter some morning, "the Russian Revolution," and should add the further instructions, "Take a staff photographer with you, fill it full of local color and plenty of interviews, and cut out all editorializing."

His ignorance of the philosophies back of the contending forces is rather refreshing, especially if the reader knows something of these himself so as not to be misled. It prevents the "editorializing" which fills up the majority of similar books.

Like a good reporter he selected the most striking point of the story for a theme and plays it up from the start. That theme is the cheapness of human life, and it stands out on every page. "The blessed, though rather namby-pamby thing called 'compromise' is not understood in Russia," he tells us. Each side appeals constantly to force. Both sides recognize this fact and make no complaint about tactics. "Killing is not murder" has become a national political maxim. Here is the way this law-abiding stolid British journalist sizes up the situation. "The throwing of bombs by the revolutionaries, and the meaningless sabreing of the mob by the Cossacks, though repulsive to and beyond the comprehension of people of Western temperament,

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* Red Russia, by John Foster Fraser. John Lane Co., Cloth, 288 pp., $1.50.
The Red Reign, The True Story of an Adventurous Year in Russia, by Kelogg Durland. The Century Co., Cloth, 533 pp., $2.00.
The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, by an Active Member of the Lettish Social Democratic Workers' Party. Independent Labor Party, London, Cloth, 98 pp., 1 Shilling 6 Pence.

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are perfectly in accordance with the aim of the rival parties within the Empire * * * Not one-tenth of the atrocities perpetrated in Russia ever reaches the English papers. I am fairly sure the public at home are shocked and horror stricken at the telegraphic information sent. The Russians themselves are not shocked; stories of atrocious deeds excite them no more than incidents in a novel; the report of an assassination by bomb is regarded very much as an astute and successful move in chess."

Of conditions in Warsaw, he says, "Life is one long thrill. There is no telling when a bomb will be thrown or a revolver crack, or Cossacks come swinging along whacking all with their swords, or when you may be arrested, or when a policeman, with the instant conviction there is something suspicious about your appearance, may smash in your face with the butt end of his pistol, and a soldier crack your ribs with a blow from his gun."

All agree that the Jews are the most active revolutionists, and all agree that the *pogroms,* or Jewish massacres are organized by the government. In this work the new organization of "The Black Hundred" plays a prominent part. Fraser describes this organization by the following comparison with a well known English political organization: "If suddenly the Primrose League ceased to be illumined by the graceful presence of dame presidents and was flooded with the riff-raff of the populace, who got money from somewhere, spent their days drinking at Soho cafes, went forth at night and killed foreigners and smashed Radicals into senseless pulp, while the police stood on one side and grinned — you would again get near a parallel with the Russian Black Hundred."

His idea of the peasant is superficial (as indeed of everything else) but striking. "All peasants are revolutionaries. All want a Duma. But they only want a Duma because they believe it will decide they shall have more land than at present."

Everywhere it is the same story. Blood and yet more blood, varied occasionally by famine, and Black Hundred and Pogroms, all but different ways of taking life. In the Caucasus the revolutionary fight is complicated by race battles, equally bloody, and fostered by the government to prevent any union of revolutionists.

When we turn to the work of Kellogg Durland we are confronted with a wholly different presentation of the subject. The author is one of a group of brilliant young American writers including Wm. English Walling, Ernest Poole, Leroy Scott, Arthur Bullard, and some others who with more or less Socialist sympathies, have combined the work of student, socialist, writer and traveler in Russia during the last three years. These men are well equipped for the task before them. They know the

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philosophy which animates the revolutionist movement, and they are in warm sympathy with it.

Kellog Durland has taken so active a part in the Revolution as to bring him in frequent conflict with the Russian authorities. Yet at the same time he has been able to come into close touch with officialdom and to study the facts from the governmental side.

To him the revolution is inevitable. "Revolution in Russia during the first quarter of the twentieth century is as inevitable as the bursting of a Pelee or a Vesuvius; as inexorable and pitiless as an earthquake, or the passing of ancient empires."

He gives a striking comparison with the French Revolution: "During the year 1906, according to official figures, more than 36,000 people were killed and wounded in revolutionary conflict; over 22,000 suffered in anti-semitic outbreaks, most of which were promoted by governmental agents; over 16,000 so-called agrarian disorders occurred. * * These figures loom large indeed when it is recalled that in France, during the Terror, only 2,300 heads fell from the guillotine block, and that during the entire French Revolution only about 30,000 lives were sacrificed."

Durland also went into all portions of Russia. He visited revolutionaries and traveled with Cossack officers, has been arrested several times, smuggled in forbidden literature, was cognizant of a plot to blow up the Ministers to the first Duma, traveled as an "illegal," secured the only interview ever granted with Marie Spiradonova, the girl whose horrible tortures by the police roused thousands to rebellion, and all these things he tells in an intensely interesting and dramatic manner.

He tells how the government is guilty not only of inciting to massacre, and of most hideous murders and pillage, but how it encourages professional assassins, and maintains torture chambers that rival those of the inquisition. The description of these tortures applied to young girls and women is sickeningly hideous.

He finds that the peasants as well as the industrial workers are everywhere ready for revolt. They know what they want. They are determined to have "land and liberty." They cannot be turned aside from these simple primitive demands and they propose to have these demands sitisfied.

The horrors of the famine country seem almost unbelievable. "From the city of Samara" he tells us, "I made journeys in three directions — across the Volga and west, south and east. In all of the starving villages I passed through the same heartrending scenes were repeated — food supplies absolutely exhausted; thatch being torn from the roofs to feed to the horses and cattle; families doubling up. i. e., the occupants of one house moving over into a neighbor's in order to use the first house for fuel; relief kitchens so short of relief that only one meal in two days

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could be dispensed; *during the forty-seven hours between meals the people prostrate on their backs so as to conserve every particle of strength;* parents deserting their children because they could not bear to watch them die."

Meanwhile "the very flour dispensed by the government is flagrantly adulterated in order that corrupt officials may glean a few thousand more rubles to spend on their dancing girls and French champagne."

The third book is of much less importance than either of the other two, although it fills a valuable niche in describing one of the most important phases of the Russian Revolution. There is a brief survey of the history of the "Lettish Social Democratic Workers' Party" with its platform and declaration of proposed reforms. This party grew in strength until it was sufficiently strong to conduct open rebellion. In this it was aided by the peasants, and for a time was successful. Then came the story of the horrible "punitive expeditions" with wholesale massacres and imprisonments and tortures.

No one can read these three books without realizing that we are today in the midst of a revolution infinitely more bloody, affecting far more people, and destined to bulk larger in world history that the famous one in France a century ago.

A. M. SIMONS.

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Will Socialism Break Up The Family ?

When in the past the reformer has attacked the wrongs and abuses of his day the cry has usually being raised, you are going to break up the family. Therefore the socialist philosopher is by no means surprised to hear the same objection to socialism to-day. As socialism is in the future no one contends that it is breaking up families at present. Yet families are being broken up and there certainly must be a cause. It is possible that the present economic system (or rather want of system) is largely responsible for the domestic infelicity we see on every hand. Surely it cannot be possible that the discomforts and miseries incident to a poor person's existence (I will not use the word life in this connection) are necessary to maintain the family integrity. As men and women are not angels observation teaches us that the reverse is too often true and that these conditions lead to ill temper, the saloon, desertion and divorce. Under socialism the home would be more attractive than the saloon,the wife, relieved of her grievous burdens, would be better company than the bar keeper. The husband no longer a drudge would remind his wife of the good old times before marriage and the baby well cared for would furnish more amusement than a circus. Why under the present system if you raise a man's wages he is very apt to take out a thousand or two more of life insurance and get something useful to add to the comfort of his home. If his day's work is shortened the average man will use his increased leisure to advantage around home. After working ten or twelve hours a day the condition in which a man sits down to supper are such that it is remarkable that there are so few divorces among the workers.

Under socialism the rich libertine would be unable with money to destroy the home of his less fortunate neighbor. Having something useful to do and think about he would be less apt to invade his friend's house and thereby provide a nice mess of divorce scandal for public comsumption. In the good time coming no woman will have to marry a home and incidentally a man, neither will any man have to marry a fortune and incidentally a woman.

In the near future very few women will make the mistake of marrying a rake to reform him and afterward try to correct it in the divorce court. Then young man if you sow a crop of

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wild oats you will be very apt to reap a harvest of single blessedness. So mote it be.

How is the home to be maintained? says one, if private property is abolished. My friend the vast majority of us will have more private property under socialism than we have now. Perhaps the brush and comb and a few other things public or semi public to-day will be strictly private then. Young ladies, in that glorious day whose dawn is already brightening the eastern sky, when capitalism shall be thrown on the rubbish pile of the ages, Mary Jane will not have to stay at home while Sarah goes out wearing the family hat. Under socialism it is scarcely possible, that there will be any objection to any person or persons enjoying all the crudities and absurdities of the present day except of course living off another's labor if they believe such conditions are necessary to secure domestic felicity. In the foregoing I do not think there is anything visionary or anything that can be successfully disputed, but it is all rock bottom philosophy. In conclusion if you want a man to walk uprightly, to become a better citizen, husband and father, in the name of common sense, get off his back.

H. E. ENGLAND.

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EDITORIAL

Looking Forward and Backward.

There have been few years more fraught with significant events for the working class than the one that has just gone into history. It held within its boundaries the crest of the highest wave of capitalist prosperity ever enjoyed. It saw that wave break into what promises to be one of the most serious crises of the same system. In the battle between capitalists and workers, it was also filled with facts whose deep significance will become more and more apparent as the years pass by. There were no tremendous violent conflicts, such as the Pullman Strike or the great coal strike. The nearest approach to a conflict of this character was the battle of the telegraphers, which developed into one of those long drawn out contests in which the dollar is bound to win over the human being.

The great event of the year was, without a doubt, the outcome of the trial of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. The effect which this struggle has had upon the working class and the sense of power for battle, laid the foundation of a determined class action such as has not hitherto existed in this country.

The new year comes in the midst of an industrial crisis. It comes in with a promise of reduced wages and the fierce conditions which always accompany such reductions. It comes in with capitalism triumphant, but trembling on its throne. The speech of Secretary Taft before the Boston merchants showed how great is the fear held by the rulers of present society. In this he told the assembled merchants that unless they were able to reform capitalism, Socialism was inevitable.

This was the same story that Roosevelt told in his message. It is a very common story now-a-days. It is the story that every observer can read in the events around him, and it fills the reader with fear or hope according as his class interests are bound up with the destruction or preservation of the present society.

This year is also a year of Presidential election. This election

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will be a time of trial for the Socialist movement of the United States. If the Socialist Party can put aside the cheap jealousies, the contemptible struggles for leadership, the exaggerated demagoguism which has led to the elevation of those whose prattle of proletarian phrases are most glib, if it can make the Socialist movement a part of the whole great battle of the working-class, then it will have shown itself equal to the historical mission that it was created to fulfil.

There are some things that should impel us to a rigid self-criticism to determine if the Socialist Party is really equal to the task before us. That there is something weak about the Party we have worked so hard to build up can hardly be disputed. So long as the Party kept up with the Socialist thought and sentiment that the evolution of capitalism and active Socialist propaganda created it was responding to the tasks before it.

To-day there is more than ten times the interest in and knowledge of Socialism than existed four years ago. The fundamental doctrines of Socialism have permeated into every nook and corner of working-class psychology,—to a large extent unconsciously to be sure, but none the less certainly. Socialism is the dominant theme in literature, in popular discussions of all kinds and descriptions. Yet the Socialist Party occupies but a little larger space in the political world than it occupied at the last election.

We shall not attempt to analyze the reasons for this beyond offering a few suggestions. It is possible that the mere pointing out of the fact may be sufficient to arouse that interest and activity which will remove the defects.

Perhaps some things may be suggested however. We have come to look upon organization as an end in itself. We form Locals and Branches for the sake of holding Local and Branch meetings, for the sake of extending organization, for the sake of holding more meetings, and so on in an endless dreary chain. Is it any wonder that in some of the larger cities more new members have been taken in each year for several years than have ever been in good standing upon the books of the Party, and that the larger portion of the new converts come to but one meeting and then go away disgusted, or discouraged. If the new member hears nothing discussed beyond routine business save a general wrangle and denunciation of such of the Socialists as have sought to accomplish anything, if he finds that the taking up of any active work for Socialism without first consulting a small coterie is to open the vials of denunciation upon the head of the one who displays such pernicious activity,— he is apt to register a vow never again to enter a Socialist organization.

If, on the other hand, the new member finds comradeship, cooperation, and energetic association for Socialist work, then he becomes an active member from the start. He came into the Socialist

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Party because he wishes to work for Socialism, and if that wish is gratified he will remain and grow more effective every day. If it is not gratified we have no right to expect to keep him.

Making New Year's resolutions is rather foolish work, but if the Socialist Party really expects to play any part in the coming campaign beyond that of a fault-finding agitational society it must turn over new leaves on several points and the quicker that fact is recognized the quicker it will be possible to get in action, and the more effective that action will be.

There were never such an opportunity offered to the workers of any country. The industrial conditions are ready for a campaign such as in England changed the whole political face of the country a few years ago. It is possible to put such a body of working-class representatives in Congress as will put the United States in the advance guard of the Socialist army of the world.

* * *

EDITORIAL NOTE.

With this number I sever all editorial connection with the International Socialist Review.

A. M. SIMONS.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The open shop agitation promoted by a certain faction of capitalists is really not an unmixed evil. The agitation among and hostile action of the master class has caused many of the contending parties in the industrial movement to get togeher, discuss their grievances and prepare plans for offensive and defensive alliances. During the past month the chief officials of five international unions in the printing industry held a conference in Indianapolis and came to agreement in the matter of presenting a stonewall front to the common enemy. It will be recalled that up to a few months ago everything was at sixes and sevens in the printing trade, and the compositors were forced to engage in an eight-hour contest singlehanded that cost them upward $4,000,000. Finally the narrow-minded and short-sighted Higgins regime was overthrown in the pressmen's union and that action was the signal for a genuine alliance between the various crafts, which are now working together to clean up the eight-hour strike.

In the metal trades there has been much contention during the past dozen years owing to craft jealousies and trade autonomy disputes. About the middle of next month representatives of the metal trades will assemble in Cincinnati for the purpose of adjusting internal troubles and make arrangements to meet the onslaughts of employers' organizations wherever they may occur.

As was pointed out in last month's Review, the building crafts are coming together in an international alliance subordinate to the A. F. of L. For years there has been more or less friction between those crafts, and in some instances certain unions have gone to the extreme of scabing on each other. This unfortunate situation will be forgotten history in a short time and the building trades will put into practical operation the motto that an injury to one is the concern of all.

These moves on the part of aforementioned organizations are having their effect on other branches of industry, and we hear that the clothing crafts are agitating the question of forming a trade section for the purpose of smoothing out some of the rough spots in their particular lines of endeavor. Even the long-standing controversy between the cigarmakers and stogiemakers may be adjusted and an alliance arranged, which may include the tobacco workers, a third organization in the industry.

A New York report has it that the railway brotherhoods are likely to form a federation. There are such local federations in existence at the present time and quite likely the memberships are desirous of expanding the principle into an international agreement, which has been the dream of the progressive element among the rail-

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way workers for many years. But it is extremely doubtful whether the engineers will enter such a federation. The old Arthur policy of "no entangling alliances" seems to dominate the B. of L. E. as yet.

It is claimed that representatives of the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners have already come to an agreement to exchange working cards and protect each others' interests wherever possible, and it is rumored that the W. F. of M. will join the American Federation of Labor in the near future. Certainly such a move would prove eminently satisfactory to all well-wishers of organized labor and demonstrate the wisdom of the miners. It cannot be disputed that the great mass of the A. F. of L. membership has been in entire sympathy with the Western miners throughout their struggles during the last decade, and that sympathy took concrete form in the shape of financial and moral assistance quite generously when most needed. While there may be differences of opinion regarding policies between organizations and individuals, yet those contentions upon matters of detail and theoretical propositions should not be permitted to interfere with our plain duty as organized workers, viz.: to establish complete solidarity upon the industrial field and be prepared to meet the onslaughts of the common enemy.

As I have pointed out before, to modern capitalism it makes little difference whether we are organized along craft lines or industrial lines, whether we are Republicans, Democrats or Socialists. The labor-hating capitalists do not stop to ask questions about what we believe or practice in an industrial or political sense, but they wield the big stick mercilessly against any and every organization and individual, that resists their mandates. Therefore, the first common sense thing to do is to get together in a federation and gradually amalgamate into one homogeneous whole, make the best fight possible industrially, and use our political power to protect our economic organizations.

The curtain has descended in the first act of the judicial drama that is being presented in Washington. The National Association of Manufacturers and its score of affiliated employers' organizations, which bodies have started in to raise a fund of $1.500,000 for the purpose of making war upon trade unions and enforce the open shop, won a victory in the equity court of the District of Columbia in the celebrated case of the Buck's Stove & Range Co. versus the American Federation of Labor. The plaintiff petitioned for an injunction to restrain the officers of the A. F. of L. from publishing the name of the Buck's Stove & Range Co., St. Louis, in the "We Don't Patronize List." The boycott was declared because the Buck's Co., the president of which concern is J. W. Van Cleave, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, locked out the metal polishers for refusing to surrender the nine-hour day and return to the ten-hour system of work.

Justice Gould, of the equity court, after a hearing that lasted several weeks and in which the attorneys of both sides exhausted every effort to win a victory, granted the injunction and took occasion to arraign the action of the Federation as an illegal conspiracy. While the injunction is of a temporary character, it is reported from Washington that Justice Gould exhaustively reviewed the case, made copious citations of authorities, quoted precedents as to boycott definitions, and said there was no room for argument as to the conspiracy alleged being established. The judge also declared that he had not, in his decision, taken up the question of inhibition of the boycott under the Sherman anti-trust law or the interstate commerce act. The

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question of making the temporary injunction permanent will come up in the spring, and no matter what the decision is then the case will be carried to the United States Supreme Court for final hearing. Incidentally, Justice Gould embraced the opportunity to emphasize his decision by issuing injunctions at the same time against the carriage workers and bakers ordering those two organizations to cease boycotting several local concerns.

As has been stated in the Review before, this case is the most momentous judicial struggle in which organized labor has ever been engaged. It is well understood that the Buck's Co. is acting in behalf of many other concerns whose names appear upon the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor, and it can be readily surmised that if the United States Supreme Court upholds the Washington court one unfair form after another will produce an injunction to have their names removed from the "We Don't Patronize List," and thus the boycott list will have become emasculated and organized labor is robbed of the most powerful weapon in its possession at the present, for it is only through putting the fear of God in their hearts through the medium of a boycott that causes some of the capitalists to be fairly decent now. The fact that employers without exception are prone to rail at the boycott as "un-American," while at the same time they themselves do a bit of boycotting whenever they get the chance, is proof positive that they would be mightily pleased to have this weapon of the unions outlawed. I have it from excellent authority that the Buck's Stove & Range Co. has been losing a large amount of patronage because the concern has become known throughout the country as being unfair, and, inconsistent though it may seem, the real owner of the firm is not Van Cleave, but is said to be a Chicago capitalist who is regarded as a "friend of organized labor."

Howsoever that may be, the undisputed fact is that every capitalist in the land is desirous that labor boycotts be pronounced unlawful. If the Supreme Court upholds Justice Gould in the opinion that a boycott is an "illegal conspiracy," then the capitalists will be in a position not only to claim damages as a result of strikes, but may also imprison workingmen for committing misdemeanors. In other words, it will become a crime to strike against and boycott those who deliberately oppress the working class.

Whether or not the United States Supreme Court will uphold the District of Columbia equity court is a speculative matter. But judging from past experience organized labor has not much to hope for from that source. The higher labor cases are carried, the further away they get from the heart of the people, and the less sympathy and support is given such cases, by the august tribunals, who are amazed at the very audacity of labor daring to imagine that it has a grievance.

Rob the workers of their right to act in concert to resist the encroachments of combined capitalism, and the natural result will be that they will turn to their only remaining and too long neglected weapon, the ballot, to secure justice. So in the long run the Van Cleave-Parry-Post open shop agitators may not only be thanked for amalgamating labor upon the industrial field, but also for becoming a distinct political force. This is a great opportunity for the Socialists to spread their propaganda and ralley the intelligent workers to their standard.

Just what a flat failure the Gompers political policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies" really is has been thoroughly illustrated by recent occurrences. In the Congressional

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Campaign of 1906, when Gompers bestrode his trusty hobby and set forth armed cap-a-pie to conquer the enemy and reward friends, it so happened that the Milwaukee capitalist politicians, fearing the possible triumph of the Socialists in one of their Congressional districts, stacked up a professional union man who did not work at the business — one Cary, a telegrapher — to draw the votes of workingmen who were not grounded in the principles of socialism. As is well known, the Socialists of Milwaukee are nearly all union, and, as they have stood up consistently and defended the working class in the City Council and the State Legislature, they naturally believed they had the right to expect, if not the support of Gompers, at least that he would keep hands off in their contest. But despite the fact that the Milwaukee Trades Council had denounced Cary and refused to seat him as a delegate because of his perfidy as sheriff in purchasing scab bread and other unfair supplies, the doughty president of the Federation sent Cary a letter commending his election, which document was duly photo-engraved and bushels of fac-similes were scattered throughout the district. Whether this boost had much effect in the general result is immaterial. The fact is Cary was elected and was enthusiastically hailed in a section of the press as a "Labor Congressman."

Now comes the interesting sequel. Several months ago Gompers sent a circular letter broadcast requesting that all unionists exercise their influence to have Speaker Cannon defeated for re-election for the reason that that old fossil "held up" the labor bills in Congress or dictated their defeat. Did Cary stand up like a union man and fight the old Czar who has made a doormat of the labor bills for several years. Not so that you could notice it. Cary went into the Republican caucus and voted for Cannon. And then next day Cannon heaped coals of fire on Sam's head, saying that union men everywhere were his (Cannon's) friends, while Gompers was trying to play the part of boss, but was being repudiated, or words to that effect. Of course, Sam'l will get mad as a wet hen if the Socialists laugh at his chagrin, but since the "reds" never receive a pleasant look from him (in fact have been roundly scolded for daring to espouse their cause) they may be pardoned if they are unable to hide their smiles and look serious. It is not unlikely that the rank and file will get some distance ahead of Gompers during the next two years if he sticks to his played out political policies.

The seat of war against organized labor in the West has been transferred from Colorado and Idaho to Nevada. That section of the American plutocracy in possession of the mineral mines precipitated the strike in Goldfield by issuing a depreciated scrip in payment of wages. When the unionists rebelled against the daylight swindle the operators declared for the open shop and their puppet Governor Sparks telegraphed to Washington for government troops. It is significant that just about the time that the great "friend of labor," Roosevelt, "relieved the situation" in Goldfield by sending in soldiers, he also "relieved the situation" in New York by bonding the people for $150,000,000 in favor of the hungry capitalists, who had already been fed upon $200,000,000 of gold, silver and paper from the treasury. That is, while Roosevelt dumped $350,000,000 of real money among the plutocratic hogs of Wall Street, he also dumped the U. S. troops into Goldfield because the workingmen refused to accept the mine owners' stage money and slink "back to the mines" as non-unionists. The contract was so glaring that even Roosevelt realized

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that he was manufacturing campaign thunder for this year's campaign, so he quickly dispatched a commission to investigate the situation in Goldfield and later ordered the troops withdrawn.

In Nevada, as in Colorado and Idaho, the old, well-known methods of the mine operators are being exploited to the limit. The prostitute press has been filled with scare-head articles about hidden arms and ammunition being discovered, dynamite outrages and plots being detected, civil war brewing, etc., etc. Those innocent, God-fearing, law-abiding "guardians of the peace," the Pinkertons, strike-breakers and gun men by the score were imported and swarm through the district, and at an opportune time even a committee of alleged union men (probably composed of sneaks and spies) waited upon Furusio Funston and petitioned that the soldiers be kept in Goldfield permanently. Just how long the struggle will continue nobody knows. From all reports the miners intend to defend their rights against all hazards, and the reading public need not be surprised to hear all sorts of lying stories against them, for all of which the operators pay liberally.

It is not improbable that a struggle will also be precipitated in far-off Alaska, when the weather breaks up next spring. The Guggenheims, who are the dominating power among the operators of the West, have raised the black flag of the open shop in the Alaskan territory and everything that looks like a union has been put under the ban. But the workers declare they will not surrender without a contest to the finish and are making preparations accordingly. Stirring times are ahead in the American labor movement during the next two or three years.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

ITALY.

The Italian Socialist Daily, "Avanti", seems to have attained a firm position at last. After struggling on for several years, it has now increased its size and purchased a more complete mechanical equipment and is preparing to issue two editions a day. This firm position has been attained through the steady increase in subscriptions secured by the workers in the party.

SWEDEN.

Elections which were held on the thirteenth of December resulted in two Social-Democratic victories. In the 5th District of Stockholm, Knut Tengdahl was elected by 3,040 votes. The opposing candidate, who ran as an Anti-Socialist with the solid support of the entire bourgeois press, received only 1,062 votes. In Gottenburg, the Socialist candidate, Linblad, Editor of the Ny Tid, received 3,960 votes, while the Conservative received 3,517 votes and the Liberal, 4,271. In the previous election of this District, the Socialists received only 1,200 votes. This raises the number of Socialists in the Swedish Parliament to seventeen and as a new election is to be held in the Districts where the Socialists are almost sure of success, it is possible that by the time Parilament assembles, this will be increasd to eighteen.

RUSSIA.

The government has been prosecuting the members of the second Douma, who signed the Vieberg Manifesto. This Manifesto, now regarded as being very ill-advised, called on the peasants not to pay taxes or to enlist in the army. It was ill-advised because it produced no effect. The members of the Douma were convicted and sentenced to a short time in prison and complete loss of civil rights. The Socialists in the French Chamber of Deputies made a protest against this action and there has been considerable International propaganda against it.

FRANCE.

Gustave Herve and his paper "La Guerre Sociale", is being prosecuted again by the government. The case came up on the twenty-third of December, but no report of the result has as yet reached this country. It is strikingly characteristic of Herve that he seized this opportunity when the government was attempting to suppress the paper to issue it as a daily during the time of the trial. thus making what was intended to be a crushing blow a means of increasing his influence.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Radical, by I. K. Friedman. D. Appleton & Co., Cloth, 362 pp. $1.50.

The sociological novel is now so common that one must be exceptionally good, or strikingly different to commend attention. "The Radical" is a strongly written work. The author understands Socialism, which gives him a leverage not possessed by many of the writers of similar works.

The plot is strong, full of interest, and is as original as can be expected after several thousand years of story telling. The hero, Bruce McAllister, a "man of the people," a ward politician in method, but with an earnest desire to fight the battles of the working class, comes into conflict at the beginning with Addison Hammersmith, a man of wealthy antecedents and extensive present possessions, who however, is made little more than a foil for the main character. The two men are personal friends, and the rich man is not made the conventional villain which the hackneyed method of writing sociological novels would have required.

McAllister goes to Congress, and the principal part of the book is devoted to the intrigues of Washington society and politics. The methods by which wealth rules legislation, its multitudinous ways of securing the men whom it needs, and the general deviousness of legislative ways are exposed in a manner that commands attention and testifies to the thoroughness of the author's knowledge.

The political intrigues are not allowed to overshadow the romantic element, or rather the two are so closely intertwined that there is none of the impression of a political tract that damns so many theories of this kind.

Addison Hammersmith has a sister Inez, and after the first chapter she becomes one of the leading figures, and finally evolves into the heroine, although she is scarcely painted as strongly as Georgia Fiske Ten Eyck, one of those women who develop in the political atmosphere. The latter character is painted with remarkable strength and clearness and with a human insight that is seldom found.

The humorous element is furnished by Rossiter Rembrandt Dickinson, an ecentric artist, whose love-making antics with McAllister's sister have a direct and laughable simplicity that relieves the complex character of the other actors.

The relation of government to the great industrial combinations of to-day is strikingly set forth in the following paragraph:

"Scientists tell us that if a pea be placed at the side of a cocoanut, the relative size of the sun and the earth will find their just proportion represented, and if one takes our United States Govern-

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ment, the money it controls and expends, the number of people it employes, and place it beside Sir Anthony's Universal Trust, the same pea and the same cocoanut will do to show how the one shrinks in importance beside the other. Anthony, then, would be richer and more powerful than the Government; he would have a larger majority of its voters on his pay roll, and he intended to have the Government run to suit himself. The milk in the cocoanut, to say the same thing differently, was in no way designed for the fattening of the despicable little pea; but on the other hand, to extend the figure of speech a little further, the cocoanut had certain little designs whereby the pea was to serve its ends. The sun, huge as it is, and the earth, small as it is, are of mutual benefit in our vast solar system, and both help to keep the whole in motion. Surely if the cocoanut is kind enough to keep its place and distance, and does not roll over and crush the pea out of existence, the latter ought to show its thankfullness by sundry little deeds of kindness. The right kind of tariff, taxation and laws, were all the pea was asked to give for the privilege of existing. But why poke fun at Anthony? Why belabor and scold him? Was it his fault, was he too blame, if we prostrate ourselves and gave him stilts to stride over us like a Colossus."

When Things were Doing, By C. A. Steere. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Cloth, 279 pp. $1.00.

If you were an orthodox Marxian Socialist, believing in a class-conscious political revolution, and you read a utopia that was deuced interesting, but which presupposed all sorts of violent, sudden, reconstructions of society through an autocratic semi-secret organization, and if you had just worked your indignation at the author up to the proper point, but couldn't stop reading the book until you had finished it, and then were told on the last page that it was all a sort of a cross between a pipe-dream and delirium tremens,—well it would jar you, wouldn't it. That is just what this book does. It is well, cleverly written, is full of suggestions, but depends upon **a deus ex machina,** or rather upon several of them, and the only danger is that it will be taken as a serious program for socialist parties. After having brought about his revolution by these very questionable means the author sketches a very life-like utopia. He puts into tangible form the dreams which many of us have had, and if now and then he throws in a touch of the night-mare just to break the monotony, we must remember that he is telling a story first, and writing a treatise on Socialism only incidentally. And he certainly does tell a very good story. It is funny, it is alive, it is interesting, and what more do you want?

The Scarlet Shadow, A Story of the Great Colorado Conspiracy, By Walter Hurt. The Appeal to Reason. Cloth, 416 pp. and Appendix, $1.50.

In the form of fiction the story of the battle between laborers and capitalists in the Rocky Mountain states, is told once more. All the principle actors in real life appear again in the story, sometimes thinly disguised, sometimes under their own names. There are numerous embellishments of the facts to make the situations more dramatic,—something which was scarcely needed. Some rather remarkable hypotheses are propounded under the guise of fiction,—for instance it is suggested that Steunenberg was the son of McPartland. but on the whole no more liberty is taken with the facts than might be granted to "novelistic license." The style is decidedly melodramatic and sometimes crude.

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Toilers and Idlers. By John R. McMahon. Wilshire Book Co. Cloth, 195 pp. $1.00.

Of the writing of Socialist novels there is no end, nor will be until Socialism shall be here and men's minds shall be reaching out for something more This is distinctly better than the mass of Socialist stories. It is a strong, well-written work to begin with. The writer knows the craft at which he works, something which cannot be said of many Socialists who will try to write novels. He also understands Socialism, something that cannot be said of many writers who try to put Socialism into their novels.

Otis Rensen, living upon an income whose very source is scarcely known to him, blase, and worn out for lack of something to do, is strolling by a foundry and decides to apply for a job. He gets it, and discovers he is working in his own establishment, which he has never visited. He becomes more and more enamored with his work, or rather with the problems with which his work is surrounded, joins the union, enters into the class struggle from the side of the men, and then at the dramatic moment steps onto the other side of this same struggle and establishes a co-operative foundry.

So much for the sociological plot. On the whole it has one grave defect in that it looks for leadership and guidance to the proletarian movement to come from the capitalist side. It may. Stranger things have happened, and the age of miracles may still be with us. But we have our doubts.

The characters are not mere dummies upon which to hang lectures. Rensen has real blood in him, meets and discusses and solves some real problems. One of the strongest figures is Sonia, the anarchist organizer of the "Ladies Shirt Waist Union." She is a distinct contribution to the characters of literature. So is Zienski, her anarchist lover, whose philosophy is most sadly mixed, but who makes one like him and regret the author's action in killing him in an endeavor to blow up Rensen's foundry.

There is a thumb nail sketch of "Bohemia" that is refreshing in its truthfulness in comparsion with most of the rot that is printed about this famous locality, or atmosphere. The cheap tawdry posing of those who make such a pretence at being sincere, and the tinsel slap-stick character of actors and dialogue are excellently displayed.

There is a romance, of coure, and it has features enough to give it interest by itself, aside from the moralizing that runs through the book.

On the whole the work is a distinct addition to the literature of the Socialist movement.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THE BRAINS BEHIND THE VOTE.

The year 1908 is the year of a presidential election in the United States. In a few months the country will be in a whirlwind of excitement over how the people shall vote in November.

The issues of the campaign are still to be shaped. It seems reasonably certain that Taft or whoever is the Republican nominee will defend the mild policy of trust-busting which has been practiced by Roosevelt. Bryan will doubtless be the Democratic candidate, but the unknown quantity in our forecast is his platform. Will he advocate government banks and railways, thus appealing to the small individual producers and petty capitalists against the big capitalists, or will he choose a platform hard to distinguish from that of the Republicans?

The size of the Socialist vote this year will probably turn on this. In the former case, the chances are that it will be relatively small; in the latter case it will probably be much larger than four years ago.

But the real strength of the socialist movement of the United States, when the smoke blows away, will not be measured by the vote but by the brains behind the vote.

We are not going to elect a socialist president this year. But with millions of interested voters listening to our arguments, we have the chance of our lives to start new brains to applying the socialist philosophy in a way that will count later on.

By all odds the most important means to this end is the circulation of immense quantities of socialist books that are really scietific and will give people with brains the clue to using their brains in an effective way. The object of the co-operative publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company is to put such books within the reach of the working men and working women of America at the lowest possible prices.

OUR RECORD FOR 1907.

During the year just closed, we circulated books to the amount

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of $22,168.31 as compared with $17,086.03 for the year 1906. And during the year we increased our capital stock from $22,430 to $26,380.

Both of these figures can and should be doubled during the year 1908. We have passed the stage of experiment. We no longer have to urge socialists to send us their money in the hope that possibly it may enable us to supply the socialist books that are needed. We have the books now, and our co-operative plan offers more of the best socialist books for a given amount of money than can possibly be obtained in any other way.

Without the work that we have done, few of the most important writings of European and American socialists could be bought by American workingmen. We now offer an excellent library at prices far below those at which other sociological books are sold.

We have now published two of the three volumes of the greatest of all socialist books, Marx's "Capital." And Ernest Untermann has nearly completed the translation of the third volume, a larger book than either of the others. To print this book involves a cash outlay of two thousand dollars. A profit-making house, if it were to publish this book at all, would probably charge $5.00 for it. We intend to publish it at $2.00, with our usual discount to stockholders. But only a small part of the necessary money can be raised from the advance sales of the book. For the rest we must depend on new stock subscriptions, and the sooner these can be secured, the sooner the volume can be published.

NEW BOOKS IN PRESS.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. By William Hinds. Second revision, cloth, 600 pages, $1.50.

Of the first revision of this work, published five years ago, Morris Hillquit said in his "History of Socialism in the United States," it is "altogether the most elaborate and complete account of American communities." The present revision is still more deserving of this high praise. The author has amplified or rewritten many of the descriptions in the earlier edition, to make them more complete and up-to-date. He has added accounts of two new co-operative experiments in Massachusetts, one in Wisconsin, one in Michigan, one in Georgia, one in Illinois, one in New Jersey, one in Washington, D. C., two in New York and three in California. The number of illustrations has been doubled, sources of information on most of the experiments have been added, together with a full index in which are included the names of persons who have founded colonies or have been prominent in promoting the colony movement. There are not less than 170 pages of new matter. Of the newly described colonies, the following will attract most attention:

The House of David, at Benton Harbor, Mich., with its membership of over 700, and their peculiar doctrines and customs.

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The Roycrofters of East Aurora, N. Y., of which Elbert Hubbard of world-wide notoriety is the founder.

The Helicon Home Colony of Englewood, N. J., with its plans for solving the "servant problem," and making a children's heaven, founded by Upton Sinclair, author of "The Jungle."

A Polish Brook Farm in California, founded more than twenty years ago by Madame Modjeska and her Polish friends, including the author of "Quo Vadis."

Admitting that the greater number of colony experiments have utterly failed to realize the hopes of their founders, and that political Socialism now largely absorbs and will continue to absorb the interest of those striving for better social conditions, the author of "American Communities" tells us of existing experiments that have continued for 64, 120, 175 years, affirms that such colonies antedated political Socialism, and that their history forms an integral part of the general history of Socialism. He is fully persuaded that they are yet to be greatly multiplied, for as soon, he says, as political Socialism becomes dominant in any country, "there will be a grand hustle for congenial conditions and associations," which can best be realized in communities and co-operative colonies.

We may concede all this while still holding that the active agents in the overthrow of capitalism must be the revolutionary trade unions and the Socialist party, or whatever party is the political expression of the united struggle of the working class. We recommend and circulate this book of Mr. Hinds because it is full of interesting and valuable data regarding the economic conditions which must be reckoned with in the work of tearing down and rebuilding.

Copies of this book will be ready by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers, and orders should be sent at once.

Evolution, Social and Organic. By Arthur Morrow Lewis. Cloth, 50 cents. We expect to have this ready for delivery before the end of January. It will contain ten of the lectures delivered by Mr. Lewis at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, and a large sale is already assured for the book among those who have heard the lectures. But the demand should be ten times greater from those who have been unable to hear them.

This is distinctively a socialist book. It is a survey of the progress of scientific thought from the time of the early Greek philosophers down to our own day, but if any reader does not see the connection between this line of thought and socialism, he had better read it and find out. In the book the connection is shown plainly enough.

We have an occasional complaint to the effect that we should confine ourselves to the publication of books intended to "make socialists." Now as for this, books don't make socialists; it is economic conditions that make them. But when economic conditions have brought a man to the point where he is ready to join the Socialist Party, it becomes a matter of some importance that he be able to get hold of books that will give him a clear idea of what socialism is, and fit him to talk about it intelligently. A few good propaganda books like those by Spargo, Vail, Blatchford and Ladoff are enough to convince a doubting inquirer that he should vote the socialist ticket, but a man who stops with such books will not be likely to understand socialism in a way to fit him to talk on it intelligently.

For socialism is not a scheme that can be tried on when a majority of the voters happen to take a notion some day. Socialism is the organized movement of the working class of the world for

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taking control of the world, and on its theoretical side it is modern science applied to social problems. It is thus absolutely necessary for a man to know something about evolution before he can understand the elementary principles of socialism. We have therefore no apology to offer for advertising **Evolution, Social and Organic** as a socialist book. It is a book that ninety-nine per cent of the socialist party members would be benefited by reading.

Human, All Too Human. By Friedrich Nietzsche. Library of Science for the Workers, Vol. 18. Cloth, 50 cents. Ready about January 31.

Here, no doubt, is a non-socialist book. At least, that is the way we prefer to classify it. (So, by the way, is "American Communities," mentioned above, of which we sold one large edition without a sigh nor a protest from any one. And isn't it a little curious that our materialistic comrades who are so often called intolerant never raised the least objection to an avowedly Utopian book like "American Communities," while our religious friends shudder at the publication of the writings of Frederick Engels and Joseph Dietzgen? But to resume.)

Seriously, we always try to describe our books in such a way that they will be bought only by those who will enjoy them, and we hope to do so in this case. Take our word for what this new book is, and if you are disappointed, we will exchange it for you.

We obtained the manuscript in a curious way. The translation was made years ago for a New York house which formerly published scientific books, but after various changes has now gone into the publication of an entirely different line. They offered us the manuscript for a surprisingly small sum. We came near sending it back unread, for we had heard a good deal about Nietzsche that isn't so, —perhaps some of our readers have heard the same things. Fortunately we began reading the manuscript, and couldn't stop till the end was reached.

Here is what the book is. The author starts out with what is virtually the Marxian theory of determinism, and applies it with the most brilliant literary workmanship ever brought to bear on his theme, to human relations in this transition age where old institutions and ideals are crumbling and the new are yet unborn.

Simply as literature, whether you agree or disagree, the book is great. But we do not recommend it to those who love their present theological conclusions so tenderly that they can not hear them discussed without pain. The author's sub-title is "A Book for Free Spirits." Those who believe with Engels that the object of the socialist movement is to realize the completest possible freedom for the individual will find much to enjoy in **Human, All Too Human.**

The Scarlet Shadow, by Walter Hurt, is a story in which many real events connected with the Haywood case are intermingled. It is published by the Appeal to Reason at $1.50, and we have made a special arrangement by which we can supply copies at the same discounts as if we were the publishers.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Woman and the Socialist Movement.

I.

AMONG recent political and social movements the revival, internationally, of the agitation for political equality among women is one of the most significant. There are two features of this movement which impress the student: In the first place, the women are no longer content with the methods of pink-tea-party propaganda; nice little lady-like salon meetings and scented notes to legislators begging their votes. Instead of these methods there is an aggressive, well-planned campaign with not a little of the revolutionary spirit in it.

The English "Suffragettes" seem to have set the fires of revolt ablaze. The nickname was hurled at them in a spirit of mingled scorn and ridicule, but they have accepted it and are at present doing their best to make it glorious as so many of the sneering nicknames of history have become. Storming the old soporific House of Commons, and the platforms of their opponents at public meetings; holding meetings in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square; parading along the Thames Embankment with defiant banners floating in the breeze, or curling limply in the London fog; cheerfully going to prison and doing other "unwomanly" things, they act in the spirit of revolutionaries and adopt the same methods as the Chartists, the unemployed armies and the Socialists in their historic fights for free speech. Obviously, there must be good revolutionary material in these armies of women demanding their rights of citizenship. In New York this winter, when the weather was far too cold for Socialist agitation, women,

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moved by the same spirit as the English sisters, have been holding open-air meetings. Fanatical? Well, perhaps so. It is hardly the most rational thing in the world to hold street meetings in zero weather: any doctor will tell you that. But, then, all revolutionary movements are fanatical; the "fanatics" are the men and women who keep the altar fires burning. Every one of the great revolutionaries of history was a fanatic, so that these women are in good revolutionary company.

In the second place, the women who are demanding their political enfranchisement are no longer confined to the few intellectuals and the elite. The working women are interested, hence the revolutionary spirit. The proletarian women, wage-earners in factories, workshops, stores, offices, and other people's kitchens are awakening. And those other proletarians who are not wage-earners but something worse, the wives of the workers, are also stirring and demanding rights. They are the "proletarians of the home," in Clara Zetkin's phrase: they are the slaves of slaves.

Socialists who have iterated and reiterated the shibboleth that "They who would be free must themselves strike the blow to break the chains which bind them," ought not to be surprised that our sisters have come to regard that as one of the great lessons of history. They have waited upon the "goodness" and "justice" of men for a long time now, with just as little result as the workers have realized from waiting upon similar virtues in their masters. Even within the ranks of the Socialists our few women comrades have learned that they must not depend upon the men; that there is a sex prejudice, however repressed and concealed, as surely as there is a class struggle. There has been a good deal of unreality and pretense about the equality of the sexes in the Socialist movement about which we have boasted.

II.

Of course, I know that in all our Socialist programmes we have given a foremost position to the demand for the political and economic equality of the sexes. This we have done upon principle, in the days when even the women themselves were not at all interested and when it was distinctly unpopular. We can therefore very rightly claim that the Socialist movement has always been on the side of women's freedom and that its interest in the matter has not been inspired by a desire for political gain.

It is true, also, that women have always been admitted to the Socialist parties of the world—when they came and asked for admission. We inherited our attitude toward women from the Utopian Socialists, along with a good many other traditions. And it was not very much of a sacrifice, after all, to assume the unpopularity of declaring for the abolition of

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sex distinctions in citizenship. It couldn't increase our unpopularity very much when we had already declared for the abolition of so many other things.

Historically and theoretically, then, the Socialist movement stands for the emancipation of woman no less than for that of man. As an abstract principle, a pious expression of opinion, I have no doubt that one could get a unanimous vote in every Socialist local in the land in favor of the principle of equal suffrage. I have attended a great many Socialist conventions and congresses at which resolutions in support of the principle have been voted, and I do not at this time recall one of them at which there was a single vote against it.

But, while we have voted for the principle, and given it a place in our programmes, I think most candid Socialists will agree with me that we have not regarded it very seriously. At any rate, we have not made it very conspicuous in our agitation. True, when there has been an agitation among women for the suffrage we have always said to them: "You ought to join our party, for we are pledged to the principle you are advocating," but we have never gone very much further. How often do we hear the subject mentioned at public meetings of the party, for example? Is it not a fact that most of our speeches and by far the greatest part of our propaganda literature have been addressed to men, as though it was not worth while to consider the women? If a personal word may be pardoned, I know that I have been regarded as a "crank" on the subject, simply because I have made it a practice during many years to express my pleasure at seeing women at the meetings I have addressed, and my belief that their stake in the social problem is at least as great as that of their brothers.

Harsh as it may sound, I say that we have consistently and deliberately ignored the woman's side of our programme. There are many reasons for this into which I shall not at this time enter—racial and religous traditions among the most important of them. Relics of the ancient contempt for woman's intelligence and the ancient religious subjection of the sex to its overlords have remained latent in the most earnest of our comrades, blinding them very often to the fact that "Workers of the world unite!" means the woman in the factory as well as the man who works by her side; the woman toiling at home with the babies as well as her husband in the workshop or the mine.

Generally speaking we have tolerated our women comrades instead of welcoming them with enthusiasm and treating them with comradeship and equality. I know of one case in which a number of women members of the party—among

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them a lady whose Socialism dated back twenty years or more, who was an intimate friend of Ruskin and Morris—were frankly and bluntly told that they "could belong to the party and pay dues, if they liked, but the comrades would rather not have them at the meetings"! That was, of course quite an exceptional case, but I have often felt that if other comrades were less disingenuous and more candid they would confess to a very similar feeling toward the women comrades. Often our meetings are held in saloons where women will not come. When we have tolerated them in our locals we have not seriously regarded our sisters as our equals, but have regarded them as useful only to make cakes for tea-parties or "fancy things" to sell at fairs for raising funds. There have been exceptions, of course, but that has been the attitude in a majority of cases, so far as my observation has gone, and the women comrades have patiently and silently accepted their lot. True, wherever possible, we have used them as propagandists; when a woman has shown herself able and willing to make speeches, we have gladly used her, but here again, we have used her mainly as an "attraction," because the novelty of a woman speaker at a political meeting attracts the crowd! We have expected her, moreover, to make her appeal to men and begrudged every word she had to say by way of a special message to her own sex.

Now, at last, the women have awakened and taken matters into their own hands. When the movement for a separate organization of Socialist women began to assert itself a few years ago, I was one of those who, while believing heartily that our sister comrades were justified, urged them to remain in the party and to make their fight for recognition from the inside. I still adhere to that view of the situation. There can be no question, however, that the women are right in choosing their own methods and it remains only for the men to support them and co-operate with them. It is high time that the Socialist Party paid more serious attention to woman's share in the social misery of today, her vital stake in the movement for the liberation of mankind and her enormous influence either for progress or reaction. We need a much more extensive propaganda among the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of America.

Personally, I should like to see established in connection with the party a National Committee of Women, to be charged with this special work. It might be necessary to "ear-mark," as they say in the British parliament, for their special work the dues of all women comrades in the party, or some other method of raising funds for that purpose could be devised. In any case, the administrative difficulties are not

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insuperbable. Propagandists, especially women, equipped to present the claims of Socialism to women, could be engaged and steps taken to obtain suitable propaganda literature for circulation among women employed as wage-earners and other women who are doing the drudgery of household management and family life.

It is, I think, a most significant fact that we have practically no such literature at the present time. There are, it is true, a few scientific — and a few more pseudo-scientific — treatises dealing with the position of women in society in its historical aspects, with some speculations upon matters biological and physiological. For the rest our literature for women has been almost wholly of the Utopian variety, pictures of co-operative housekeeping, communal laundries and the like.

Most unsatisfactory of all has been the treatment of the subject of woman's place in society. Most of our literature on this point has been based upon the assumption that any other employment for women than household and maternal duties must be considered abnormal and wrong. Who is there in our movement that is not familiar with the promise that Socialism will do away with "unnatural labor" for women and enable them to stay at home; said unnatural labor being anything and everything except house-wifery and maternity; the endless chain of sweeping, washing, mending, scrubbing, cooking, child-bearing and nursing which gives truth to the ancient proverb that

> "Man's work is from sun to sun,
> But woman's work is never done."

Upon the whole, it seems not too much to say that anything less likely to attract an intelligent woman, or more likely to repel her, than the average Socialist pamphlet written for women it would be difficult to conceive.

III.

Those who have seen or read Ibsen's play, "The Master Builder," will remember that one of the most impressive moments is when Halvard Solness, the master builder, tells that elfin-like creature, Hilda Wangel, the story of the tragedy of his wife's life; of the sorrow which made her the poor, pathetic wraith of a woman she is. He speaks of her as having "lost her vocation as a builder" — for she, too, was a builder. With terrible earnestness, he explains that it is a woman's vocation to be "the builder of the souls of little children."

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I suppose that for most women this is true. It is woman's function to be the bearer and nourisher of the race. Socialism will not affect that great law of life. It will, however, insure women the right to follow their vocation. In any sane society it will be recognized that motherhood is a service to the State as important as any other, and far more important than making base commodities for profit. The supreme crime of capitalism, taking the mother away from her baby and sending her to a factory to become part of a machine, or even sending her away from her own baby to nurse some other woman's, will be remembered as a monstrous thing when the race has developed a sane and wholesome view of life. Childhood will not be robbed of maternal care in order that sweatears may thrive and bequeath a gilded parasitism to their children.

Socialism comes to unbind womanhood, to liberate the Great Nourisher of the race. Those who are familiar with the work of Stephan Sinding, the great Scandinavian sculptor, will remember his wonderful protest in marble, "The Captive Mother." A nude woman, with hands tightly bound with cords behind her back, kneels on the ground and bends painfully forward to suckle her little infant at her copious breasts. I do not know whether Sinding meant to carve into the marble all that I read out of it, but I never see that painful figure without regarding it as a symbol of woman's bondage. Bound by ignorance, by man's lordship, by ties of economic dependence, by false conventions and moral codes, by all the numberless limitations imposed upon her by the agelong despotism which is so slowly — but surely! — breaking up: Socialism must come to woman as the Dawn of Freedom, or it can have no meaning for her.

If the maternal vocation does not appeal to some women in the days to be; if they desire to pursue other vocations, whether in the fields with the plough or in the workshops with ringing tools, they must be free to live their lives in their own way. It is not for man to set metes and bounds to woman's freedom, for it is not true that, as Tennyson says,

"Woman is the lesser man."

The soul of Socialism is as much a living protest against social distinctions based upon sex as against such distinctions based upon property.

The goal of freedom can never be attained by a master sex dragging a subject sex behind it any more than it can be won by a master class dragging a subject class behind it. If our movement is to prevail we must have all proletarians, regardless of sex, with us. From this point of view, which I conceive to be the only one compatible with Socialist prin-

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ciples, it is essential that our stand for sex equality be made something more than a pious opinion: a real, vital and earnest part of our faith and our struggle. I do not urge that we should drop other things to concentrate our energies upon the task of securing political enfranchisement for women, but that the subject receive its just share of attention in our propaganda.

And, above all, I ask that some steps be taken to develop our propaganda among women — to carry to all women who toil, whether in factories or kitchens, the message of Socialism and Hope.

JOHN SPARGO.

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Methods of Propaganda.

"My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure." TENNYSON in **Sir Galahad.**

"And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love." I. Corinthians, XIII, 13.

So many other comrades have so much wider experience than have I in the actual work of propaganda that I feel I must preface this article by an apology for my presumption in writing on this topic. I have no disposition to speak as one having authority, but merely want to talk to my comrades as one who like all the others is interested in finding out the most effective ways of doing the work we all have at heart. The ideas that have grown up in my mind as a result of a little experience and much reflection I shall give you. Where I fall into error, wiser comrades will correct me in future numbers of the Review. In this way the experience of each can be put at the service of all. And that after all is the function of this Review — to serve as a clearing-house for the exchange of ideas between comrades.

The chief essential for effective propaganda is the right sort of propagandist. The qualities that form a good Socialist propagandist are — whether my materialist comrades shy at the term or not — spiritual qualities; and they are the same that went to make a man a good Christian in the days of the early church, and a good knight errant in the days of Chivalry. The earnest Socialist may well take as his mottoes the words of Tennyson and Paul quoted at the head of this article. Galahad's strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure. The effectiveness of the Socialist agitator to-day is in direct ratio with the purity of his heart. If his words are to influence others, he must be single-hearted in his devotion to the Cause, ever ready for the day which William Morris tells us.

"..... is drawing nigh,
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live, and some to die!"

His absorption in the cause of the World's Workers must be so complete that he will, not sacrifice his petty personal interests, but simply lose sight of them. The successful Socialist agitator to-day must be a modern Knight of Arthur's Table Round. Such a one like Galahad will have the strength of ten. Only the pure in heart can repeat without mental reservations Morris' noble lines,

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"Life or death then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose?
Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose."

And only the Comrade who thus finds himself by losing himself can be a valiant and effective warrior in the Army for Human Emancipation.

To the fully armed and equipped for the fray the Champions of the Proletariat must have Faith, Hope and Love; but the greatest of these is love. No Socialist agitator can reach a high level of efficiency unless he has real faith in the Working Class. A mere utopian longing for the Co-operative Commonwealth, with a vague hope that misery may drive the workers into working for it, will not do. The working class will not believe in the man or woman who does not believe in them. The modern Socialist Knight who lacks faith in the Proletariat will never draw the sword "Excalibur" from the rock. He is marching into battle unarmed. Faith in the working-class depends upon knowledge of the working-class, though, like theological faith, it will be none-the-less effective if it transcends knowledge. It is possible to have faith in the qualities, the capacities and potentialities of the working-class without in the least idealizing it, or blinding oneself to its many defects. No writer of the present day has drawn so relentless a picture of the unlovely aspects of proletarian life as Maxim Gorky; but no writer of the present day has so nobly shown such high faith in and such pure love for the Proletariat. The first great speaker and agitator of the modern Socialist Movement was Ferdinand Lassalle. No one has yet surpassed him in power and effectiveness. What was the secret of this extraordinary power? Read his **"Workingman's Programme,"** and see. It was his tremendous, prophetic, undoubting faith in the Working Class as the Rulers of To-morrow. He always seems to me to be standing with head bared before the Princes of the Future. I think it was due to no accident or conventionality that in his speeches he so frequently repeated the formal "Herren," Gentlemen. He looked forward with magnificent faith to a world in which all men would be *gentle*men in the best sense of that much abused word, and he recognized in the workers before him more of the essential qualities of the ideal gentleman than were to be found in the Upper Classes and Court Circles of the day.

"For the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under their skins." We Socialists do not credit the Proletariat with any miraculous virtues. We know that they are made of the same common clay as Kings, Professors and Millionaires. Like all other classes they are the product of their

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environment. But they are the only class in which Civilization has not blunted, stifled or extinguished the sense of human solidarity. In no other class to-day is there any attempt made to put the ethics of Jesus into practice. The ambitious Socialist speaker or writer who shows contempt for his untaught comrades, is not injuring them, but paralyzing himself. But the man who has struggled with the actualities of life, has earned his bread and butter by selling his manual labor on the labor-market, has gone into the shop and worked side by side with fellow-workers — even though they never heard of Socialism — can never again lose faith in the Working-Class, the Lords of the Days to Be.

Besides Faith the effective Socialist agitator must be armed with Hope Invincible. He must be a Herald of the World's Hope. It is his function and privilege to proclaim glad tidings of great joy which shall be to all people. He must believe in this joy and in its coming. Every Socialist speech should begin with a paraphrase of Morris' spirited lines,

"Come hither lads, and hearken, for a tale there is to tell,
Of the wonderful days a-coming, when all shall be better than well."

This hope should be more than hope; it should be an assured conviction of the certainty of Victory. When we speak of the "wonderful days a-coming" we should use, not the language of dreamers, but the language of KNOWERS. The most effective Socialist speaker it has been my privilege to know is our Comrade Fred Long of Philadelphia. What an inspiration it is to hear his "I KNOW" ring out! Fred Long, workingman, type-setter, has made more Socialists by his magnificently triumphant manner of pronouncing those two words than have most of our college-bred comrades by hours of rounded periods and finished elocution. He is the one man I know who, it seems to me, could bring out the full force of William Morris'

"Come, join in the only battle **wherein no man can fail,**
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, **yet his deed shall still prevail.**"

The early preachers of Christianity, who turned a despised sect into a World-Religion, not only believed in the Second coming of the Son of Man to establish the reign of Justice on Earth, but they believed in his **speedy** coming — that some of their own hearers would witness it. Every Socialist speaker who has made Socialists has had an equally strong belief in the speedy coming of the Social Revolution. Gaylord Wilshire has preached the Inevitability of Socialism in season and out of season, and **Wilshire's Magazine** has 300,000 readers to-day. The **Appeal to Reason** has never faltered

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in proclaiming the message of hope and deliverance, and its circulation grows so fast we grow dizzy in trying to keep track of it. In our hours of quiet study let us fortify our hope with the scientific arguments of Marx and Engels and Veblen; but in our propaganda work let us stick to Fred Long's assured "I KNOW!" In a time of suffering and unemployment like the present, what a privilege to be the heralds of Hope! To sing the words of Morris: —

"And hope is marching on.
"On we march then, we the workers, and the rumor that ye hear
"Is the blended sound of battle and deliv'rance drawing near;
"For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear."

"But the greatest of these is love." The one absolutely essential qualification for a good propagandist is LOVE. Socialism that is founded on sentiment alone is without foundation and will topple over at the first shock of conflict; but Socialism without Love is futile, barren and impotent. The idea that all sentiment and emotion is unscientific is a blighting and paralyzing curse, which has long been a serious handicap to the Socialist Movement. Love for the Proletariat should be a blazing passion in the breast of every true Socialist. It was the motive force in the life of Marx as it was in that of Jesus — if the word proletariat may for the nonce be applied to the poor of Jesus' day. I think we shall be all the better Socialists if we reach the plane where we even love our enemies — but love them with a clear understanding of the Class Struggle, realizing that the best way to show our love is to fight them with every weapon within our reach.

Those who wish to proscribe sentiment and emotion in the Socialist Movement are fond of quoting Liebknecht: "Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it is not Socialism." Those words are quite true, but if they would turn over a few pages they would find these words charged with deep emotion: "All who are weary and heavy laden; all who suffer under injustice; all who suffer from the outrages of the existing bourgeois society; all who have in them the feeling of the worth of humanity, look to us, turn hopefully to us, as the only party that can bring rescue and deliverance." And Liebknecht's whole life, his unwearying labor for the Cause, his cheerful demeanor in prison, was one long demonstration of love for the Proletariat. Our much vaunted and too-little-practiced comradeship is nothing if it is not that Love of which Paul wrote that it "suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up. Doth not behave itself unseemly, **seeketh not her own,** is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but re-

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joiceth in the truth; Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

That is a picture of the kind of Comradeship I want to see in the Socialist Party right here in America. When we have it, you won't have to climb a very high Pisgah peak to look over into the promised land of the Co-operative Commonwealth. But such Comradeship as we now have is the nearest approach to the realization of Paul's description of Love that has yet been made on Earth. How precious it is, those who do not share it cannot realize. But here we are very far from our ideal. Our comrades are too often easily provoked at one another. Far from bearing all things, enduring all things, very slight differences on economics or tactics are too often enough to disrupt the ties of comradeship, and divert for years to internecine conflict talents and energies that should be used against Capitalism. If our Love for each other as comrades, and our love for the working-class were stronger, these petty squabbles between comrades which not only disgrace but cripple the Socialist Movement would be impossible. "Brethren, these things ought not so to be." I have been an egregious sinner along this line myself, but I am going to swear off. The great need of the American Movement to-day is more emotion, more sentiment (not sickly sentimentality), more LOVE. A Socialist speaker may know all three volumes of Marx's **CAPITAL** by heart, but if his heart is not filled with love for the Proletariat he will never make a single Socialist. Such a one may truly apply to himself Paul's words: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing."

Another essential attribute of the good propagandist is Energy. There is a story told of the boy who when asked if his father was a Christian, replied: "Yes, but he does not ists but don't work much at it. In Socialism as in every thing work much at it." There are too many of us who are Socialelse Robert Browning's principle is a good one:

> "Stake your counter as boldly every whit,
> "Venture as warily, use the same skill,
> "Do your best, whether winning or losing it,
> "If you choose to play! ..... is my principle.
> "Let a man contend to the uttermost
> "For his life's set prize, be it what it will!"

Because as revolutionists we reject much of the master-taught morality of the current codes, it does not follow that

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we are to lead lives of license. On the contrary, as heralds of a higher, nobler and purer society it is incumbent upon us to show forth the superiority of our ideals by the beauty of our daily lives. This aspect of Socialism has been too much neglected in most of our Socialist literature. But it has found noble expression in Lassalle's **"Workingman's Programme"**—one of the very best pamphlets the Socialist Movement has ever had. A class called upon to be the rulers of the Future should lead lives worthy of their high calling. Such a life is the very best kind of Socialist propaganda. Much credit is due the Christian Socialists for keeping to the front high and worthy ethical ideals. But when they object to our publishing and distributing literature showing the earthly and materialistic origin of those ideals, we cannot yield to them in spite of our love for them as comrades and our recognition of how much the Socialist cause owes to them. For if it were not for our knowledge that a revolution in the materialistic and economic base of life must bring in its wake a revolution in our intellectual life and in our spiritual ideals, our philosophy would be a hog's philosophy of the trough and the belly. All of the lofty idealism of Socialism is rooted in Materialism. Were this not true there would not be a Christian Socialist on earth to-day. So to our Christian Socialist comrades we say: Let us each continue to do our work, and in spite of our differences let us cleave to that comradeship which "is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; Beareth all things, endureth all things."

If we had fifty thousand such Socialist propagandists as I have tried to describe, we would not have to worry much about methods of propaganda. But even then methods of propaganda would have their importance. To-day their importance is very great for the harvest is white and the laborers are few, so that it is of the utmost importance to economize our energies by using the most effective methods possible. To change the metaphor we are sowers of seed rather than reapers, and those of us who recall Christ's parable of the sower know that in sowing seed the great thing is not to waste the seed by the wayside or upon stony places or among thorns, but to sow just as much of it as is possible upon good ground. Now, the only good ground for Socialist seed is to be found in the heads of men who have been prepared by the very conditions of their lives to receive the seed and germinate it. We find more of such men among the industrial, urban proletariat than in any other class or section of the community, so that is where our energies should be concentrated. Of course this does not mean that other sections or portions of the community are to be neglected or repelled.

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In practice each one of us has to work with those people with whom his daily life brings him into contact. The comrade in the country must sow the seed in the minds of farmers. The middle-class comrade must do more or less missionary work in his own class. The Wall Street comrade (and there are some) must work with the brokers. The professional man must preach the Good News to Intellectuals.

But the agitator who is in a position to select his field of work, and is anxious to get the largest possible results from his labor MUST work with the Industrial Proletariat. Until the Proletariat is far more thoroughly organized than it is to-day propaganda among farmers and others must be merely incidental to our main work — the organization of those whom Capitalism and the Machine Process have prepared to receive our message. If this position is correct, the question of what are the best methods of propaganda resolves itself into the question: What are the best methods of reaching the industrial worker?

Many of us who are doing the work came from other classes, so we must avoid generalizing hastily from our own individual experiences. It does not follow that the pamphlets and books that led to our "conversion" will influence workingmen. The chances are they will not. I tried to show in an essay on "The Biogenetic Law" printed in this Review a few months ago that the road to Socialism followed by the professional or Middle Class man is very different from that followed by the workingman. The former is apt to become enamored of a beautiful picture of the Society of the Future, and will be greatly influenced by literature of the Ruskin-Morris-Blatchford type pointing out the utter hideousness of what the world calls Civilization. The workingman has no particular fancy for beautiful pictures — pipe-dreams he calls them — of the Future. He does not care much whether civilization is pretty or hideous. He is deeply conscious that he — John Jones, workingman — is not getting what his beloved President has taught him to call a "square deal." He has read Arthur Brisbane and Theodore Roosevelt and he is inclined to blame the "criminal malefactors of great wealth" for his unhappy condition. He thus has class-hatred. With him then our task is to make that our starting-point and turn this class-hatred (for which we are in no way responsible) into intelligent Socialist Class Consciousness; and for this purpose we must use straight and simple Class Struggle literature like A. M. Simon's "Man Under the Machine", Marx's "Wage-Labor and Capital," Gaylord Wilshire's "Why a Workingman Should be a Socialist," the four Kautsky Pamphlets, Vail's "The Mission of the Working-Class" and Lassalle's

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"Workingman's Programme." It is very difficult to get away from the idea that the literature that influenced us must influence every one else. In writing my "What's Wrong" article for the November Book Bulletin I recommended "Merrie England," a book that at one time greatly influenced me. The only criticisms of that article I have had have been letters from proletarians expressing surprise and amazement at that particular recommendation.

Of course in a city audience we always have some hearers that do not belong to the working class, but I do not believe it is necessary for the agitator to modify his doctrine in the slightest to tickle their ears. There are several reasons for this opinion. The first is he is gunning for proletarians; if any of his scattering shot brings down other game well and good, but to reach proletarians should ever be his aim. The second is that if the members of other classes are to become good and useful comrades, they must adopt the proletarian standpoint. Until they do so every old Socialist will agree with me they are a weariness to the flesh, so that we might just as well try to start them right instead of making two bites at a cherry. The third is that it is not at all sure he will be any more likely to get them by giving them what he may think they want than he would by giving them straight working-class Socialism.

I hope it will not be set down to mere vanity if I relate an anecdote from my own experience to illustrate this last point. I remember speaking one summer night in 1900 in La Salle, Illinois. I spoke on a square or vacant lot immediately next to the hotel where I was stopping, to an audience made up wholly or almost wholly of coal-miners. In order to account to them for the extreme irregularity of their employment I tried to explain to them just as simply as I could the Socialist theory of crises. I had no other thought but to make this just as plain as I could to those miners. After I went back to the hotel I sat down on the piazza to smoke a cigar before going to bed. A very well-dressed prosperous-looking man of about fifty came and sat down beside me and introduced himself. He told me he had been selling goods on the road for thirty years, but had never understood until that night why we had periodical hard times when it was difficult to sell goods. He said he had voted for Lincoln and every Republican candidate since, but that now he understood business for the first time in his life, and he was sure I was right. I took him to my room and opened my trunk and sold him about two dollars' worth of Socialist books. This may look at first sight like an exception to the Biogenetic Law, but it is not. His experience as a drummer had prepared his mind

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to receive the Socialist theory of crises. But, if because I had noticed a few well-dressed men on the hotel porch, I had changed my talk and painted lovely visions of the Co-operative Commonwealth and dwelt on the hideousnesses of life to-day I would have reached neither the coal-miners I was after nor the drummer whom I got by chance.

For the next year many of the workingmen whom we want to reach will be out of work. Those who are employed will live in constant dread of losing their jobs. To reach them we must explain to them why their jobs are so precarious, in other words we must explain to them why crises are inevitable under the wage-system. During the year 1908 the Socialist agitator should always devote his first speech in a town to this subject, and he should be armed with at least 100 copies of Bellamy's "Parable of the Water-Tank" or Joe Wanhope's splendid leaflet, "A Tip for the Jobless Man," to give away. He should also have several sample copies of "Wilshire's Magazine," the "Appeal to Reason" and the "Chicago Daily Socialist" and should get just as many subscriptions to these as possible. This is just as important as good speaking. Whenever possible the agitator should have at least three nights in a town. Then, on the second night he could explain more fully the fundamental class conflict, and on the third night could show the Class character of the State and the consequent necessity of working-class political action. It is almost impossible to cover these three points in a single speech, but where the agitator has only one night in the town he must make the attempt though he must give most of his time to the causes of panics.

While our constant aim must be to carry the Good News to the industrial proletariat, there is no reason why we should not use special means to reach others whenever we can do so without neglecting our main work. For instance it would be a good plan for every travelling agitator to carry a few copies of the "Christian Socialist" to give to the ministers in the towns he visits. But for us Socialists the Proletariat is a necessity: other classes are superfluities. A witty comrade recently wrote me that of late years the Socialist Party in its eagerness to reach farmers and others seemed to have adopted the saying of a character in one of Oscar Wilde's stories who remarked that the "only things we could not get along without were the superfluities."

The New Year of 1908 is bringing to us American Socialists the greatest and most golden opportunities that men could wish for. Let us rise to the occasion! Let us forget our petty differences! All those who hope for the Co-operative Commonwealth and believe in the political action of the

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working-class as a means to reach it are comrades and ought to work together harmoniously. What matters it if one believes in immediate demands and another does not; if one believes in Industrial Unionism and another does not; if one is a Christian Socialist and another is a materialist with a heart burning with love for the despised proletariat? There are enough things that we all believe in to unite us indissolubly in the bonds of that Comradeship which "suffereth long" and "is not easily provoked."

If we prove equal to the opportunity, if our love for each other and for the Proletariat swells into a flood mighty enough to sweep away our petty differences and our petty personal aims, then the Panic of 1907-1908 will be the last panic that America will ever see, and you and I will live to see grow up a generation of children unable to understand or realize the Night Mare of Poverty and the Hell of Competition.

"Hear a ward, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,
"When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die!"

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

New Canaan, Conn., Jan. 13, 1908.

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Benjamin Kidd's Religious Interpretation of History.

ALL STUDENTS of social questions of any penetration have observed the backward condition of sociology. Kidd observed this and bewailed it all the more as he believed himself destined to change it.

The manner in which he sets about his task is full of promise. He is an implicit believer in biological science. He knows why sociology is at sea. It is because the sociologist has not paid sufficient attention to biology and its methods. His book "Social Evolution" contains no finer passage than the one in which he expresses this idea: "By these sciences which deal with human society it seems to have been for long forgotten that in that society we are merely regarding the highest phenomena in the history of life, and that consequently all departments of knowledge which deal with social phenomena have their true foundations in the biological sciences." How Kidd could begin so well and end by describing all progress in terms of religion we shall see later.

Since there is a lengthy chapter about the middle of the book, explaining the danger of Socialism, we are more than a little surprised to find the following on the second page of the volume.

"Despite the great advances which science has made during the past century in almost every other direction, there is, it must be confessed, no science of human society properly so called.

"What knowledge there is exists in a more or less chaotic state scattered under many heads; and it is not improbably true, however much we may hesitate to acknowledge it, that the generalizations which have recently tended most to foster a conception of the unity of underlying laws operating amid the complex social phenomena of our time, have not been those which have come from the orthodox scientific school. They have rather been those advanced by that school of social revolutionists, of which Karl Marx is the most commanding figure."

Kidd is a thorough Darwinian; he is an admirer of Weismann and accepts his views; he is thoroughly convinced that the theories of these two great savants are destined to prove the salvation of sociology.

There are two rather grave deficiencies however, in Kidd's

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biological education. He worked out his theory too early to get the benefit of Krapotkin's "Mutual Aid" and De Vries' "Mutation." Had he looked up even the earlier of Krapotkin's articles, which were then appearing in the Nineteenth Century Review, he would probably have had less to say about the "ceaseless and inevitable struggle and competition" which seem to him to be in operation always and everywhere.

He rejects, of course, the old cataclysmic geology, and magnifies the slowness of evolution, after the fashion of the Darwinians of twenty years ago. Could he have known of De Vries' experiments and their results he might have modified his views about the "slowness" of organic evolution.

He is quite positive that the fundamental law of social progress can be found in Darwinian science as he knows it, and he plunges boldly in. The search is brief and successful; he finds it at the very threshold. It is nothing less than Darwin's great principle of natural selection. In the lower forms of organic life the inferior members are sacrificed so that the few superior individuals might alone propagate and thus preserve the highest possible efficiency of the species. If the struggle for existence could be suspended here, the inferior as well as the superior would propagate, therefore the progress of the species would cease and almost immediately, degeneracy would set in. It is clear then that progress among these lower creatures is due to the struggle for existence in which the unfit are invariably weeded out in the interest of a few superiors.

Kidd lifts this theory bodily over into the domain of human society. Here it means that the mass of men must consent, in the interests of progress, to be driven to the wall in order that a few more excellent individuals may be selected to rule society and keep it at the maximum of efficiency. Had Kidd known how thoroughly Krapotkin proved his case in his contention of the superiority of mutual aid against mutual struggle as a factor in progress, his confidence in his own theory would have been much less pronounced. Then he would have known that as we rise in the organic scale cooperation usually takes the place of competition to an ever increasing degree. Even though Kidd overlooks this or fails to appreciate its force, he still sees a great difference between the lower organic world and human society.

This difference which he sees is the difference between the play of blind, unconscious forces, and the power of human reason. It was precisely this difference which Lester F. Ward observed and made the basis of his sociology. Between Kidd and Ward the contrast is complete. Ward believes that future progress depends on the increased use of reason; Kidd be-

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lieves such a course would be fraught with disaster, and that progress depends on our not meddling with the forces of nature in general and the struggle for existence in particular. Huxley maintained that those societies are most nearly perfect in which "the struggle for existence is most strictly limited." Darwin said: "Those communities which included the greatest number of sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring." Krapotkin even disputes the value of struggle among animals, asserting that even here "no progressive evolution of the species can be based upon periods of keen competition." This is a phase of evolution which never came within Kidd's limited vision — unfortunately for his whole theory.

Kidd therefore takes the astounding position that the continuance of human progress depends on the mass of men refusing to use their reason for the alleviation of present hardships. He concedes that for men in society to continue the bitter struggle for existence is contrary to reason. He admits also that the possession of reason gives men the power to suspend or abolish that struggle. Why then do they not abolish it? It is Kidd's answer to this pertinent question which constitutes the foundation of his system.

In the first place, if they did progress would cease. His interesting chapter on the "Conditions of Human Progress" is devoted to the development of this theory. We are presented with a resumé of the history of man which might well have been written in answer to Krapotkin's treatment of the same theme in "Mutual Aid." He says of man: "Looking back through the glasses of modern science we behold him at first outwardly a brute, feebly holding his own against many fierce competitors." And again: "Looking back through the history of life anterior to man, we find it to be a record of ceaseless progress on the one hand and ceaseless stress and competition on the other. This orderly and beautiful world which we see around us is now, and always has been, the scene of incessant rivalry between all the forms of life inhabiting it — rivalry too, not chiefly conducted between different species but between members of the same species. The plants in the green sward beneath our feet are engaged in silent rivalry with each other, a rivalry which if allowed to proceed without outside interference would know no pause until the weaker were exterminated." And, he concludes, "Other things being equal, the wider the limits of selection, the keener the rivalry, and the more rigid the selection, the greater will be the progress." When Kidd comes to human society he still sees this "rivalry" unabated. "It is necessary to keep the mind fixed on a single feature of man's history,

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namely, the stress and strain under which his development proceeds. His societies, like the individuals comprising them, are to be regarded as the product of the circumstances in which they exist, — the survivals of the fittest in the rivalry which is constantly in progress." The divergence between Kidd and Krapotkin is not as to the struggle between societies, though even here there is some difference, but in that Krapotkin maintains that victory falls to those societies which most thoroughly suspend the struggle and competition within their own borders, while Kidd holds the exact opposite.

However this controversy may be ultimately decided, it cannot be denied that existing society, which marks the highest point yet reached in the history of civilization, is still ramified with the struggle for existence between the majority of its members. And Kidd freely acknowledges that this struggle is responsible for that appalling poverty which is the despair of all reformers. There is no disposition on his part to gloss this over. He is, on the other hand, anxious to prove its existence and produces witnesses of great importance. He is careful to show that the demand for improvement is not limited to demagogues. Although Huxley opposed Individualism and Socialism both, he was heartily sick of things as they are. He said: "Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its conquence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion are to make no difference in the extent and intensity of want with its concomitant physical and moral degradation among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away." Again Huxley says:

"What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of heaven to be his servant, and that the spirits of the earth and air obey him; if the vulture of Pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?"

And Kidd himself puts this question into the mouth of the Socialists:

"The adherents of the new faith ask, What avails it that the waste places of the earth have been turned into the highways of commerce, if the many still work and want and only the few have leisure and grow rich? What does it profit the worker that knowledge grows if all the appliances of science

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are not to lighten his labor? Wealth may accumulate, and public and private magnificence may have reached a point never before attained in the history of the world; but wherein is society the better, it is asked, if the Nemesis of poverty still sits like a hollow-eyed spectre at the feast?"

It was the observance of these terrible conditions which led John Stuart Mill to say that if he had to choose "between communism with all its chances and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices..... all the difficulties, great and small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance."

Kidd is willing to acknowledge that the demand for the abolition of this struggle for existence and its consequent poverty is reasonable and that Socialism would abolish it.

He says: "It is necessary, if we would understand the nature of the problem with which we have to deal, to disabuse our minds of the very prevalent idea that the doctrines of socialism are the heated imaginings of unbalanced brains. They are nothing of the kind; they are the truthful, unexaggerated teaching of sober reason."

He also regards the critics of Socialism as having failed to meet its arguments: "No greater mistake can be made than to suppose," says he, "that the arguments of these writers have been effectively answered in that class of literature which is usually to be met with on the other side."

He not only admits but contends that: "The lower classes of our population have no sanction from their reason for maintaining existing conditions."

Even if the abolition of the struggle for existence, with its consequent poverty, should result, as Kidd claims, in the cessation of progress and the sufferers knew it would bring that result, would that knowledge alone be enough to restrain them from so doing? Kidd himself thinks not. He thinks any such supposition unreasonable. In his estimation men are not influenced by such remote considerations. He quotes Mallock who asks: "Do any of us deny ourselves a single scuttle of coals so as to make our coalfields last one more generation?" Of course not. Future generations will know how to keep warm without our worrying about it.

This then is the problem as it presents itself to Kidd: If the working class, by using its reason and adopting Socialism, could thereby abolish its poverty and misery, and the only penalty would be a remote one, and it is not really influenced by remote considerations, why does not the working class act in the matter and secure emancipation from present ills? This is the question which rises in the minds of Mr. Kidd's readers with increasing persistence.

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It is indeed to Kidd himself a great mystery, and once more history repeats itself — mystery becomes the mother of religion. Kidd explains that this unreasonable, inexplicable submission of the working class is the handiwork of religion. How can it be explained otherwise? If the phenomenon is not natural it must be supernatural. If it is not reasonable it must be religious.

Now that the theory comes into full view, we perceive that it is simply a modernized revival of the "categorical imperative" of Emanuel Kant — that our duty, no matter how difficult or distasteful, must be regarded as the will of God.

Before we go further with our analysis let us follow Kidd in his pitiful efforts to interpret history by means of this precious principle.

In the ancient world, before christianity appeared, the lower classes were always crushed without mercy whenever they attempted to improve their miserable lot. This was because the ruling class acted according to the dictates of reason only and were not influenced by considerations of religion. The great and, as it appears to Kidd, the only religion, christianity not having appeared yet, it is difficult to see how they could have been. After the advent of christianity however it is another story. At the close of the Roman Empire chattel slavery disappeared. This must have been because the slaves revolted, although the records are not very explicit. But now the ruling class, instead of putting down the rebellion in a sea of blood, surrenders. This is due to the action of christianity which has by this time generated and conserved an "immense fund of altruistic feeling" which by "softening the character" of the slave-owners made them unwilling to vigorously defend the institution which gave property rights in human flesh.

The abolition of that atavistic revival of chattel slavery which covered the Southern states was accomplished by the teaching of "The doctrine of salvation and the doctrine of the equality of all men before the Deity," and not by the action of reason, for neither of these doctrines are founded in reason, but in faith — as Mr. Kidd sees it. This religious interpretation of history is altogether too shallow and unreal to call for any extended criticism, but one might remark in passing that it hardly jibes with Mr. Kidd's view that this Southern slave-owning class which had its "character softened" by the influence of religious teaching until it surrendered, should only do so after a bloody and prolonged struggle and when surrender was by no means a matter of choice. Our philosopher stoutly maintains that any ruling class must be victorious unless its blows are half-hearted through the influence of

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religion. Mr. Kidd does not possess the historical vision to be able to perceive that this Southern ruling class was measuring blades, not with its slaves but, with a Northern ruling class, and although this Northern ruling class had also experienced the benign influences of religion there was no apparent weakness in its blows.

Kidd would probably have explained this, had he perceived it, by the justice of their cause, for it is hardly likely that so purblind a thinker would have seen that the brave Northerner was only defending another slave system of his own.

The French revolution is to Kidd not a struggle between two robber classes but a struggle between the rulers and the people. The hearts and characters of the ruling classes had been affected — "softened" — by "the great body of humanitarian feeling which had been slowly accumulating" through the influence of religion. "It was in the hearts of these classes," says the ingenuous Kidd, "and not in the streets, that the cause of the people was won." And so it came to pass that the French ruling class, humanitarianized and heart-softened by religion, gave in — after a fierce and sanguinary fight.

We are not surprised to find after this that Kidd is opposed to Socialism. Of his numerous objections only one is vital to his system. That is, that Socialism would suspend the struggle for existence, thereby abolishing that operation of natural selection which he regards as the prime cause of all progress.

It is enough to say here that the idea of the demoralizing struggle for existence, which curses existing society, being necessary to future progress, is an ideological phantasm of Kidd's bourgeois brain; it has no essential place in modern positive science. As to whether this struggle, as it now exists, secures the survival of those who are fittest in any socially desirable sense. I have fully covered the point in my "Reply to Haeckel" in "Evolution, Social and Organic."

When Kidd sees the exploited working class subordinating its own present interests to the future interests of the race his mind is playing him a scurvy trick — a trick which has victimized better men than Kidd. What he conceives to be the future interests of the human race are nothing more than the sublimated, idealized interests of the present ruling class. What Kidd's position really amounts to at bottom is, that the working class is kept quiet and submissive in the interests of the ruling class, and as this submission is neither sensible nor reasonable, it must be due to religion. When Kidd's philosophy is thus stripped of its metaphysical trappings there is a great deal to be said in its favor.

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It will hardly do however, in the twentieth century, to give the sole credit for the continued subjugation of the working class to religion. It may be freely conceded that this curbing of the oppressed class in society has always been the main function of all religions. It is from this point of view that Ruskin, speaking as one of the well-to-do, defines the English national religion as: "The performance of church ceremonies, and the preaching of soporific truths (or untruths) to keep the mob quietly at work while we amuse ourselves." In earlier times, before science had demoralized theology, religion was able to accomplish this result almost unassisted.

There is also a considerable grain of truth in Kidd's contention that this repression was of service to the race, distasteful as this may be to the average free-thinker.

It is a well known and essential tenet of the evolutionary philosophy that the mere existence of anything proves it to have some real place in the general scheme of things, and that which has existed for centuries must have had some useful function to perform. Even chattel slavery may be successfully defended on this ground. The reason why the Red Indian cannot adapt himself to European civilization is probably to be found in the fact that his race has not been subjected to those long centuries of slavery and serfdom which has developed in the white races that capacity for sustained and continuous labor which is indispensable to modern civilization.

In so far as religion assisted in that painful discipline by promising fantastic and visionary rewards in some future cloud-land, thus rendering the slavery more endurable, it has functioned usefully in the development of society. While this may justify religion in the past, it is hardly a good reason for its preservation in the future, and it is encouraging that only an insignificant handful of very poorly informed Socialists consider it worth while to spend their energies bolstering up exploded superstitions which are useful only in a slave society. That this is the real function of religious belief, the ruling class has always been quick to apprehend. A fine example of this appeared in the German parliament when Mr. Windhorst, member of the Clerical Party, appealed to the bourgeois legislators not to encourage the spread of irreligion among the masses. In a moment of anger, he forgot the listening Social Democrats and the listening world. Said he: "When the people lose their faith they will no longer bear their intolerable misery, they will rebel." This is really what Kidd took three hundred pages to say.

Those who, accepting this view, conclude that freethought is sufficient to accomplish the liberation of the work-

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ing class, are the victims of a great delusion. The time has long passed when the ruling class depended solely on the priest for the quiescence of their victims. Except among catholics, the priest has ceased to be an effective policeman. The protestant churches no longer contain any considerable proportion of wage workers. The protestant worker has come to recognize the antediluvian nature of biblical teaching and he refuses even to listen to it. When the protestant church conceded the occupant of the pew the right to use his own judgment, it signed its own death-warrant. The catholic church has always seen the danger of this, and it owes its great power among its working men to its logical and consistent policy of refusing to allow them to think for themselves.

In the twentieth century the ruling class has weapons much more effective than the antiquated vaporings of preachers. The newspaper has usurped the functions of the pulpit and this is why editors are well paid while the majority of preachers are almost starving. Now that the preacher cannot "deliver the goods" the capitalist refuses to foot the bills.

Time was when the priest was the most valuable of all the intellectual hirelings of the ruling class, but with capitalism this is not so, for the preacher's method of enslavement destroys the intelligence of the slave and renders him incapable of useful service in a mode of wealth production which requires in its workers an active brain, able to comprehend the complex processes of machine production.

The schoolmaster is able to produce a slave psychology and at the same time develop this necessary intelligence. The editor is able to contribute to the impregnation of the worker's brain with bourgeois ideas, while he preserves his own influence by sprinkling his effusions with scientific ideas.

Therefore the schoolmaster and the editor, and for similar reasons the professor, are rated above the preacher, and the preaching profession is fast becoming a negligible quantity.

In the past week, we have had a notably clear demonstration of this. At a meeting of the Pittsburg Ministerial Union, Jan. 13, '08, the Rev. Joseph Cochrane of Philadelphia delivered himself as follows:

"Ministers are underpaid and the scale of their pay and advancement in the last ten years does not begin to compare with the average hodcarrier."

"Conditions existing to-day in the educational institutions of the country are exactly the reverse of what they were twenty-five or thirty years ago. Where formerly 80 per cent of the students graduated from the great Eastern colleges left

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their studies to enter the ministry, while 20 per cent took up the practice of law, medicine or business, of the students graduated by the Eastern universities last year only 2 1-2 per cent were trained for the ministry. This meant only one minister for every twenty-five pupils in the East.

"The majority of students who now enter colleges to study for the ministry leave their studies to take up law, medicine, dentistry or business. The atmosphere of the institutions in which they receive their trainng is to be lamented.

"In this materialistic age, the dearth of ministers is due, at least to some extent, to the small salaries to be had."

And so Mr. Kidd's theory that religion is alone responsible for the continued submission of the working class is steadily and rather rapidly losing ground, so that propaganda limited to modern liberalism — free-thought — has already become an anachronism. Capitalism has filled its armory with intellectual weapons that are more effective because more modern. Among its choicest are the press and the lecture platform. The workers are beginning to realize more than ever that the only remedy for this is a platform and a press of its own. As this realization becomes more vivid new Socialist platforms are established and Socialist papers are born over-night.

Thus does the working class fight fire with fire. It develops its own social intelligence and promotes a revolutionary psychology; a psychology which grows out of the economic world, the world of real things, freed from superstitions theological and otherwise, a psychology which when it has gathered sufficient force and begins to find mass-expression will relegate to history the last form of economic slavery.

ARTHUR M. LEWIS.

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Poetry and the Social Unrest.

TAKE up the latest magazine, read through its scant bits of verse, and see if you can find therein an answer to the canting wail, "Why have we not poets nowadays?" Most of our versifiers—with Byron still echoing in their ears and modern esthetics crowded into some segregated section of their brains —are classical and unashamed. By "classical" I mean stilted, formal, conventional. In the great periods of English literature poetic souls have been touched by song of lark and nightingale, and now the tuneful pair go wailing together thru the verses of Americans whose experience with them has been limited to natural history museums. Keats and Tennyson look as sad in the broken lines of our periodicals as did Virgil and Horace in their eighteenth century couplets.

This goes to show that our "poets" are not genuine. And like unto this truth is the next. Not being genuine they lack the breadth of interest which was characteristic of their great originals. Shelley and Byron, Wordsworth and Tennyson wrote of birds and flowers, of river and mead, but their feeling for landscape beauty, just because it was real, did not stand alone. Any man who cares for bird-song or violet or the infinite stretches of green below and blue above will care most of all for his fellow beings: nothing human will be alien to him. Read over the titles to the poems of any of the men mentioned: see how wide were their sympathies, how far-flashing their hates, how they stood near the center of the world movement of their time. If Shelley penned "To Constantia Singing," we owe to him also a "Song to the men of England," a cry of encouragement "To the Republicans of North America," and a sad stanza which still gives voice to the woes of Ireland. Byron wrote much of love and women, but when the great cry went forth from struggling Greece it was in his trumpet lines that it reached the corners of the earth.

Mind you I am not saying that these men were political or didactic poets, or that poetry should deal largely with passing human struggles. But a great poet must feel the length and breadth, the height and depth of our nature; must be able to speak out of the inmost core of our racial being, out of that soul of us that can perish only with our kind. And how can he know humanity except through the aspirations and defeats, the spiritual rending and tearing and readjusting which he can feel in the society of his own time? The man who lives in this moving,

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breathing world of ours blind and deaf to these will never be a poet for all his pretty lines to skylark and nightingale.

But our versifiers do not speak out of the heart of their time or of any time. Not strange then appears the fact that the great social unrest of the twentieth century should find so little echo in their stanzas. In otner lands, to be sure, the cry of the proletariat has found eloquent voice in picture and statue and poem; but here in America we are timid and tardy. There are signs, however, of better things to come: what a few years may bring forth no man can tell.

With this in mind the reader may take more than a passing interest in the poems which these paragraphs are designed to introduce. Their author would be the last to claim for them any transcendent qualities. But they deal with a theme of transcendent interest to the readers of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and deal with it in a manner which seems to me vigorous and effective. The first two picture forth two of the results of our heartless civilization: the others are a call to us to rise in revolt.

WM. E. BOHN.

WHO DROVE THEM FORTH?

Written on occasion of the lay-off of ten thousand employees of the Union Pacific Railroad.

The frost-king howls his frenzy down the skies,
  The scraggling pines like spears point to the south;
  And huddled there in the mountain's gaping mouth,
A countless herd of starving cattle dies.

Only the shadows hear their shuddering cries,
  As hungry coyotes tear their helpless shanks;
  Only the snows in blizzard-driven banks
Can sense where, winding, rough, the black trail lies.

Who drove them forth? Where doth God's finger point?
  Let quail these cruel and cowardly souls, for now,
  My fellows, will we make the tyrants bow,
And doubly cruel, will rend them joint and joint.

Loud howl the winter winds, low hangs the sky;
Helpless the cattle starve,—they can but die!

Eric Dale.

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A MACHINE-MADE SONG.

The crush of the city is in my heart
  Like the voice of a long North night,
And fear-spent eyes like an icy dart
  Chill my own sick heart with fright.
  'T is a fear of the end, of the flitting years,
  Of a time when smiles are few;
When my own spent eyes are a mist of tears,
  And all life is bitter rue.
'T is a dreary fight, 't is a fight to death,
Yet the heart cries out in a sobbing breath,
    "Fight on!"

The crush of the city is in my breast
  Like the surge of a turbulent sea;
The hopeless hurry, the white unrest
  Blast the hope in the heart of me:—
What use to toil with a nerveless hand
  In a day so blight with woe?
And how may the hope of an Afterland
  Steal the sting of the world we know,
When the end so near is fraught with death?—
Yet the heart cries out in a sobbing breath,
    "Fight on!"

The crush of the city is hushed and still,
  But the darkness is a-flare
With the flashing lights from a tireless mill,
  Which hums in the slumbrous air.—
Grind on, you wheels, till the remnant soul
  Is lost in the rattle and hate!
Toil on, you men, till the funeral toll
  Sounds the last cold knell of Fate!
For we're all in the fight. 't is a fight to death,
And we all will sob in the last short breath,
    "Fight on!"

Eric Dale

DOWN WITH THE AUTOCRATS!

Could I but have the hungry flesh-red lash
  That Cheops wielded from his pyramid,
  And all the hate which from his living-dead
Flashed up in fire to wither to slow ash;

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Could I but have the sinew and the brawn
On which that brute insatiate lash was fed,
And all the hope those flouted armies bled
That stone might vaunt when Egypt's might were gone;

Could I but have them all, just these,—ah then,
My fellows, would I flay the vultures red
Who glut more life-blood than e'er Cheops did,
And lash till their gaunt hearts were those of men!

Come! Drive the damned tyrants from their shade,
And taste the sweets your own long labor made!

Eric Dale.

THE SLEEPING SLAVES.

With silent stealth these hideous birds of power,
From fevered mires and fens of lustful greed,
Like vultures swarm to pillage and to bleed,
And frighten slaves to wheedle and to cower.

With songs of tinseled lust they tone the hour,
Soft wily cries the myriad slaves enfold;
Yet we sleep on, dream all our tinsel gold,
Nor wake to find all rancid, rank, and sour.

What are we men that on starvation feed
When mellow fruit bleeds in their dripping claws?
Come, sluggards, rise! List to their coarse guffaws
Mock our inaction, misery, and need!

Rend wing and wing these vultures and their like;
Come! Wake from this black lethargy and strike!

Eric Dale.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

I. The Negro Slave in Colonial Times.

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races, says Professor Du Bois, a prominent member of the colored race. While his descent must naturally influence the writer quoted to somewhat exaggerate the importance of the problem, and while we socialists will never be disposed to admit that any problem may overshadow in importance the problem of labor, yet the fact that some ten millions, or one eighth of our population, are at least likely to take the point of view of Professor Du Bois, and that these ten millions are mostly proletarians, and that to them this would be a true statement of fact, no matter what we think of it, must force us socialists to admit that there is at least a great deal of truth in this assertion. Curiously enough, this general recognition of the acuteness of the negro problem dates from the beginning of the current century. Since the now famous luncheon of President Roosevelt with Mr. Booker Washington, in the latter part of 1901, — an incident trivial enough in itself, but characteristic for the unanimous cry of protest throughout the entire South, from Maryland to Florida, and from the shores of the Atlantic to the farthest Texas,—animated discussions were started not only in the North, but even in Europe, as to the future of the Negro Race in America. It is no less curious, that while it is generally understood that the vast majority of the negroes in this country belong to the proletarian class, nevertheless the party which claims to represent the interest of this class has troubled itself very little about the negro problem. A few articles in the pages of the International Socialist Review, and other Socialist publications, some quite sensible and some otherwise, was all that the socialists have contributed to the discussion of this grave problem, as if their assertion, often heard, that the negro problem was only one aspect of the labor problem, relieved them of the necessity of studying it, instead of making it their especial duty. It is not at all surprising therefore, to find a universal lack of understanding of the complicated aspects of this problem among the working socialists, coupled with a wide spread lack of interest anywhere outside of the southern socialist organizations. Instead of a painstaking study, and some well formed convictions and policies, we find only antiquated pre-

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judices among some, and a purely platonic sympathy to the poor negroes among others. Do the Socialists of this country really expect to attract the ten million negro proletarians into their ranks with such a policy of indifference? Or do they really think they can succeed in this country with these ten millions of proletarians left on the outside? Or do they simply sit and wait, until the International Socialist congress will take up this momentous question, just as they were willing to leave the entire question of immigration alone to be discussed by the comrades from the countries of Europe?

The series of studies, of which this is the first installment, is not offered with the conceited notion, that it will entirely fill the existing gap. There is no pretense, that an absolutely correct answer will be given to the negro problem, which will be adopted as our plank by the time the next national convention meets for the selection of its candidates, and the formulation of its platform. Our purpose will be realized, if we shall succeed in showing some of the historical and economic aspects of this problem, and shall make the average socialist worker somewhat better acquainted with the nature of the problem, so as to give some solid foundation upon which to construct his theories and remedial proposals. Books there have been written many about the negro problem, but not only are the socialist writers conspicious by their absence in this literature, but very few efforts have ever been made, at least in this country, to apply the methods of economic interpretation to the past and the present of the negro's position in this country. For it is true, though scarcely flattering to our national conceit, that the few really scientific studies of the history of the negro race in this country have been contributed by German students, and I hope to do a useful service to the cause, if I do no more than acquaint the American socialists with the interesting results of these investigations.

I have stated above that the beginning of the twentieth century has brought with it a marked aggravation of the negro problem. Still, it was evident to any painstaking observer of American life, that no sudden change in the relation of the races has taken place and that the seeming aggravation of the conditions was but a manifestion of effects which were gathering for a very long time. For no matter what the future may have in store for us, in the past the negro question, like the poor, we had with us always. And any serious discussion of the negro question is absolutely useless which does not take the historical conditions into thorough consideration.

What is the negro problem? In other words, what facts of American life justify us in speaking of its existence? In brief, it is this: That ten millions of men and women of negro,

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or semi-negro origin are forced, against their will, and much to their dissatisfaction, to live in exceptional legal as well as social conditions, that they are forced to suffer restrictions in their political and civil rights, as well as economic opportunities because of their racial origin. This is not intended as a criticism of the situation, but as a simple statement of facts, for at this stage we are only stating the problem which we intend to study. With the exception of one short period, where the legal, but not the actual standing of the negro was equalized with the rest of the population, the negro problem as defined above, has never ceased to exist since that fateful day when the first fourteen African negroes were brought to Virginia in a small Dutch vessel, in the year of our Lord 1619.

Not only has the negro problem existed in this country since that day, but the presence of the negro has made a deep impression upon the economic, political and social development of this country, and the history of the Negro Problem is no more and no less than the History of the United States, of its politic, economic and social institutions.

No effort will be made to embody the history of this great country in this short series of essays. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated too often, that without some historical study of the negro problem, its nature at the present cannot at all be understood.

The proclamation of emancipation divides this history into two well defined epochs, that of slavery and that of negro freedom. The present negro problem is the problem of the free negro; but an understanding of the free negro, and his problem may only be found in the conditions of slavery, and any discussion of the negro problem, which presumes to begin after the emancipation, is worse than useless, it is misleading.

It seems even strange that it should be necessary to emphasize this fact; but our young and energetic country lives fast, makes its history in a great hurry and therefore forgets as easily. It must always be remembered, therefore, that scarcely more than 40 years have passed since the liberation of the slaves. It follows that almost all the living negroes over forty years of age were born of parents who had been slaves. On the other hand, the white population of the South is no further removed from the institution of slave owning, than the negro is from conditions of previous servitude. The system of slavery is vivid in memories, as an awful nightmare for some, and as a vision of the paradise lost for others. Social relations are even more enduring than personal memories. Much will be cleared up in this tremendous and com-

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plicated problem, if the present influences of the only too recent past be constantly kept in mind.

"Vice," says Horace Greeley, "is ever conceived in darkness and cradled in obscurity." This relieves me from the painful necessity of making an effort to contribute to the discussion of the exact date of the origin of negro slavery in the American colonies. In 1619, or 1620, it really makes very little difference which, there arrived in Jamestown, of the colony of Virginia, the Dutch vessel with its human cargo of 14 or 20 negroes, who were sold into slavery to some of the colonies simply followed the tradition of all colonies of the negro problem in this country. But it neither was the beginning of slavery in the American colonies, nor even of negro slavery on the new continent.

For on the one hand, there had existed by that time negro slavery for over one hundred years in the Spanish, Portugese and Dutch colonies of the American continent, directly transplanted from the African colonies of the same European powers, and on the other hand, the British colonies have also made use of enforced slave labor from the very first days of their existence. How much truth there is in the frequent assertions, that the development of the British colonies in North America would have been impossible without slave labor, it is not necessary to decide here. Nor it is necessary to presume the existence in the British colonies of any special psychological qualities, which have caused this introduction of slavery.

For in accepting the system of involuntary labor these colonies simply followed the tradition of all colonies of the European powers. The economic conditions of the American colonies were extremely favorable to the introduction of slavery or some other system of enforced labor. The enormous supply of free land made the pursuit of agriculture open to every one, as well as exceedingly profitable. Given a practically unlimited supply of free virgin land, the profits of farming was limited only by the scarcity of hired labor, for the new immigrant did not lose much time in turning into an independent farmer. The supply of free hired labor could therefore be but small, and wages of agricultural labor exceedingly high. Side by side with free labor there existed therefore the indentured labor of debtors, often as a means of paying for the cost of transportation to the promised land, and gradually slave labor of the American aborigines and finally of African negroes. Other colonies followed the example of Virginia, and in the early days the northern colonies did not lag much behind the southern settlements. In 1628 negro slavery was introduced in New York and New Jersey, about 1631 in Connecticut, in 1634 in Maryland,

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1636 in Delaware, in 1637 in Massachusetts, in 1647 in the Rhode Island colony. In New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and in both Carolinas the exact date of introduction of slavery has not been determined, but it undoubtedly took place during the same period, 1621-1645. These dates leave no doubt, that there was no material difference between the attitude of the northern and southern colonies upon the problem of negro slavery in the beginning of XVII century.

How far the early liberty loving colonists were from any objections against chattel slavery, is well shown by their attitude towards slavery of the American Indians. For many years the number of available negro slaves remained a very limited one; while continuous warfare with the redskins caused a constant stream of war prisoners to flow into the colonial settlements. Since the Anglo-Saxon common law did not recognize the institution of permanent slavery, the helpful colonists, in an early effort at constructive legislation, made use of the Mosaic law, justifying the slavery of war prisoners; and thus early was the bible utilized in justification of this institution.

The system was found to be profitable, and soon systematic stealing of Indians increased the supply of slaves when the number of bona-fide war prisoners was not sufficient to meet the demand. In the beginning of the Eighteenth Century the legal position of the Negro and Indian slaves was identically the same.

But there were many reasons why the slavery of Indians did not reach any considerable dimensions. The wild and liberty loving nature of these prisoners made them little fit for work in the fields, as well as a constant source of danger to the life of the slave owner and his family. The escape of an Indian slave was much easier than the escape of a negro slave, because he was unrecognizable from the many redskinned friends and allies of the colonists, because of his knowledge of the local geography, and the willingness of the surrounding Indians to assist him in the escape. This made the purchase of an Indian slave a matter of great risk to the pocket of the colonists. And last, but not least, as an institution, Indian slavery greatly disturbed the friendly relations of the colonists with the surrounding Indian tribes. We therefore find, that the importation of new slaves of red skin was prohibited by the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania in 1700, and all the New England colonies during 1712-1715; but traces of Indian slavery persisted in New England until the end of the Eighteenth Century, and still later in the South, though it never was of great importance economically, except that there

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was a considerable admixture of Indian blood in the Negro race.

Thus, historic causes have prepared the soil for an exclusively negro slavery, but this process was working out gradually, taking more than a century, probably because of the existence of other sources of involuntary labor. Thus, in Virginia in 1671, there were to be found about 2000 negro slaves, and about 6,000 indentured servants. According to the estimate of the economist Carey, there were imported up into the British colonies from 1619 up to 1714 about 30,000 negroes, and the total number of negro slaves amounted approximately to 58,850, in a white population of 375,750.

In the very beginning of the history of negro slavery in the United States, the natural fitness of the negro for a warmer climate made itself felt. Of the estimated population of 58,850 negroes, 23,000 were in Virginia 3,700 in North Carolina, and 10,500 in South Carolina. Constituting only about 14 per cent. of the total population of the colonies, the negroes of Virginia, were 24 per cent., in North Carolina 33 per cent., and in South Carolina even as much as 62 1-2 per cent., i. e., much more than one-half of the population. It would hardly show a great insight into philosophy of history to look for the causes of the comparatively insignificant number of slaves in New England or the middle colonies in the greater humanitarianism of the population of these colonies, or any theoretical objections to slavery as an institution. For one thing, exceptional and cruel laws against negroes, the slaves as well as the few freedmen, were in the beginning of the eighteenth century no less frequent in the North than in the South. All colonies had passed specially severe penalties for crimes performed by negroes. In New Maryland, according to the law of 1723, a negro who would strike a white man, was subject to penalty of having his ears cut off. In 1741, a white man's house was robbed by negroes; this led to a suspicion of a negro conspiracy, and within 4 months 154 negroes were arrested, of whom 12 negroes were burned and 18 hanged. The most cruel negro code existed in South Carolina, where the negro had to suffer capital punishment for the pettiest larceny, or have his face branded, and his nose pierced. Conditions were not much better in North Carolina.

As was stated above, during the eighteenth century the centre of gravity of the institution of slavery gradually shifted itself towards the negro race, and negro slavery was shifting towards the South. The involuntary labor of the white indentured servants was not a permanent state, sooner or later the indentured servants became free citizens of the colony. The negro slave was not fit to work in the New England

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farm, and gradually the negro slaves of the North were concentrated in the cities as the domestic servants. There was hardly a house in Boston without one or two negro servants, and many had as many as five or six. As late as 1719 the Boston papers contained advertisements of sale of negro men, women, and even small negro children.

Thus slavery in the North was rapidly becoming a luxury, and therefore could sooner call forth ethical protests than in the South, where slavery was rapidly becoming an important economic factor. The climate of the Southern field, while more fit for the negro, was at the same time less fit for the white man. The same cause, which stimulated the growth of negro slavery in the South, directed the stream of white immigration towards the North. Later, the very growth of the negro population in the South began to limit the immigration of white colonists into the southern colonies. The supply of free labor therefore grew in the North, and fell in the South, so that through the action of these forces, slavery was becoming less profitable in the North, and more necessary in the South. As long as tobacco was the main crop of the South white labor could still compare with negro labor. But with the development of rice and indigo culture in the low lands, the white population of the South began to avoid farm work more and more.

Gradually the conviction grew, that field work in the southern farms was not at all a fit occupation for the white man. In consequence the importation of African negroes in the middle of the eighteenth century grew to enormous dimensions. From 1715 to 1754 the number of negro slaves increased from 58,900 to 260,000 and in 1776 their number equaled about 500,000, of which 430,000 were located in Virginia, Maryland and the two Carolinas. Rapidly, the negro question was becoming a southern question.

But is there, at this stage of the story, any justification for the use of this word "problem?" In view of the growing dependence of the white population of the South upon the institution of slavery, it did not call forth any questions in the South.

How the white population of the South viewed the institution of slavery, how it justified it, and brought it in harmony with its political theories and ideals (at this period of radical political fermentation, and preparation for the revolution) with its religious beliefs and with all those humanitarian tendencies, so characteristic of the middle of the eighteenth century, — those are all very interesting historical and philosophical questions which have been much less studied, than the economic or the political aspect of slavery. This is especi-

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ally true in regard to the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. For the necessity to defend the institution of slavery from the attacks of the Northerners arose a great many years later, and then this necessity created a vast literature.

But those opinions and views of the South and even of the North upon the slavery question during the 17th and the 18th centuries are very important, for these opinions have undoubtedly contributed a great deal towards shaping the future course of the negro problem for many years to come.

I have before me a very large volume, of modern literary make, bearing the sensational title, "The Negro a beast."

The author of this volume is a fanatic of modern days, hailing from St. Louis, far from the centers of the Black belt; and with the assistance of many quotations from the Bible, and other scriptures, biological and other scientific authorities, he endeavors to prove that the Negro is not a human being at all, but a beast created according to the image of man, with power of speech and human hands.

From these facts the natural deduction is made that the Negro was created by the Almighty for the very explicit purpose of serving the white man. The work often reads like the delirious talk of a very ill man, but as a matter of fact the book was taken quite seriously even in our day by the civilized American public. This is shown by the startling fact that it was dignified by numerous replies from the pens of many noted clergymen, and publicists, who take great pains, to demonstrate, again with the assistance of the Holy scriptures, that the Negro is a human being, though one of a special, lower order, truly created to be a servant of the white man.

It is true that we are dealing here with opinions expressed in the beginning of the twentieth century, but in reality these are but manifestations of atavistic repetition of the opinions universally held in the 17th and the 18th centuries.

Many reasons explain, if they do not justify, the origin of such views upon the nature of the Negro during the early history of slavery in this country. The absence of even a rudimentary anthropological science, especially among the colonists who were people of a very limited educational standard, and the scanty supply of ethnological information, must have necessarily led the early colonists towards making an estimate of the strange race entirely upon the basis of external phenomena of the stage of culture in which they lived; for that matter, many supposedly educated people may be found to-day, who do not suspect the presence of any other

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criteria of the anthropological worth of other races than their own.

The Negroes, who arrived in America, were half naked, wild from fear and danger, chained, could not be understood, and did not understand the language spoken to them; they did therefore resemble beasts more than man in the eyes of the uneducated colonists. "Whether the Creator originally formed these black people a little lower than other men, or that they have left their intellectual power through disuse, I will not assume the province of determining but certain it is, that a **new Negro** (as those lately imported from Africa are called) is a complete definition of indolent stupidity ..... Their stupidity does not however allow us to consider them as beasts for our use ....."

If those were the opinions of an English Missionary, it is not difficult to guess what the prevailing views among the American colonists were.

Here undoubtedly "The wish was father to the thought." And soon the South was taking measures to keep the Negroes in that condition of ignorance and heathenism which served as evidence of their racial inferiority. In many colonies the teaching of Negroes and their conversion to Christianity was strictly prohibited. The multiplicity of laws aiming at the prevention of the awakening of Negro revolts and insurrections in the middle of the 18th century shows that the Southern slave owners were beginning to fear the possibility of the development of human feelings and desires in the Negro beast's breasts. And finally the rapid increase in the number of Mulattoes notwithstanding the many prohibitions of marriages between the White and the Black, seemed to be a living refutation of the theory of the beastly origin of the Negro. When the system of slavery has accomplished the changes in the common law, according to which the place of the child in the society was determined by the position of his father, and the children of slave women were recognized as slaves, the production of Mulattoes became a very profitable undertaking. A Mulatto slave represented a much greater value than a plain Negro. Since the female slaves were at the disposal of the slave owners without any restrictions, the owning of one's own children as slaves became a matter of common every day occurrence in the Southern colonies.

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Immigration at Stuttgart.

THE resolution on Immigration adopted by our last International Congress has called forth a discussion of this subject in our press which could have been more apropos before the Congress, but ought to be welcomed even at this late date. It is unfortunate, however, that the discussion has assumed a somewhat personal character. Our Party's delegates at Stuttgart have been criticized for neglect of duty in not pressing the "American" point of view. It is quite natural that I should be criticized more than any other delegate, and should feel the general criticism more keenly, because I not only "failed and neglected" to press this point of view, but actually opposed it, doing my level best to defeat the resolution proposed by our National Committee. That my position should be criticized was to be expected and I am not surprised to find Comrade Hillquit, the author of the ill-fated resolution, complain of me, although he refrains, in very comrade-like fashion, from openly criticizing me. But there is no mistaking the temper in which the following passage which I quote from Comrade Hillquit's article in The Worker, was written: "When it came to a vote,—says Comrade Hillquit,—we found that on the particular point in issue we could probably count on the support of Australia and South Africa, each represented by one delegate, as against almost 900 delegates representing the other twenty-two countries. And what was worse, the American delegation was by no means a unit on our proposed resolution: The Socialist Labor Party had naturally taken the extreme impossibilist view of opposing not only all restrictions of labor immigration, but also all safeguards against the dangers arising from it, and even among the delegates of our own party there were those who were opposed to all restrictions, and refused to be bound by our own resolution on the subject."

I feel therefore in duty bound to inform the comrades of the reasons which actuated me in the course which I adopted at Stuttgart, and incidentally to state just what happened at the Congress, as Comrade Hillquit's article in The Worker leaves much to be desired on these points both in clearness and accuracy. Comrade Hillquit makes a labored attempt to create the impression that the "American" Resolution was not rejected in toto and that the resolution actually adopted was a compromise. What actually happened was quite different: our resolution *was rejected in toto* "on the particular point in issue," by the over-

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whelming vote of the other twenty-two countries, and there was no thought of a compromise. Comrade Hillquit makes out the semblance of a compromise by simply misstating the position of the other comrades, including my own, on the subject. Not only that: he even misstates the meaning of our own resolution, although it is his own handiwork and he ought to know it. According to Comrade Hillquit (in the Worker) our resolution is not opposed to "involuntary" or "natural" labor migration, but merely to the "importation" of foreign labor. It follows of necessity that those who were opposed to this resolution must have been in favor of such *importation.* And Comrade Hillquit is not slow to draw this conclusion: so he states in one place that the "extreme left" at the Congress "stood for absolutely free labor migration without any restriction or even safeguard," (whatever that may mean). And in another: "even among the delegates of our own party, there were those who were opposed to all restrictions." This statement evidently referring to myself. The compromise, according to him, consisted in the congress expressing itself for the exclusion of "contract-labor."

A mere recapitulation of the facts as Comrade Hillquit would have us understand them shows that he must be mistaken somewhere. For, the following very pertinent questions naturally suggest themselves: 1st. How is it possible that at a gathering of socialists there should be even an "extreme left" that should be opposed to the prohibition of the importation of contract-labor? And if by some chance such "enemies of labor" and "reactionaries" smuggled themselves into the Congress and got representation on the Immigration Commission, is it likely that it would have taken the commission two days hard fighting to dispose of them? 2nd. If Comrade Hillquit's statement as to the meaning of our resolution be true, *then our resolution was actually* adopted. Why, then, does he call it a compromise in one place and a defeat in another? Why does Comrade Hillquit complain that "we were beaten, hopelessly beaten." Why does Comrade Berger accuse Comrade Hillquit of being derelict in his duty, instead of hailing him victor? How account for the deluded ones who intimated that our delegation should have bolted the Congress for adopting our resolution? And how does it all harmonize with the statement that "on the particular point in issue" we knocked up against the solid wall of practically all of the socialists of the rest of the world?

The truth of the matter is as follows: There was no such "extreme left" at Stuttgart that anybody but Comrade Hillquit could see. Certainly there were none among our party's delegates at Stuttgart who were opposed to legislation excluding "imported" immigrants. And there was no compromise at Stuttgart on the immigration question, either, for there was nobody

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to compromise with except the supporters of our resolution, and they were "hopelessly beaten." The demand for the exclusion of imported contract labor contained in the Stuttgart resolution was not inserted therein as a concession to those in favor of the restriction of immigration, for all those who opposed "restriction" in general were in favor of this particular restriction. There were really no two opinions on the question. This was not the "point in issue," nor any part of it. That lay at another point. Let us see what it was.

Our resolution is drawn in such a way that it not only does violence to all logic, but is extremely treacherous. At first glance it looks innocent enough, and the worst that could be said about it is that it is meaningless. At least one member of our National Executive Committee is known to have been deceived by its innocent-looking meaninglessness into voting for it. How many more members of our National Executive Committee and National Committee were so deceived I have no means of telling. Our European Comrades, however, were not deceived, nor were all our delegates. They detected the "nigger in the woodpile," and that raised the issue between our delegation and the rest of the world, the debate over which lasted in committee for two whole days, and ended in our being "hopelessly beaten." Yes, ignominiously beaten. [It was the attempt of our resolution to establish the principle of dividing immigrants along racial lines into "organizable" and "unorganizable," and to lay down as a rule of socialist policy, based on such principle of division, the demand for the exclusion of the so-called "unorganizable races."]On this issue our resolution met with the solid opposition of the socialists of the world with the exception of a few trade-unions. And there was no compromise: the resolution is as emphatic on this point as it could possibly be made. Not, however, because our European comrades have no careful regard for the fate of the American workingmen or their indifference to the fortunes of the socialist movement in America. But from a conviction, fully justified, that the principles and demands formulated in our resolution are a snare and a delusion, and cannot possibly result in any permanent good to the working-class of this country or of the world. These principles and demands are unsocialistic, that is to say, they are repugnant to the permanent and lasting interests of the workingclass.

That this is so, and that Comrade Hillquit saw it in that light at Stuttgart, is proven by the fact that Comrade Hillquit was finally moved to make a speech in favor of the resolution as adopted by the committee. To be frank about it: I was at first surprised to hear Comrade Hillquit speak in favor of the resolution reported by the committee, particularly in view of the fact that nobody opposed it. But as I stood there listening to his

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speech I saw the reason for it. Comrade Hillquit saw that the introduction of the resolution sadly damaged the reputation of our movement in the eyes of the socialist world, exposing us to the suspicion of utopianism on the one hand and sordidness of motive and egoism on the other, and he attempted to retrieve what was lost by arguing that we were really not as bad as we were painted, and that there really is not much difference between our resolution and the resolution adopted by the committee. The latter was, of course, no truer when stated at Stuttgart than when it is stated here. But there was an excuse for it at Stuttgart which is absent here, which makes the statement here absolutely indefensible. When Comrade Hillquit made the statement at Stuttgart he was engaged in the laudable effort of rehabilitating us in the opinion of our comrades, and the means adopted were at least harmless. Here, however, the situation is different: There is no reason for hiding the truth. With the better light that Comrade Hillquit has seen at Stuttgart, he ought to be showing the comrades who still abide in darkness the error of their ways, instead of telling them that our resolution was all right, but that we must submit, etc. Of course, Comrade Hillquit is right when he says that as good socialists we have to abide by the decision of the majority. But it is hardly worth while wasting much effort on this subject; there is no danger of our refusing to abide by the decision of the International Congress. But there is danger of some of us retaining our false notions on the subject-matter itself to the great detriment of our movement. I shall therefore next take up the question upon its merits, as Comrade Hillquit should have done long ago.

New York, November 22, 1907.

L. B. BOUDIN.

(Note by the Editor. We are informed that this article was offered for publication in *The Worker* of New York and was rejected. In view of the importance of the subject, the REVIEW will gladly print brief communications either for or against the Stuttgart resolutions.)

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EDITOR'S CHAIR

To the Readers of the Review. The new editor hardly needs to introduce himself, since he has been in touch with you for years through the Publishers' Department. But he takes pleasure in introducing his associates. John Spargo, whose article on "Woman and the Socialist Movement" opens our present issue, and who also edits the department of book reviews, is one of the ablest and most popular writers in the Socialist Party of America, and is an active and trusted member of the party in New York. He has had a wide and varied experience as manual laborer, preacher, editor, writer and lecturer, and has a sympathetic understanding of the necessary ways of thinking of all sorts and conditions of men, along with a clear grasp of the Marxian philosophy. Ernest Untermann, from whose pen an article entitled, "Pause and Consider", on the proposed union of the two socialist parties, will appear next month, has been a frequent contributor to the Review for years, and his books are sufficient proof that he combines a phenomenal scholarship with a distinctively proletarian way of thinking. He is at present living in Idaho, many miles from a railroad, and where mail communications are slow and uncertain, so that it is impossible for him just now to be as active as he would like to be, either on the Review or in the general work of the party, but he promises all the help in his power. Robert Rives LaMonte, who contributes this month the article on "Methods of Propaganda", is well known from his translations, his resent book "Socialism Positive and Negative" and his articles contributed to these pages in the past, and we feel sure that every Review reader will be glad of his promised co-operation. Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen and one of the most influential members of the Typographical Union, will continue to edit the department of labor news.

What the Review Stands For. The Review will as before treat all subjects from the view-point of international socialism, and will support its principles. The editor is a member of the Socialist Party of America, and believes that all socialists in the United States can make their work for socialism count most effectively by working with the party. The Review however will open its pages to competent writers from all points of view, no matter whether they are inside or outside the Socialist Party, no matter whether they are for socialism or against it. We reserve the right to criticise all articles, but the absence of criticism does not necessarily imply that the editor agrees with all the views expressed. Indeed, the views expressed in every issue of the Review will usually be so various that no one with the

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least sense of logic could agree with all of them. We regard clear thinking as essential to a healthy socialist movement, but clear thinking can not be attained by the Socialist Party's passing any set of resolutions; it can not be attained by trying to exclude from the membership of the party either opportunists or impossibilists, either Christians or materialists. It can best be attained by free, critical, logical discussion. And to afford a field for such discussion is the function of the International Socialist Review. It is sometimes objected that the Review, and a large proportion of the books issued by the same publishing house, are not good to "make socialists". The objection is perfectly well taken, but it shows a misunderstanding of one of the things that needs to be done. There are plenty of propaganda papers to bring socialism to the attention of the unconverted; the Review does not compete with these. Such papers very properly exclude from their colums any full discussions of questions on which socialists differ among themselves. Yet it is necessary that such questions be discussed if they are ever to be solved rationally, and the Review is the place for such dicsussions.

Socialist Unity. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party adopted on Jan. 7 a preamble and resolutions setting forth the desirability of a consolidation of the two socialist parties, and electing a committee of seven to confer with a similar committee to be elected by the Socialist Party. Algernon Lee, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party from New York State, has introduced a resolution on which the National Committee is voting as we go to press. It provides that the incoming National Executive Committee be designated as a committee of seven from the Socialist Party to meet with the committee from the S. L. P. to discuss terms of union. This motion has already received the endorsement of the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party. This action is exactly in line with the views of the present editor of the Review, as outlined by him in a signed article published in the December number. We do not, however, fail to realize the complexity of the question and the many objections that may fairly be urged. A thoughtful statement of these objections is embodied in the article by Ernest Untermann referred to above, and we regret that the length of the article and the late hour at which it was received made it impossible to publish it in this month's Review. It will appear in the March number, and meanwhile we will neither summarize Comrade Untermann's arguments nor answer them, since it is only fair to let him speak for himself. The Social Democratic Herald and the Christian Socialist have both come out emphatically against union with the Socialist Labor Party on any terms. But to our mind, if the Socialist Party were to vote down Comrade Lee's motion it would put itself in a false position before the socialists of other countries and the unorganized socialist sympathizers of the United States. If our party refuses to negotiate, it will fairly be held responsible for the failure to unite. The rational course seems to be to go into the conference, and then stand for the right of the membership as a whole to run the affairs of the consolidated party in accordance with the will of the majority. Roughly estimated, the membership of the Socialist Party is rather more than 30,000, while that of the Socialist Labor Party is rather less than 3,000. If the 3,000 will not unite unless the 30,000 will reverse their tactics and methods in some such way as was suggested by Local Redlands, California, then the responsibility for the failure of union will rest on the Socialist Labor Party, and the more desirable members of that

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party will be likely to leave the sinking ship and join the Socialist Party. On the other hand, if the Socialist Labor Party is willing to accept the principles of majority rule and work with us on that basis, this will be pretty good proof that the misgivings of some of our own members are unfounded.

The Wave of Prohibition. On another page is a report of a set of resolutions presented by the socialist aldermen of Milwaukee in response to a movement on the part of the capitalists to place new restrictions on saloons. In the same temper is an article by H. Quelch in the January number of the London Social Democrat, who lashes most artistically the hypocrisy of the Temperance Reformers, who propose to prevent the workingman from spending his money for drink, so that he can live more cheaply and thus work for lower wages. On the other hand, an address delivered by Comrade E. Wurm at the last national convention of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which is being circulated as a propaganda pamphlet by our German comrades, and which we expect to publish in next month's Review, explains the evils of alcoholism as forcibly as the prohibitionists and much more logically, and advocates practical measures. The question is up for discussion. The old-time prohibition movement was a matter of sentiment and emotion; the new prohibition crusade is a matter of business. In the days that are gone a laborer could get drunk once in a while with no particular injury except to his own family if he had one, and in a very slight degree to his employer. If he missed too many days the employer would hire some one in his place, having lost only the surplus-value he might have extracted from the drinker's own labor-power. Things are different now. The laborer now is a cog in a great wheel of a great machine, and if one particular cog is missing at a given moment the whole machine is more or less out of joint. Three or four workmen by absenting themselves from their posts on a Monday morning may cause a hundred to stand around idle and unpaid, waiting for the machine to be in working order again. If their loss of wages were the only loss, we should not hear so much of the matter, but what is far more important in the eyes of all "good" people, the capitalist loses not only what he might have made from the labor of the four convivial spirits, but also what he might have made from the labor of the ninety and six that went not astray. As the capitalist runs the government he proposes to do something about it. Hence the wave of prohibition which is sweeping over the United States and England. What position shall we as socialists take? The question is too big to settle in a paragraph. But it is up for discussion and we shall have to take a stand on it before long.

Economics and the Negro. A few months ago we published a translation of a notable article by Paul Lafargue entitled "Marx's Historical Method". Lafargue pointed out the folly of socialists who waste their time in long-winded discussions of Marx's method, instead of using the method in a practical way. We are glad that an American socialist of scholarship and ability has followed Lafargue's good advice, and we congratulate our readers on the series of studies, beginning in this month's Review, on the economic aspects of the negro problem. This seems a good time to put in a word of defense for the Marxian theory against a sort of criticism which we expect from capitalist editors but which seems annoyingly stupid when, as sometimes happens, it is brought forward by members of our own party. When we explain changes in ideas as held by masses of men

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and in social institutions by changes in the mode of production, they claim that we are overlooking people's affections, or their artistic impulses, or their religion, or their inborn depravity, or some such considerations. What they seem unable to see is that we can not explain a motion by a rest,—a variation by something that remains constant. Comrade Robbins will show in these articles that the negro was at one time left in his native freedom by the proud Anglo-Saxon, later reduced to slavery, then given nominal freedom but exploited like other laborers. Now the white men who treated him in these various ways were all more or less affectionate, artistic, religious or depraved according to the point of view of the reasoner, but, as our writer will show, the men of each successive epoch differed from the others in the way in which they produced and circulated goods. And these changes in the mode of production, rightly understood, explain what has happened to the negro. Moreover they may throw some light on the present interests and the future action of both the negro and those who come into direct relation with him. These articles will repay close study, and it is to be hoped that American socialists will now rapidly apply the same method to other problems.

Socialist Party Elections. The present method of electing the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America has in practice been proved to have certain defects which under circumstances that might arise hereafter would be a source of danger. Every local and member at large is now allowed to nominate seven candidates, and the names of all who accept are placed alphabetically on an Australian ballot which is used by all party members in voting. The seven who receive the highest vote are declared elected. One result of this method is that many comrades are voted on whose names are entirely unknown outside their own state, often even outside their own local. Those who vote for these "favorite sons" seem to forget that in this way their votes have nothing at all to do with determining the make-up of the committee. Again, the multitude of names (there are 133 on this year's ballot), is bewildering and confusing to the average member; there is scarcely any intelligent discussion as to the stand on party questions taken by the various comrades who really stand a chance of election, and many members mark the names of candidates simply because they have seen them mentioned in papers or have heard them speak from the soap-box. Finally, with a large share of the vote split up among a lot of candidates who have no chance of election, the successful ones are usually the choice of a minority, and often of a very small minority. This would make it possible for a compact and well organized faction to elect, under our present constitution, a majority of the National Executive Committee, even if two thirds of the membership were opposed to the tactics favored by those candidates. A second ballot would solve the difficulty, but so much of labor and expense is involved in taking a ballot that some other remedy should be found if possible, and the best suggestion yet made is that no name be placed on the ballot to be used by voters unless placed in nomination by at least ten locals. This would probably keep the number of candidates within reasonable limits and would be a step toward majority rule.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

England. The English Parliament, which reassembled on Jan. 25th, will doubtless drag out its governmental comedy as long as possible. The present ministry has carried out practically none of its promises. Now it is under pledge to introduce a new education bill, a "licensing" bill, an old-age pension bill, and an eight-hour law for miners. No one supposes it will be able to force through the House of Lords any measure really worth while, but it may manage to remain in office for some time, and that seems to be the main point.

Meanwhile our Socialist comrades are making the most of their opportunity. The miserable failure of all the regular English half-way measures gives them a magnificent opening. The Irish peasants are up in arms, "driving" cattle from the landed estates and in other ways protesting against the present regime. One fifth of the population of London is subsisting on charities—and at that, so poorly are the provisions of Parliament carried out that starvation is not uncommon. Municipal ownership has finally been shown up as the most ludicrous sort of a fiasco. Meantime news comes from Hull that on Jan. 22nd the Laborites definitely decided to make Socialism the objective of their party. 1500 meetings are being held every week, and the mutton-chop Conservatives and Liberals are scared into a veritable frenzy.

In the colonies matters are quite as lively as on the "tight little island." Now it is particularly the Indian revolutionists who are making themselves disagreeable. Led by the famous Tilak, they created such a division in the recent provincial congress at Surat that the government felt obliged to intervene, and the deliberations came to nought. The English are making a desperate attempt to keep the "moderate" natives loyal to the imperial government, but the breach between races seems to be widening and home-rule comes on apace.

In the Transvaal history is repeating itself in the most ironic fashion. A few years ago the English clubbed the Boers into giving what was called "fair play" to the Uitlanders. In this noble enterprise the Indian troops of his Majesty assisted eagerly. Now about 10,000 peaceable, harmless Hindus, for some time settled in the country, are beginning to get an economic foothold. And the "fair-play" English, strange to say, join with the Boers to make life unendurable for these new Uitlanders. The Englishman loves to "civilize" the Hindu in his own country where he is a native to be exploited. But let the Hindu use "Civilized" methods? Let him do the exploiting? That is a horse of another color. One wonders what will be the effect of these latest developments on Indian loyalty.

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France. The situation among the wine-growers of central France is rapidly clearing itself. Formerly a good many workingmen were deceived by the identical-interest-of-capital-and-labor argument. In consequence of large sales of spurious wines the prices of the real article fell off and production decreased by nearly forty per cent. Hundreds of workers were discharged; others had their pay reduced or their hours lengthened. As a result of this in 1905 about forty labor unions sent representatives to the Congress of Beziers and took part in the organization of the **Confederation Viticole.** This organization was controlled by capitalists, and its purpose was to prevent the fraudulent production of wine. The proletarian members of it were denounced by their fellows, but maintained that through this organization they saw their only way to regaining the means of livelihood. But the cloven hoof of capital was not long concealed: the workingmen are still looking for their share of the benefits of combined action. Meantime union organizers have been active among them. The Congress of Agricultural Workers held at Beziers the 3rd and 4th of last November passed a clear resolution in favor of an anticapitalistic propaganda. Since then the straggling union men have gradually been coming back into line, and it is safe to say that we shall never again be treated to the strange spectacle of slaves and masters marching side by side through the streets of French cities.

Germany. The tasks confronting the German ministry seem insuperable. The imperial debt has increased to about $1,000,000,000, and the deficit in the present budget is $30,000,000, Despite these facts Heligoland is to be fortified, the navy is to be increased and $100,000,000 has been asked for to dispossess Polish landowners. Meantime prices of food-stuffs increase, new taxes fail to produce the necessary revenue, and the government fears the voting of a direct tax would give the Social Democrats too great an advantage. In the face of such conditions it is doubtful whether Chancellor Von Buelow can hold his slender majority for long.

On Jan. 10th. there culminated in Berlin the first act of a drama which has been a long time preparing. For many months Socialists all over Germany have been holding meetings in support of the movement for manhood suffrage in Prussia. Since soon after the Revolution of 1848 Prussia has suffered under a three-class electoral system. According to this system the voters are divided into three classes according to the amount of property upon which they pay taxes: these classes have equal voice in the choice of members of the Landtag. In the first class are a few of the very rich, in the second, a somewhat larger number of the middle-class proprietors, and in the third, the great mass of the proletarians. The first two classes always vote together—so the workingmen may as well stay at home. And that is just what most of them do. They have never had a representative in the Landtag. In the last election twelve per cent of the people elected 803 out of 943 representatives.

As was to be expected the manhood suffrage bill, supported by the Social Democrats, received scant courtesy from both government and Landtag. The Chancellor remarked disdainfully that the ministry had some changes in mind, but would report about them when it got ready; and the proposed law was voted down without a division.

Immediately 50,000 people crowded about the imperial palace and for a time really threatened to disturb the peace of their benevolent protector. But the police bore down on the manifestants, wounding

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many and imprisoning many more. Now the matter has been brought before the Reichstag, where the Social Democrats have a voice in affairs, and the end is not yet. Unless the government yields, which is unlikely, it is hard to see how the affairs can end without serious violence. It is plainly a case in which violence would be justified.

For two months the German press has been much wrought up over a report that evidence had been discovered connecting the German Socialists with a Russian terrorist plot. Near the close of November the Berlin police reported the breaking up of a meeting of Russian Anarchists. Most important among the treasures discovered in the meeting-place was a consignment of paper said to have been ordered by a book-keeper of the company which publishes **Vorwaerts**, the Socialist organ. With no more evidence than this the bourgeois papers raised a mighty howl. The editors of **Vorwaerts** maintain that they know nothing of the matter, and that even if their book-keeper did order the paper that does not implicate them or the party leaders.

Austria. Statistics recently published by the Austrian Department of Commerce show a significant increase in the activities of labor unions. In 1905 there occurred in Austria 686 strikes; in 1906, 1083. In 1905 the men called out numbered 99,591; in 1906, 153,688. 22.3 per cent of the strikes called during the latter year were entirely successful, 47.4 per cent, patially successful, and only 30.3 per cent failed completely.

Italy. In Italy the Socialist party and the trades unions are passing through a crisis which is not without its lessons for the American movement. At the congress which met in Florence early in October a common progrom was agreed upon by the Socialist party, the confederation of labor unions and the parliamentary group. The day after the last session of the congress there occurred an event which set the Italian labor world in an uproar. A trainload of strike-breakers, who had been sent into Milan to break up a strike of gas-fitters, were being deported. At one point they were received by a crowd of strikers; it is reported that some stones were thrown, but none of the scabs were injured. The soldiers sent to protect the train fired into the crowd, wounding ten strikers and killing one. The railroad employees of Milan immediately declared a sympathetic strike. In this they were not supported by their central council or by the Socialist party. The strike was called off, but in a spirit of intense bitterness the strikers accused the central authorities of trying to make themselves solid with the bourgeois element. Malcontents to the number of 200.000 finally sent delegates to a convention which met at Parma on November 3rd. Ringing resolutions were past denouncing the pacivist Socialist leaders and declaring for an open fight to the finish against the capitalist system. Just what will come of the new movement started at Parma it is difficult to tell at this distance; it is impossible for one not on the ground to see through the shower of charges and counter charges. Probably the whole disturbance is merely a sign of healthful growth. But even if it is, it shows the dangers which result from lack of mutual understanding among different wings of the movement.

Spain. The central organization of the Spanish trades union movement has recently purchased the famous palace of the dukes of Bejar and is rapidly remodeling its apartments into offices, school-

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rooms, assembly halls, etc. The Socialist party in Spain is still weak, but the labor movement is going forward by leaps and bounds.

Belgium. A new ministry has been made necessary in Belgium by the fight concerning the disposition of the Congo Free State. King Leopold has offered to give this great province to the people of Belgium providing they will allow him to keep as much as he chooses. In Parliament both the extreme right and the extreme left are opposed to this arrangement. Thus the new ministry has a delicate problem on hand.

Russia. Russian reactionists have recently been flooding Europe with reports that the peasants have at last come to their senses and lost faith in the revolutionary leaders. Everything will soon sink back into its old track, we are told. And it is undeniable that Russian affairs appear to be abnormally quiet. The Duma goes on talking and taking no definite action: the government seems to feel that it once more has the reins safe in hand. But we are assured by the revolutionists that this is merely a temporary lull. The former disturbances lacked the popular backing, the concentration of force which is necessary to success. Now a vigorous propaganda is being carried on so that when matters again come to a crisis the Russian people will shake off their stolid indifference and assert their power.

Japan. The most noteworthy feature in the socialist movement in Tokio is a gathering called "Kinyo Koven" or the Friday Lecture meeting which meets every Friday evening in Yoshidaya Hall, Kanda, Tokio. Though they are yet small in number the attendants of the meetings consist not only of Japanese but of Chinese, Hindoos, Filipinos and Koreans as well. It is very interesting to observe that these revolutionists of Asiatic countries gather together in one hall and talk about Socialism and the betterment of their respective countries. This is the first practical attempt ever undertaken by the Japanese Comrades to unite and co-operate with the Socialists of all Asia. There are hundreds of Chinese socialists who are studying in Japan at present and we find a good many women among them. Comrade T. Sakai has been adding an excellent contribution to the Japanese Socialist literature recently by translating and compiling a series of popular scientific works, especialy those which relate directly to the rise of socialism in the light of the modern evolutionary theory. Comrades Kotoku, Yamakawa, Shidzuno and Sakai will be the authors of this socialist scientific series. The Heimin Shinbun which is practically the successor of the famous "Daily Heimin Shinbun" is planning to move its office to Tokio this spring in order to make it a central feature and help along the entire movement in Japan. A little sheet called "Rodosha" (The Laborer) which comes out once is a month is edited by Comrades Sakai and Yamakawa. It seems to have struck the demands of the workers there. Every Socialist is now interested in the paper and is circulating it among the factory workers, miners, farmers, and day laborers. This little four page sheet is not a regular magazine or paper. It only contains a few well prepared articles on socialism in the plain language—the language of the laborers. It has already proved a great success and is welcomed by the workers, for it tells the truth in their own language and carries the message direct to their heart.

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WHISPERINGS IN THE LIBRARY

BY JOHN SPARGO

The ordinary Socialist has, I suppose, little patience with much that passes under the name of "Christian Socialism", and the temptation is strong to echo a famous remark that it is neither Christian nor Socialist. There is good historical reason for this attitude of suspicion and distrust. The Socialist who has read the history of the Socialist movement in Europe, especially in Germany and Austria, will naturally think of Pastor Stöcker and his Christian Socialists, so-called, with their **Mucker-Socialismus,** anti-semitism and attacks upon the Social Democracy. Or, they will think of the Christian Socialists of England, Kingsley, Maurice, Ludlow, and others, who were most admirable men, stalwart friends of the poor and oppressed, but most certainly not Socialists in the modern sense of the word. They were reformers and philanthropists to whom no one would nowadays give the name Socialists.

But we have to-day to face the fact that there is a Christian Socialism which is genuinely entitled to the name. At least, many Christians do advocate straight Socialism—and it is not our business to pronounce upon their right to call themselves "Christians". In England we have Christian Socialists definitely accepting Marxian Socialism, and in this country we have active and uncompromising members of the Socialist Party formed into a Christian Socialist organization to preach Socialism to their fellow Christians. In Germany, the land where a generation ago, the Socialist movement made war upon all forms of religion, we have this very thing encouraged and Bebel giving his benediction to Pastor Kutter's book **They Must!**

The times have changed. Socialism has changed and Christianity has changed—a statement which will probably cause both Christian and Socialist to brand me as a heretic! What I mean is that, partly as a result of the "higher criticism" and partly as a result of the agnostic's challenge, modern Christianity has largely divested itself of its theological trapping and become once again an ethical movement. True, there remain some of the old ceremonials and theological phrases, but by the progressives they are not regarded as a vital and essential feature of Christianity. On the side of the Socialists it may be said with equal truth that the movement has largely passed from the influence of the philosophic materialism of the middle of the nineteenth century. The onslaught of the latter upon Christian dogma has had its effect. On the whole, I am about as much amused by those belated rationalists who keep on attacking a Christianity which has ceased to exist, as I am by the belated critics who keep on making against the Socialist movement of to-day the criticisms

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which applied only to the utopian Socialism, so-called, of fifty years ago.

I am led to these reflections just now as a result of a careful reading and re-reading of two notable books, frank and unflinching advocates of Socialism, written from the Christian point of view. They are: **Christianity and the Social Crisis,** by Prof. Rauschenbusch, and **Christianity and the Social Order,** by the Rev. Dr. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London, Joseph Parker's famous pulpit. The author of the first of these books is, I believe, a member of the Socialist Party, while the author of the second has definitely joined the movement in England, and, it is said, will be a Socialist candidate for parliament next election. Both volumes are published by the Macmillan Company.

The two books have much in common besides the striking similarity of titles. They agree in the main, though they reflect the widely different intellectual habits of the writers. The English book reflects the mind of the expositor, the popular preacher, whose success depends upon a simple and forceful presentation of his subject . He must perforce take the results of scholarship and research and popularize them for his auditors. Professor Rauschenbusch, on the other hand, is an academician. He has the scholastic bent of mind and demands time to lay his case before you. He is a teacher whose business it is to give his pupils a thorough knowledge of the subject. I would not by this distinction imply that Dr. Campbell's book lacks scholastic merit or Prof. Rauschenbusch's clarity. Neither of these criticisms would be just. All that I would imply is that the one was born of the pulpit while the other was born of the classroom.

Prof. Rauschenbusch goes back and traces the historical roots of Christianity in a chapter which, not so many years ago, would have caused his banishment from the Church. Jesus emerges out of that historical background as a stern moralist, to whom religion was a social thing, a matter of relations and not of creeds. He was not a Socialist, simply because the economic conditions of his time were not productive of Socialist thought. But he was one of the line of prophets of social righteousness to which belonged Isaiah, Micah, Amos and Joel. Always ready were they, to defend the oppressed and to scourge the oppressor with words of withering rebuke. One gathers from Prof. Rauschenbusch a concept of Christianity which would justify most men who now call themselves Atheists and Agnostics being included in the category of Christians. Theological Christianity is dead!

With masterly skill, he traces the corruption of Christianity and the grafting upon it of the creeds and theological beliefs about which the nations have warred so long. He is as candid as Truth itself; and, while he does not mention it, the Socialist who is familiar with Marxian philosophy will recognize the skill with which the historical method of Marx has been applied to the unravelling of the tangled threads of religious history. Strangely enough, this is not sustained through the closing chapters in which the author makes his plea to the Christians for Socialism. Here his inherent idealism carries him along, so that his appeal is mainly to the idealism of his readers. Yet, upon the whole, it is a striking and effective plea for Socialism, and one lays down the book with the feeling that such a presentation of Socialism cannot fail to do good. There is none of the upbraiding of Socialists for their "crass materialism" common to much of the literature of Christian Socialism, nor any attempt to rest the case for Socialism upon textual bases. He sees in Socialism the greatest

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spiritual force of the age, and would have the churches shake off the incubus of dead formalisms and join in the movement.

Dr. Campbell's book can be more briefly described. The substance of the book seems to have been preached to his congregation. More briefly than Rauschenbusch, he sketches the historical roots of Christianity, and his picture of Jesus is very likke to that outlined by our American comrade. Everything of the miraculous and supernatural is cast aside, except the resurrection. This he is unable to discard. **Something**—he is at a loss to know what—must have occurred. At any rate, the first Christians must have believed it and been inspired by it. He, too, reduces the whole of the teaching of Jesus to a social ethic and, while pointing out that Jesus was not a Socialist, claims for modern Socialism and the teachings of Jesus a common objective—equality of opportunity, fraternity and social justice.

From this point, Dr. Campbell plunges into a whole-hearted advocacy of Socialism. The latter part of the book reads like a collection of arguments for Socialism compiled from the party press from such writers as Blatchford, Hyndman, and others. He cites figures to illustrate the shortcomings of the present system, in pages as simple and virile as **Merrie England.** Then he passes on to outline the Socialist programme, accepting it all, balking at nothing. He answers all the old hoary objections to Socialism and gives a lucid and interesting chapter to the discussion of various problems which are of especial importance in England from the Socialist viewpoint.

To understand just what this book signifies, the reader must remember that it was only four years ago that Dr. Campbell made an attack upon the labor movement in England. He was challenged to appear at a mass meeting of labor men and repeat his attack, which he did with characteristic courage. At that meeting his education in Socialism really began, and two years later he declared himself a Socialist in a sermon preached at City Temple.

* * *

Leonard D. Abbott has written a charming little sketch of the life of Ernest Howard Crosby, which the Ariel Press, of Westwood, Mass., has issued in a most attractive booklet. The sketch takes up only thirty-two pages and there are several lengthy quotations from Crosby's writings, so that Comrade Abbott has confined himself to very narrow limits. It is a friend's tribute to the memory of a friend, a tender valuation of his character. It is the best bit of work that Comrade Abbott has yet given us, and will doubtless be welcomed by many of Crosby's friends and admirers.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

Labor is being treated to object lessons thick and fast these days. That old relic of a past age, the Hon. Joe Cannon, not only refuses to permit any labor bill to be reported to the House and the fossilized Senate yawns and looks bored whenever working class interests are even mentioned in whispers, but the few so-called labor laws that are on the statute books are being wiped of by the Supreme Court. First the seamen of the Pacific coast, who demand the modification of an injunction that ties them hand and foot at the solicitation of a powerful corporation, are given an icy glare and told in so many words to "get to hell out of here," then, secondly the employers' liability law is crippled for life at the behest of the railways, and, thirdly, the laws existing in various states prohibiting blacklisting are declared unconstitutional at the solicitation of other corporations. Now, to cap the climax, having informed the capitalists of the nation that they can proceed and blacklist (or boycott) every workman who dares to dream of having a grievance, the court of last resort has reversed all previous decisions and declared a boycott of capitalists by laborers to be an unlawful conspiracy. Along about the time the Supreme Court has had its inning, congress can start grinding out more privileges for the "best" people, such as ship subsidies, tariff revisions; asset currency, and the like. Thus while the poor boycotters find jails yawning to receive them, the rich boycotters will receive their usual hand-outs of pie from the merry gangs of grafters who hang about Washington like vultures surrounding a carcass. Yet there are thousands of doughfaced workingmen who will howl themselves hoarse this fall and cheer on the "bunk" game in which they themselves are being the aggrandizement of capitalism. Probably the foolkiller became disgusted and committed suicide.

The cheap-skate plutocrats and all-around snobs who have been running things with a high hand at Goldfield seem to be up against a stiff proposition. Briefly, the situation is about like this: Many of the Goldfield operators have been heavy borrowers on the strength of the tales of fabulous mineral wealth in the district. Bonds were put up as security in San Francisco, New York and other places. But while on the one side the showers of gold did not drop into the hats of investors that were promised, which caused the latter to become pessimistic and refuse to invest in more stocks, the bondholders, by depressing the market, hoped to acquire control of the properties. Thereupon the operators fell upon the miners to make a reduction of a dollar a day, thus hoping with this spoil to feed the hungry bondholders and keep them quiet, and then, again, it was figured that when the bourgeoise heard wages were reduced and

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"high-grading" stopped investments would be on the increase and the Goldfield boomers (or bummers) would be in clover. But the big fight that was made by the miners disarranged the calculations of the get-rich-quick crowd, despite the fact that daily bulletins were sent out for weeks announcing that the strike is settled, the miners have returned to work, all mines are working full-handed, etc., etc. Therefore, it was necessary to do something else, especially as Roosevelt did not care about pulling chestnuts out of the fire for a besotted Democratic governor and cause his man Taft to be placed in an embarrassing position when people begin to ask questions this fall. So a state constabulary was put through and now the barkers, gold-brick swindlers and thimble-riggers are once more sending out bulletins through their corrupted press associations announcing in one breath that there will be "resumption of work in those Goldfield mines that are still idle and the employment of full complements of men by those working small forces," and in the next breath the "con" game assurance that the constabulary scheme "will probably add considerably to the strength of the market." You can almost hear those gold-brick artists shouting: "Step right up this way, ladies and gentlemen, and view the most wonderful, the most magnificent and marvelous valuables in the world. We don't want them; we want you to have them; take them for a mere bagatelle." And the yaps from Hayseed Corners will come along and—invest again? Perhaps and perhaps not—probably not if they have been bit before, and, the Lord knows, pretty nearly all of them back home have been up against a brace game of one kind or another during recent years. The truth of the matter is that the Goldfield swindlers have but few skilled miners at work. They did import several carloads of strike-breakers, but not many knew anything about mining. It is more than likely that when the weather breaks up many of the Goldfield miners will do prospecting on their own hook and then the "con" men will be worse off than at present. It is only fair to say in this connection that some of the daily papers have refused to print the doped bulletins sent out from Goldfield. On the contrary, they went after the swindlers without gloves and showed them up as the greatest aggregation of fakirs and crooks that had ever been gathered together anywhere under the blue canopy of heaven. From fake prize fights to salted mines the Goldfield grafters have been doing nothing but working "bunk" games on the American people until the very name of Goldfield has become a stench in the nostrils of the reading public. A wise speculator once said: "If you are considering the matter of investing money in mining stocks think the matter over carefully—and then don't invest." Which advice might be amended to read: "And if you were thinking of investing in Goldfield securities build a bond-fire in the stove with your money."

It may not be news to Review readers to learn that trouble is threatening along the lakes when navigation opens. Fully a year ago it was stated in this department that the employers contemplated making war upon the unions, and it appears that they are now ready to do battle, for they have come out in the open. Not only have the lumber carriers announced that the lumber handlers will be compelled to accept a reduction in wages, but the United States Steel Corporation, that uncompromising foe of organized labor, is clearing its docks in the lower lake regions and preparing for action. On the other hand, the longshoremen, who have one of the strongest unions in the country, do not intend to lie down. They are busily strengthening their lines and making ready to meet the issue. It is not

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publicly known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that President D. J. Keefe had intended to follow the example of John Mitchell and retire from office this year, but since the issue has been raised by the employers it is doubtful whether the membership will permit Keefe to step down and out. Keefe is one of the oldest executive officials on the industrial field and has had exceptionally good success in handling some very intricate propositions during the dozen years that he has guided the destinies of the longshoremen, and they will be loth to part with him. Committees from the employers and unionists will meet next month for the purpose of considering the situation. It is practically certain that the men will not listen to a reduction and sign an agreement, and it is also probable that the vessel owners will demand a cut in wages. If a deadlock ensues you can look for guerilla warfare all over the lakes. The longshoremen have a card up their sleeve that they can play that it would hardly be proper to make public at this time, but which would cause the capitalistic interests no end of trouble and the loss of a good many dollars before they triumph in the battle to reduce wages. Meanwhile where are the seamen going to get off? Or will they remain on board? Watch the moves.

Things are not running smoothly, in the National Association of Manufacturers. It has leaked out that quite a number of influential manufacturers have deserted Van Cleave, Parry, Post & Co., as they do not admire their style of pitching. Some of the disgruntled element charge that Van Cleave has been meddling with the tariff question contrary to their interests, while others do not quite like the notoriety that they are receiving in being connected with a union-smashing organization. The desertions are said to have caused Mr. Van Cleave considerable worry, and that big little gentlemen is trying to explain in his organs all about what's the matter with Hannah.

When this month's Review is on the press representatives of the building trades, prodded by the attacks of the open shop masters, will be assembling in Washington for the purpose of establishing an international alliance subordinate to the A. F. of L. and to include all crafts. There is hardly a doubt but some plan will be worked out at this meeting to secure more harmony in the building trades and wipe out some of the old sores that resulted in one craft scabbing on another upon more than one occasion. Upward of a million mechanics, and laborers will be in the new alliance.

As perhaps most of the Review readers have learned, W. D. Haywood has resigned as secretary of the Western Federation of Miners. At present he is on a speaking tour in the eastern part of the country. It is almost useless to add that Haywood is being greeted by audiences that pack every meeting place, and from all accounts in exchanges the people are deeply interested in the narratives relating to the Western miners. It is also almost needless to say that the daily capitalist press studiously refrains from mentioning the Haywood meetings. Wonder why's the wherefore!

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Sweet Reasonableness. My friend the editor calls for a starter for the Forum,—two hundred words, subject "Sweet Reasonableness," a term which Matthew Arnold applied to the method of the socialist Jesus. The tooth and claw manner of attack used by the animals of the jungle is one way; sweet reasonableness, or the Missouri "Show me" way is another. I like best the latter way. It gets farther and lasts longer. Good natured, courteous reasoning enlightens, convinces and persuades. Most people distrust great big gallops of dogmatic assertions. Most people dislike hot denunciation. They believe some things are wrong but not everything. They are for mending but not destroying,—not knowing what would happen next. By their daily and life-time experience they know that people average much alike in generosity, fairness, selfishness, crookedness, regardless of religion, politics or class. They think they know something, as well as the cocksure and vindictive writer or speaker. But show them by reasoning and by familiar facts and illustrations how affairs can be improved on, and they listen, and by degrees come your way. There is a fraction of the people who are down and out, and ready for revolution. But the great majority know they are not slaves but free, they live comfortably, have what they regard a fair share of happiness, and can be drawn into a new system only by sweet reasonableness.

N. O. NELSON.

A Reader's Ideal for the Review. Here's a line to express my appreciation of "The Element of Faith in Marxian Socialism," by Thomas C. Hall (in the January Review). We need many more articles in the same strain. Our sectarian dogmatism has already rendered our tactic less effective than it should be and could be. We do not begin to use the opportunities for propaganda staring us in the face. Our democracy does not flourish with a quarter the vigor of our sectarianism. We are already too doctrinaire. I also quote—unauthoritatively—a remark by Comrade Ghent that "the scope of the Review is too narrow". How he would explicate this dictum I cannot say. But I endorse it in this respect: personally, as a new member and consequently as a student of all that the party ought to stand for. I neeed some good articles on tactics; some articles on organization, both theoretical and practical, more particularly articles describing the work of efficient locals and workers in the form of original essays or studies, not so much on the text of Marx as on the text of current events and conditions. In general I am persuaded that we should increase our efficiency if we all wrote half as much and twice as clearly, distinctly, forcibly, or instructively as we now

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do. Inefficient words are a delusion—worse than a mere "sentimentalism"; thanks be to Labriola for this word and its content. Wishing increased service to the Review under its new editors, I am, fraternally,

T. J. LLOYD.

A Letter from Bradford, England. I was very much surprised on reading Robert Hunter's account of the British Labor Party. As outlined by him it will seem very plausible to those who do not know the whole of the facts. The Socialists of this country are in perfect sympathy with the withdrawal of the S. D. F. from the above organization. Those who understand what Socialism means and seeks to accomplish are heartily sick of the Labor Party. **It is bound to no programme and has no principles.** Social Democrats in all parts of the country are carrying on an active propaganda in their trades unions and trying to mould the Labor Party into a Socialist Party. The Social Democratic Federation left because their remaining in the ranks meant the subjection of their principles, their votes and actions to being controlled by a number of men, who, to say the least of it are not Socialists. I would like your readers to picture to themselves if they can, our comrades Hyndman and Quelch working in harmony with a man like Shackleton who thinks his seat of more importance than declaring for the raising of the school age to 16. If the articles on other countries are no more reliable than the one on England, I am afraid I must have my doubts about them. Your writer does not mention the fact that the I. L. P. Socialists object to a Parliamentary programme as formulated by the Trades Union Congress but are content with passing pious resolutions which are not binding on the Group who misrepresent the workers in Parliament. It is quite true that this may be as advanced as the rank and file, but this should not prevent them from trying to lead them to some higher ideal. A Socialist looks upon all public bodies merely as a platform for the advocasy of his principles. The British Labormen are imbued with the idea that they are born administrators and want to show the ruling classes how to administer capitalism. I along with other Social Democrats look upon all public bodies as platforms for the advancement of our principles. Our object is to break up all capitalist institutions and establish a state of Socialism.

G.MALTON.

Revising the Party Constitution. It should not be forgotten that one task of the coming National Convention of the Socialist Party is to revise the party constitution. To save the time of the convention and ensure careful consideration for every change proposed, a committee has been elected, consisting of W. R. Gaylord, 226 9th st., Milwaukee, Wis., James Oneal, 15 Spruce st., New York City, and Charles H. Kerr, 264 Kinzie st., Chicago, whose duty it is to consider all proposed changes in the constitution and recommend to the convention such changes as it deems advisable. The only change thus far proposed which has seemed important to the majority of the committee is a plan for improving the method for electing the members of the National Executive Committee. This is discussed on another page of the Review. It is probable that a final session of the committee will be held just before the opening of the National Convention, and all party members having changes to propose should present them to some member of the committee before that time.

Milwaukee Socialists on the Liquor Question.—The liquor question was discussed at a recent meeting of the Milwaukee City Council. The Social-Democratic aldermen introduced the following

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resolutions: "Whereas, Milwaukee is known for the orderly character of its population—statistics showing that the number of arrests for crimes and misdemeanors of all descriptions are very much smaller in Milwaukee than in any other large city in the United States, and Whereas, especially the masses of the people and our working class are famous all over the United States for their intelligence, enlightenment and orderly habits, although their personal liberty is less restricted here than in any other city, and Whereas, Any existing abuses and excesses could easily be corrected and avoided under the present laws and ordinances if we had a decent mayor and an efficient chief of police: Therefore be it resolved, That there seems to be no special reason nor general demand for any further restriction of personal liberty in this city, and consequently the common council ought not to legislate any further on this question unless so ordered by a vote of the people, and further Resolved, That before any further measures in that direction are enacted, the following question shall be put to a refereudum of the voters of Milwaukee at the next municipal election: Shall the common council enact any further restrictions on the beer and liquor traffic in the city of Milwaukee or not? Yes or No."

Britain Hoists Socialist Flag.—This is the Chicago Tribune's own head-line over the following dispatch published in its issue of January 26: In all the political movements of England possibly no such a sudden and remarkable swing of the pendulum of public opinion has ever been witnessed as that recorded this week, when in a conference at Hull representatives of millions of British workingmen, forming the labor party, hoisted the flag of socialism. The party put itself on record as accepting the socialistic doctrine that production, distribution, and exchange should be controlled by a democratic state in the interest of the entire community, and as favoring the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes. The English public is still so dazed over the suddenness of the avowal that only a few newspapers seem to grasp the real significance of the new situation. Persons who professed astonishment and fear when the lonesome figure of John Burns—since raised to a seat in the cabinet—entered parliament as a representative of a labor constituency many years ago have now a real reason to fear for the traditional conservative trend of British legislative institutions. Among other things, the latest move of the labor party really means that the cry of socialism will not only be raised with a strong voice in the house of commons but that the present labor members of parliament, who have so suddenly changed their political complexion, will be backed in pushing the socialistic propaganda by the strong organization and wealthy treasury of the labor party, though it is true that since the Hull meeting some nonsocialist members of the party have condemned its action and threatened to break away. Nevertheless, it now seems plain that, unless other political parties succeed in breaking up the socialist party, nothing short of a political revolution can be expected. There are indications that the present liberal government will attempt to obtain the early support of the socialists in the pending fight against the house of lords, and that if this aid is forthcoming the next session of parliament, beginning on Wednesday, is likely to be the most exciting in years.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

HELP MAKE A BETTER REVIEW.

Readers of the International Socialist Review will observe some changes with this issue. We hope they will be found improvements, but if not, the publishers want to know. Other changes will be made from month to month, if we find that changes will improve the Review. Send on your suggestions. They will not all be accepted but they will all be considered.

The Review was started nearly eight years ago. In a year from the time of starting it had about three thousand subscribers. At that time we attempted to supply copies returnable to newsdealers, and this took three thousand more, but so many of them were returned unsold with bills from the wholesale news company for double postage, that we lost money on every copy put out in this way, and were obliged to cut off the return privilege. We still have just about three thousand subscribers and the sales of copies each month bring the edition up to a little over four thousand, which has been our average for the past year.

This month we are increasing the edition to a little over five thousand copies and we want our subscribers, and especially our stockholders, to see that every copy is sold. The price is ten cents a copy, to stockholders five cents. The subscription price is a dollar a year, and the price to stockholders, **provided at least two subscriptions are sent at once,** is 60 cents a year.

All present and future changes will have just one purpose, and that is to make the Review as valuable, interesting and enjoyable as possible to socialist workingmen and working women. Editorially the Review will as in the past support the principles of International Socialism and the tactics of the Socialist Party of America. And as before the Review will be distinctively educational rather than a propaganda magazine. It will not appeal for the votes of those who know nothing of socialism. This work can better be done by the Daily Socialist, the Appeal to Reason and Wilshire's Magazine. What the **Review** will try to do is to print the things most wanted by the

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average party member or the new socialist convert who wants to work for socialism. The editor can perhaps do a little toward making the Review realize this, but the readers can do a great deal more, and we want their help. Most of the matter in the Review is written without pay to help the work along. More articles are already sent in than we have room for, but still more are needed so that we can select only the best. And some writing must be paid for because some of those who can do the best work have to live from what they write, and if we can not buy their labor-power they must sell it to capitalists. Double our subscription list and the money will be ready to pay for making the Review twice as interesting as it has ever been. Remember that it is owned by a co-operative association of working people, and that not a dollar of its receipts will go to pay dividends. Last year and every year it has cost more than it brought in, the difference being made up by the sale of books and stock. This year let us all take hold and help, and make it pay for itself.

NEW BOOKS, READY AND NEARLY READY.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. By William Alfred Hinds, Ph. B. Second revision, 608 pages of text with 33 full-page illustrations, cloth, $1.50. Now ready; a review by John Spargo will appear in next month's Review.

Evolution, Social and Organic, by Arthur M. Lewis, will be ready for delivery by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers. Cloth, 50 cents. We published an extended notice in this department last month, as we did also of the book next mentioned.

Human, All Too Human, a Book for Free Spirits, by Friedrich Nietzsche. This will be ready about Feb. 15, and will be the eighth volume of the Library of Science for the Workers. Price 50 cents.

Perfecting the Earth: A Piece of Possible History. This latest work by the author of "The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand" is a propaganda work that will be af great value among those who realize that social changes must come, but hesitate to vote for socialism because they can not imagine how the world can be run without capitalists. In this book, beautifully printed and illustrated, Dr. Wooldridge starts with a panic of 1903, for all the world like the panic of 1908, though he wrote the book some time ago, and shows how an intelligent application of human labor would quickly abolish poverty and provide comfort and luxury for all. The book is printed and bound expensively, but we have secured a few hundred copies which we offer while they last at $1.00, with our usual discount to stockholders.

Goethe's Faust: A Study in Socialist Criticism. By Marcus Hitch. Standard Socialist Series, Vol. 26, cloth, 50 cents, ready about March 1. This book, by a socialist writer, who will be remembered as an able contributor to the pages of the Review, is an application of the Marxian method to the field of literary criticism. It is often

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said, too often in fact, that writers like Shakespeare and Goethe are "not for an age but for all time". It can be shown, however, that the ethical standards which are taken for granted by "great" writers as well as other writers are definitely related to the economic foundations of the society in which they lived and wrote. This statement may seem a commonplace to socialists, but to others it seems startling and improbable, and therefore Mr. Hitch has not contented himself with making the statement; he has also proved it. In so doing he has written a very interesting little volume, which we recommend especially to those of our comrades who still think that socialism is a "purely economic" question, with no relation to art or to ethics.

The Russian Bastile. By Simon O. Pollock. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents, ready about March 1. This will be a graphic picture of the horrors of the prisons in which many of our Russian revolutionary comrades are confined at the present moment. It will be an important link in the history of the revolution.

OUR FINANCIAL SITUATION.

Other important works are in preparation and will be announced in the near future, but we hope to receive orders for all these at once from every reader of the Review who can possibly afford them. The year 1907 was the most successful in the history of the publishing house. We increased our capital stock by $3950.00 and the miscellaneous receipts of the year exceeded the expenditures by $2018.53, so that we are nearly six thousand dollars better off at the end of the year than at the beginning. It should be remembered, however, that for years past we have been carrying a crushing load of debt, and that while we now only owe about $2,000 to others than stockholders there is a debt of about $8,500 to stockholders still to be paid. When this is accomplished we shall without doubt be able to reduce the prices on all socialist books, thus increasing their circulation immensely, and shall also be able to bring out new socialist books at a more rapid rate than before. Millions of books will be needed by socialist inquirers in the United States within the next few years, and we must get this publishing house in shape to provide them. Our receipts for the month of January included a contribution of $8.10 from H. Culman of Hawaii and $100 from the estate of Frank Kostack of Ohio. The receipts from the sale of stock were $245.20, from the Review $316.96 and from book sales $1,425.06. The total is about a thousand dollars short of what we ought to have received but for the panic. We have met all bills promptly and have returned the loans of all stockholders who needed their money, but we are now paying interest on a bank loan which should be taken up so that the money required to pay interest on it can be used to pay for publishing socialist books.

There are probably five hundred readers of the **Review** who intend some time to send five dollars for a share of stock. Why not do it now? This is the time it will help the most, and if you send at once you will get both volumes of "Capital" or their equivalent in other books free with your certificate.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. VIII MARCH, 1908 No. 9

In Memoriam — Karl Marx.

Died March 14, 1883.



MARCH — month of awakening spring. Nineteen hundred and eight — year of our presidental election, the greatest political battle of American Socialism against capitalism.

March 14, 1908, twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx — what a glorious opportunity to pay homage to his memory! To prove to the world that he lives in his work; that, "being dead he yet speaketh" as never before, calling the workers to unite and break their chains!

The 14th of March will not pass by without some recognition on the part of American Socialists. There will be some memorial observance of this twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the greatest of modern Socialists, "the Aristotle of the nineteenth century." There will be some observance of the day, but not, let us hope, a mournful observance. We need no solemn funeral dirges; no useless regrets that so much that he had planned was left unfinished.

We shall remember the day. We shall remember the life and deed of the most loveable of all the revolutionary host — most loveable and most learned. We shall rejoice that he was what he was; that he achieved what he did; that his achievements still endure to inspire the myriad slaves of earth.

"Most loveable and most learned" — "Most loveable of all the revolutionary host" — We know how learned he was: the world knows how great was his gigantic intellect, but how few of us know how *loveable* he was!

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How little, alas! we know of the human Marx, of the lover and comrade he was! How little, after all, we know of the man! Of the philisopher, the political economist, the politician and revolutionist in the man we know, but we know little of his great human heart, so much bigger than even his mighty brain.

Liebknecht, with fine, sympathetic touch, has given us a picture of the man — a small canvas, impressionistic, painted in the dim light of life's evening, wonderfully true in spirit but occasionally inaccurate in details. Magnificent in its feeling, the drawing is sometimes faulty. Liebknecht's little book is a sketch — the sketch of a great master, it is true, but still only a sketch.

The young artist stands before some rough, unfinished sketch by a great master: he sees a glory in the rough lines and feels something of what the master must have felt. The desire is born in his soul to try his hand upon the subject — to paint what the master sketched but never finished. And so I have aimed these many years to picture Marx as he was: Not merely Marx the great thinker, but Marx the greater man: the jovial comrade, the profound lover.

Some day I shall do it, but today, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death, there is no such picture. There are only sketches of details, meagre and fragmentary. Yet bare glimpses of the real Marx have their value — especially at this period of our history.

* * *

It is known that Marx the radical philosopher became a Socialist through the "New Christianity" of Saint Simon. This has puzzled many, so great seems the chasm that yawns between the religious mysticism of Saint Simon and the materialism of Marx. May it not be, nay, does it not seem certain, that underneath his materialism there was a great ethical — or spiritual — urge? The man whose life was an example of splendid idealism, who read his Dante with devotion, so that he could almost repeat the whole of the great divine comedy from end to end — *Purgatorio, Paradiso and Inferno,* must surely have been of an intense spiritual nature!

And the great cosmic spirit of Whitman appealed to him from the first. When Harrison Riley, editor of "The International Herald," lately gone to his rest, introduced Whitman's writings to Marx he found a sympathetic listener. Marx returned again and again to the line

"Speaking of miracles, a hair on the back of my hand is as great a miracle as any"

and to the noble lines in "Pioneers" —

"All the past we leave behind;

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We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,
Pioneers! O, Pioneers!"

* * *

Many bitter attacks upon religion on the part of Marx are familiar — not a few of them having been conveniently forged by the enemies of Socialism for their own purpose. But the Marx of middle life, the Marx of the International, was in fact one of the most gentle of critics, full of sympathy with the great underlying ethical principles of all religions, but an agnostic in his theology. "What are your reasons for believing?" he would ask, and no listener could be more patient, tolerant and gentle than he was. And his own position was always gently and frankly stated: "I do not know. I cannot understand it."

Descendant of a long line of Rabbis and son of remarkable parents, Marx came naturally by his spiritual instincts. His father, disciple of Voltaire, believed in God, he told his son, as Newton, Locke and Leibnitz had done. And his mother, when rallied upon her belief in God, replied that she believed in God, "not for God's sake, but for her own".

I like the gentle agnostic Marx; the patient, tolerant and earnest friend, listening with kindly spirit to the reasons his friends gave for their faith and saying for himself simply, "I do not know".

* * *

A glimpse of the happier side of the domestic life of our great comrade: Liebknecht has sketched some of the saddest incidents of that life, the sombre pages glorified by the beautiful love of the husband and father. Living the life of proletarian poverty, their little sons died as the children of the poor die, victims of that poverty. And we see him standing by the grave of his little son, frantic with grief and ready to jump into the grave, his friends closing around him to prevent that happening. Or we see him standing by the grave of the wife he loved so well, the beautiful Jennie von Westphalen, not ready to jump into the grave in frenzied grief, but almost dropping into it, almost as dead as her whose last words had been of her beloved "Karl". His friends knew how great was his love for his wife, and Engels said prophetically when she died that Marx was likewise dead.

In all the pages of history it would be hard to find a more idyllic love-story than that of Marx and his wife. He literally worshipped her beauty and the memory of his children, long years afterwards, was of their tall, handsome father proudly and

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lovingly parading up and down the little room where they lived with his tall, handsome wife and comrade, his arm around her waist!

To his children Marx was not less gentle and affectionate. What an adorable picture it is that Liebknecht gives us of the Marx family excursions to Hampstead Heath, with the profound philosopher boisterously enjoying donkey rides with the little ones! And what an adorable memory of the man his daughter, Madame Lafargue, holds! In a recent letter she writes me:

"Karl Marx was the kindest, the best of fathers; there was nothing of the disciplinarian in him, nothing authoritative in his manner. He had the rich and generous nature, the warm and sunny disposition that the young appreciate: he was vehement, but I have never known him to be morose or sullen, and steeped in work and worry as he might be, he was always full of pleasantry with us children, always ready to amuse and be amused by us. He was our comrade and playfellow".

* * *

These little glimpses of the intimate life of our immortal comrade show us the man as he was: the great lover and tender parent. As we celebrate upon this anniversary his magnificent genius as a philosopher and political economist, let us not fail to remember also his magnificent humanity. Truly,

The elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, "This was a Man!"

JOHN SPARGO.

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Roosevelt's Place in History.



HE ROOSEVELT Administration is about ready for the final analysis. As a political factor it has made its final mark on history's page and closed the book. Many tried to speak the last word with reference to the President while he was in the midst of strife; while his policies and politics were undeveloped or developing. And hence their views were incomplete, subject to change and revision. Those who wrote of him in passion, either for or against, helped make history, but did not write it. The time has just arrived when the historian can calmly and fully review his career. If a historical writer does not now take full advantage of the opportunity, it is because he lacks the scientific method. There is no danger that the estimate now made in such manner will hereafter need much revision. For just as we deal with Grover Cleveland, though still alive, with all the accurate impartiality we might devote to some dead personage like Harrison or Mc Kinley; so can we treat Roosevelt both fairly and completely, now that he is not likely to add anything to his character by actions of import hereafter. He has withdrawn at last from all candidacy for the third term. His former withdrawals were all treated in the Pickwickian sense by his rivals; but to this last one they give full credit. And so, in faith, must we. For in reality the hard times killed whatever vitality his boom had.

The hard times that bowed Benj. Harrison out and ushered Grover Cleveland in, did not especially change the character of these men. The change of circumstances may have thrown some light on them among contemporaries, — opening the eyes of the blind, — as it were. A similar change in the times will not greatly affect the views of future historians on Theodore Roosevelt, though it modifies the expression of those who have already spoken. And while another question looms large at the close of his administration — our relations with Japan — yet as the Spanish war showed so well the temper of our subject, we are not in need of another crisis, no matter how great and critical it may be to confirm the well established fact, that, to speak in his own vein, he is a believer in "carrying a big stick." So we now enter into the dissection of his character and administration with all the confidence in the world in the timeliness of the matter and full faith in

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the finality of the research, based, as any scientific study should be, on the relations of facts to each other.

* * *

History will place Roosevelt as a shrewd politician, who recognized and used two methods by which to gain office, viz: — posing and advertising. He early learned the value of both. He posed as a reformer when he first entered the arena as an assemblyman in the legislature of New York. But he took his breakfasts with Platt! He daily associated with the great Boss. His succeeding moves in donning picturesque clothes were successful attempts to continue this posing before the people. He sought the spot light, and he always gained the center of the stage; as cowboy, hunter, warrior, peace-maker or preacher. He proved a master hand at the theatrical business. He combined in himself the requisites of press agent and star.

Dunn, the official photographer of the National Committee, tells how particular he was as to dress on the rounds of his campaigns. At one town, he appeared in a silk hat, at another in a slouch; at one stop, he wore baggy trousers, at the next one he put on pants that were carefully creased and pressed; he did it all on careful telegraphic information giving the important news as to how the next reception committee would appear. And he was careful to have the pictures printed as large as possible in the local press.

His executive policy showed a similar tendency of conciliation of those who managed the machine, and barn storming for himself. He was first a free trader, then a protectionist. He was the man of peace and then of war. He was against the Croton ring and then for it! He denounced the trusts, then accepted their campaign contributions. He never tarried long at one spot, but kept moving on from place to place, principle to principle, thus razzle-dazzling the public; dancing from position to position and posing as a mighty force in each new place; but always shaping his sails to whatever wind might blow.

His first national prominence dated from the time he was Police Commissioner in New York City. Here he showed his genius for the use of publicity to promote his own fortunes. He rewarded acts of bravery of the humble policemen, not so much because of the act of the servant as for the opportunity of advertising the master.

Next he set the wheels in motion and landed, through the efforts of relative and friends, (some of whom he afterwards repudiated), in the War Office as Assistant Secretary. Immediately he began to prepare for the conflict. He put a few brass nails upon his big stick.

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They tell a story of Hearst, that he ordered his reporters to furnish the news, — "I shall furnish the war." The story is denied but it well illustrates the character of one who loves the head of the procession. While Hearst was encouraging war, through his press, Roosevelt was preparing for it in the navy yards. Hearst was a typical Jingo at this time, Roosevelt a grim Machiavelli. After the country had been worked up to the proper pitch, war became inevitable. McKinley reluctantly declared it. Roosevelt soon resigned from the navy and went out onto the fields of Texas to head a mob of picturesque cowboys. He donned a new and strange uniform. Then he had his picture taken; — this time appearing as the Man on Horseback. During the war he ran the press bureau effectively. He managed to keep in the public eye. He was proclaimed the hero of San Juan and of the battle of the Decayed Beef Can.

After tiring of the army he resumed his regular occupation of politics and ran for governor of New York. The value of advertising made itself felt and he was elected. Then he stepped in the way of the bosses and they got rid of him by his removal to the humble seat of Vice-President. Then a half crazed assassin came along and put Roosevelt where he wanted to be sooner than he had expected.

He was praised for the tact he showed under those circumstances. Hearst was greatly blamed for his want of it. The country turned towards the man of tact and against the man of gall. Also it appeared that a newspaper hero is more popular than a newspaper devil.

The political genius of Roosevelt now showed itself in full play. The power to plan and perfect an organization and to build a machine was quickly shown and felt. He soon dominated his party and through it, the country. He succeeded in getting a re-nomination and an election.

Now he became President of the United States of America by virtue of his own right. He was at last in position to develop a policy. He was in office for four years and perhaps for eight. Up to this time he had shown himself ready enough to dominate any minor set of circumstances. Now he failed under the crucial test. He had no policy to offer.

Then a voice whispered into his ear, that as two terms had come easy, he better try and make it three. So he began secretly to plot for the third term.

I take it that any President has the ambition to be great enough for this big country of America. Roosevelt wanted to be the man of one party. And he became so for quite a while. He tried to show that the political genius of the Americans was superior to their business genius. And it looked at first

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as though he would be able to prove that too. But he soon faltered; he wavered and turned back and then finally fled in utter rout. He saw himself forced to the feet of big business. He had to turn to the trusts for his policy and his helpers. And when the trusts broke down, when the panic and the slump came, he was left friendless. From being regarded as a God, he was quickly discovered to be made of common clay. From being an object of secret terror to the muck-rakers, he now became their convenient target.

* * *

What had angered the machine politicians and some of the men of big business was, that they realized Roosevelt had no genuine love for them. And so, while they did not manufacture the panic to down him, as certain narrow sighted ones claim, yet they did take advantage of the opportunity to blame him for it, and thus they wiped out his third term aspirations.

It is a well known rule of politics that when a president is held responsible for hard times, he might as well retire then and there; it'll do him no good to hang on. After every panic of importance, there has been a change of party except in '76; and then there was a change, only it wasn't allowed to count.

* * *

This leads to the question, what is the definition of "statesman?" A statesman is one who lives for the state; uses all his energies to make it greater and more powerful; makes it a place where it is more blessed in which to live; one who has the policy of making the whole people greater than any part of them. Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln fit this definition. They are the great American statesmen so far. And Roosevelt might have risen to their heights, had he kept his will fixed on this ambition alone.

* * *

To make the point entirely clear, we will put it this way:

The tendency of late times, is towards consolidation of business, forming trusts, etc. This is the economic law and is in the line of evolution. It can't be stopped but it might be used. Roosevelt's policy should have been to see that the government's business progressed just as rapidly as the business of the trusts did. He should have paid more attention to Uncle Sam's large concerns — the post-office, the canals, the forest and mineral reservations, the extension of postal banks, of parcel-post delivery. He might have felt the necessity to take over the mail trains into government ownership;

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to seize the telegraphs and the telephones, as they have done abroad; to hold the wireless message for the states' own and thus met the wily captains of industry on their own grounds. He might have taken possession of the coal fields, when the whole country was begging for such action.

He might have shown himself a great administrative executive and thus held back the arrogance of capital, the rising tides of discontent.

But he did not rise to the occasion. He chose to be a newspaper hero and so pass on, rather than be the man of iron and remain. Had he dealt openly, fairly and honestly with capital, he would have accomplished much of note and worth. Had he dealt openly, fairlv and honestly with labor, he might have risen to the glory of Lincoln.

But scheming for the third term, never rising above his own personal fortunes, and having no administrative policy, he now sees his plans all knocked awry, and is forced into an involuntary withdrawal from public life. He must pass away the remaining years of his life in vain regrets over what might have been; not having the satisfaction that Napoleon had of knowing that, while he held the powers of the State in his hands, he had made full use of them. That he had been the leader of his class and his retirement would not witness the return of the other class to power again.

The next great Statesman in America will be he, who sees that the new movement is the struggle of the proletariat for the powers of the State. It will be he who will head that movement, he who will lead it on to victory. He will be the next Lincoln.

* * *

Since writing the foregoing, the famous message of Jan. 31st, relating to labor and capital has been given to the public and I have been asked to incorporate in this article my views on the same. The first temptation was simply to regard this as a resumption of his former mood and that it signalized the return of Lost Nerve. However, it hardly can be fairly characterized in that wav, but is perhaps, the first public acknowledgment of Theodore Roosevelt, that his policies are on the defensive.

The plutocracy know that it is of no use to put up anyone for president of the United States, except one who is personally acceptable to the people as a clean and honest gentleman. Such a man was William McKinley, who was fortunate in having a business administrator as his confidential friend and adviser in the person of Mark Hanna. McKinley was an idealist; Hanna was a materialist, and the two together were able to pull the load a likely distance. Roosevelt thought that he could haul the

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wagon well enough singly and alone and while apparently he was making some speed, yet because a line was hitched to the post, he only traveled around a circle.

Purely idealistic men, preaching bourgeois dualism, are bound sooner or later to come to disaster, while practical men of administrative ability, even of somewhat low and debauched ideals, will accomplish more in the administrative line. Take for instance, the heelers of Tammany Hall and the results of their actions. These are more considerable, by reason of their being able to do business, and cope with business, than the acts of idealists on the order of Mayor Jones and Mayor Dunne and others who are so theoretical that they becme tangled in the maze of their own spinning, and who leave practically nothing to show for their tenure of office.

Roosevelt started out with the handicap of Sunday School ideology. He thought if he endeavored to give a fair and square administration on a high plane, characterized by personal integrity on his own part with a fitting strenuousness, he could accomplish much of worth. But when this plan was put to the test, by the panic, he had nothing to offer, and became panic-stricken himself during the worst of the storm.

In the meantime, certain criticisms were cunningly devised by those whom he considered his enemies, and by some whom he had formerly regarded as friends, to the effect that he had become of unsound mind over his own personality, and they substantiated their arguments by quoting the intemperance of his violent characterization of those with whom he disagreed. The experts have made a rather good prima facia case, that he has gone mad over his own ego. They point out he both distrusts his enemies and entrusts his friends to the point of insanity.

This view of him reminds me of the picture Cervantes painted of the historic Don Quixote. In fact, the more we regard the confused philosophy of our subject, the more does a certain analogy lie between him and the Spanish cavalier of celebrated history. The windmill seems to inevitably characterize both careers and just as the eminent knight errant continually engaged in foolish tilts with clothes lines and other fantastic shapes of his imagination, so has our tempestuous subject been on a knight errantry after certain foolish infatuations and without the restraining hand of a Sanco Panza.

There are two classes of competent people: those whose philosophic conclusions are based on the solid ground of fact; the materialists who know what they want and go after it and get it. These are the captains of industry and the plutocrats of the upper classes. The other class of competents are those who are not only materialistic in regard to the getting of the good things of life for themselves, but who have determined that those things

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should go all the way around. They have a universality of benefit in their theorizing.

The confused sentimentalists, whether republicans, democrats, or prohibitionists, lie between these two, and that explains the "insanity" of Roosevelt.

It is no wonder that he is forced to spend the remaining months of his official life in strenuously defending what he calls, "my policies" which in reality are nothing more than ephemeral fancies of a mind confused by the abstractions of the four year's world and that he has practically given up the fight to put the world forward any more. He clearly sees that he is not now and never has been a serious factor in progress, and is trying to explain why.

The explanation he will never make, no more than Don Quixote could explain the failure of his fruitless mission to restore chivalry to a world become purely commercial.

Socialism is the key that will unlock the enigmas of the present. No other key fits the lock.

ROBIN E. DUNBAR.

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Karl Marx on Sectarianism and Dogmatism.

(Extract from a letter written by Marx in London, November 23, 1871, and addressed to his Friend Bolte, a member of the Central Committee of the "International" in the United States.)



HE INTERNATIONAL was organized for the purpose of putting the actual fighting organizations of the working class in the place of the socialist and semisocialist sects. The original statutes and the inaugural address show this at the first glance. On the other hand, the internationalists could not have maintained themselves, had it not been for the fact that the historical development had already smashed the sectarian cliques. The evolution of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labor movement always move in opposite direction. So long as the sects are historically justified, the working class is still unfit for an independent historical movement. As soon as it reaches this point of maturity, all sects are essentially reactionary. However, the International repeats in its history what history in general shows everywhere. The obsolete seeks to rehabilitate itself and maintain itself within the newly established form.*

And the history of the International was a continual struggle of its General Council against the attempts of sects and amateurs, who tried to maintain themselves against the real labor movement within the International. This struggle was carried on at its congress, but still more in the private negotiations of the General Council with the individual sections.

Since in Paris the Proudhonists (Mutualists) had helped to found the Association, they naturally were at the helm in Paris during the first years. In opposition to them collectivist, positivist, and other groups naturally arose later.

In Germany there was the Lassalle clique. I have myself carried on a correspondence with the illfamed Schweitzer for two years and irrefutably demonstrated to him, that Lassalle's organization is a mere sectarian organization and as such opposed to the organization of the real labor movement desired by the International. He had his reasons for not understanding.

At the close of 1868 the Russian Bakounin entered the International for the purpose of forming within it a second International, with himself as its chief, under the name of *"Alliance*

* This is shown once more by the recent attempt of the Socialist Labor Party to gain admission to the Socialist Party.—E. U.

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de la Democratie Socialiste." Although he was a man without any theoretical training, he pretended to represent in this separate body the scientific propaganda of the International and to make this the special avocation of this second International within the International.

His program was a superficial mixture of things grabbed up right and left, such as the equality of classes, the abolition of the right of inheritance as a point of departure of the social movement (Saint-Simonian nonsense), atheism dictated to its members as a dogma, etc., and his main dogma was Proudhonian, namely abstention from political activity.

This primer for children found some support (and still has a certain hold) in Italy and Spain, where the conditions for a real labor movement have but little developed, and among a few conceited, ambitious, shallow doctrinaries in Romanic Switzerland and Belgium.

This doctrine (a hash borrowed from Proudhon, Saint Simon and others) was and is of secondary importance to Bakounin, and primarily a means for his own personal aggrandizement. Theoretically a zero, he is in his element as an intriguer.

For years the General Council had to battle against this conspiracy (which was supported to a certain degree by the French Proudhonists, particularly in Southern France). At last it struck the long prepared blow by the resolutions 1, 2 and 3, IX and XVI and XVII at its London conference.*

It is a matter of course that the General Council will not lend its support to the same thing in America which it opposes in Europe. The resolutions 1, 2 and 3, and IX, offer to the New York Committee the legal weapons, by which they may make an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups and eventually expel them.

The political movement of the working class has for its natural and ultimate aim the conquest of the political power for it, and this requires, of course, that a previous organization of the working class, arising out of its economic struggles, should have reached a certain degree of maturity.

On the other hand, every movement, in which the working class meets the ruling classes as a class and seeks to overcome them by pressure from without, is a political movement. For instance, the attempt to force from individual capitalists a re-

* Resolution I, 2 and 3 forbid all names of sects and decide that the individual sections shall be known exclusively as sections of the International in the various localities; resolution IX declares that the political activity of the working class is necessary and that this political activity is inseparable from its economic movement; resolution XVI declares the question of the *"Alliance de la Democratic Socialiste"* settled by the announcement of its dissolution on the part of its secretary; resolution XVII permits to the Jurassic sections in Switzerland to adopt the name *"Federation Juraesienne"*, but censures its publications *"Progrès"* and *"Solidarité"*.

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duction of the labor time, in some individual factory or in some line of occupation, is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement. And in this way a political movement grows everywhere out of the various economic movements of the working class, that is, a movement of the class to enforce its demands in some general form, in some form, which shall have a general social power.

Wherever the working class is not far enough advanced in its organization to undertake an effective campaign against the collective power, that is, the political power of the ruling classes, it should be trained for this work by a continual agitation against the attitude towards the polixies of the ruling classes which is hostile to us. Otherwise the working class will remain a plaything in the hands of the ruling classes. This has been demonstrated by the September revolution in France and is proved to a certain degree by the game, which is still played with success in England by Gladstone and his helpers.

KARL MARX.

(*Translated by Ernest Untermann.*)

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A Tallow Candle.



HAT'S THIS—what's this—more light wanted? Well, as Br'er Mc Pherson is the first Socialist I ever saw or heard of who didn't think he knew it all and who hadn't information to give away, throw away and burn, somebody ought to send a few scintillating sparks in his direction. But perhaps the situation is not so desperate as he seems to regard it; perhaps—as light is known to travel 182,000 miles in a second—the irradiation from a tallow candle will do the trick.

But right here at the outset it is pertinent to inquire: What is there in the philosophy of the under-dog, in the co-operative, as distinguished from the competitive, principle that gives a Socialist the chance to aim at its vital concepts harpoons of logic that would make a Mallock go off and kick himself for envy? Can it be that our terminology is to blame? Shall it finally come to this—that a Socialist essay will resemble a New-thought-brain-splurge?

"Ay; there's the villainy!" exclaimed Petruchio to the tailor, when he came to the sleeves; and it may be that our wealth of metaphor, our redundant rhetoric, the "scientific" atmosphere created by "intellectuals" and college professors, have in some degree tended to obscure the main issue which is: The planet for those who perform the work of the planet. Or, putting it another way—Happiness and abundance being the only desiderata, these cannot be assured to *any* until they shall have become the heritage of *all* through universal co-operation.

A recognition and adoption of the principle must include, in the first place, the ascendency (by pacific or more forcible means, according to circumstances) of the working class; in the second place, the abolition of classes.

We read and hear nowadays a great deal about economic determinism and the materialistic conception of history. Admirable phrases both; but we should have a standard by which to definitely interpret their precise meaning. Some writers use them interchangeably, while others assume that the materialistic conception of history is simply the antithesis of the theological conception of history; leaving to economic determinism the explanation of purely economic phenomena, that is, the bread and butter side of the question.

Nature, evolution, psychology, metaphysics—are all words

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for the unwary to conjure with; for they seem to have whatever meaning the individual writer wishes to juggle into them. In this regard it is perhaps unfortunate that Engels should have written a sentence like this: "Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free"; for it afforded McPherson an opportunity to read into the word "Nature" a meaning never dreamed of by Engels or probably, for that matter, any other Socialist, and gave him a chance to perpetrate that masterpiece of illogical logic entitled "Economic Determinism and Martyrdom."

Nature is the physical universe, the cosmos, composed, according to scientists, of matter and force; and how, in the name of all that is sensible, can man lord it over that combination? Man is the infinitesimally puny creature of Nature, and in the twinkling of an eye she may snuff out the whole race and reconvert into nebulous star-dust the cockle-shell upon which, like any ruffed-up bantam cock, man "struts and frets his little hour." But as man cannot lord it over Nature, neither does she consciously lord it over man, for that would imply a *preconceived plan* by which the race was being lifted to some glorious height or, on the other hand, rushed to some fearful doom (according as she was benevolently or malevolently disposed) and in either case, being the creatures of a superior will, all our efforts to change the existing order of things would necessarily be as ineffective as they would be ill-advised.

From which it comes about that all this talk about man lording it over Nature and Nature lording it over man is the silliest moonshine. And yet upon this prestidigitation of sovereignty, by which the control passes from Nature to man, is based McPherson's entire argument. When man diverts the raging torrent of the Mississippi into artificial storage reservoirs, to be later drawn upon in times of drouth; when he constructs dykes, retaining walls and levees along that or any stream; when he utilizes natural waterfalls to furnish heat, light and power—he in a sense harnesses Nature and forces her to become his slave. But that cannot be the sort of sovereignty to which McPherson refers, for it is not contingent upon the inauguration of the Socialistic programme—from the earliest times man has thus taken advantage of Nature.

What, then, did so clear a thinker, so logical a writer, as Engels mean when he prophesied man's ascendency over the forces of Nature? Why, just what every student and every Socialist has always supposed him to mean. As a figure of rhetoric, as an allegory—as when one speaks of owning the earth—all writers indulge in such flights of fancy, and Engels was no exception. Out of his rich imagery, when dreaming of the day

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that man should throw off his industrial shackles, and what was of infinitely more importance, his mental shackles, Engels allows himself that harmless metaphor.

"It seems to me," declares McPherson, "that neither he (Engels) nor Marx ever proved how man could become free, in the sense in which he uses the word. Since he and Marx admit that man has come up from savagery by the road of pain—by being slaves to Nature, how, then, can he consistently assert that by a transition more or less cataclysmic or revolutionary, man suddenly awakens to the fact that he is no more the slave of Nature, but Nature is thenceforth his slave? As he puts it, 'man emerges from mere animal conditions to human ones.'"

It is very true that neither Marx nor Engels ever did prove how man could become free, in the sense in which he (meaning McPherson) uses the word; but that is only an incomplete statement of their position. To add the finishing stroke one is compelled to say they never tried to. And while we're all ready to admit that man has come up from savagery by the road of pain (the pain is not all out of the road even yet) we must strenuously balk at the idea that he came up by being a slave to Nature; nor will Nature presently or more remotely become his slave—in *any* sense, excepting a figurative one. Nor in Engels' matter-of-fact and (to me) entirely reasonable statement that man emerges from mere animal conditions to human ones (that is, as soon as he has had the good taste to throw monopoly off his back) can I discover good cause for believing that he expected Nature to thenceforth allow herself to be saddled and bridled in man's service—in any different sense than she so allowed herself before the said emergence.

Yes, yes, Br'er Mac, this is a "weary warld" and the "pale nemesis" still pursues us, her golden hair a-hangin' down her back. From ancient Babylon to San Juan Hill (there was at least one Spaniard shot in the back during the latter and now historic engagement) the record is black with human hatred and red with human blood. Whether it be primitive barbarism, early slavery, feudal serfdom or the more up-to-date capitalistic maelstrom that we put under the limelight we see nothing but blood and tears and sweat and misery and victims by the million—by the billion—but don't, for heaven's sake, charge that up to Marx or Engels or economic determinism or Nature or progress or evolution; for they're each and all, seriatim or bunched, absolutely guiltless. If you believe in a God and think his shoulders are broad enough to stand it—put it onto him. If you do not believe in a God—lay it to Harry Orchard—or to heredity—or both.

"In all earnestness" inquires McPherson, "is there not something radically preposterous in this continual enslavement of one generation for the betterment of the next? We seem, even at

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our so-called high scientific and intellectual stage, to be still no better than the blind and brutal savages, our ancestors. Yet, so far as we know, or so far as Marx or any of his disciples has told us, there is no alternative."

Indeed, there is something radically preposterous in the continual enslavement of one generation for the betterment of the next; but when we are gravely assured that neither Marx nor any of his disciples has proposed an alternative it is perfectly in order to protest and we rise to insert a correction.

In the grandest and most pregnant words ever uttered by mortal tongue—words that will reverberate down the ages when lesser perorations shall have been buried a mile deep under the rubbish-heaps of history—Karl Marx, his lone and stalwart form silhouetted against a background of almost universal sycophancy, thundered forth: *Workingmen of the world unite! You have everything to gain; you have nothing to lose but your chains.*

That was his alternative to an endless-chain of human sacrifice, and some at least of his disciples and followers are still thrilling with that vibrant message the dull, quiescent and unimaginative slaves to ignorance, to convention, to heredity, to superstition.

Let us pass on to the crême de la crême of McPherson's argument, the grand climax of his ratiocinative method, by which are reduced to nihilistic kindling-wood not only martyrdom and progress, but the essence—the quintessence, one may say—of Socialism itself. He says:

"Reasoning from Marx' and Engels' doctrine, and using the criteria and ideas provided by my capitalistic surroundings (as we all perforce must do) I should be compelled to predict that if the future releases man from the necessity of blood-spilling—from the well-known method of making martyrs, he must inevitably become extinct. Furthermore, I should be compelled to say, that since capital began its own negation, and since this negation is the germ of a higher development, and that higher development will be Socialism, and since Socialism implies reversal of the time-honored relations between man and Nature (as Engels says) Socialism will contain no negation; therefore, containing no negation, it will contain no germ of a higher development. Consequently we are forced to admit that Socialism cannot be progressive. In other words Socialism precipitates a social organism in which no martyrs are manufactured by economic determinism. And as martyrdom, since the dawn of life on the globe has been borne in the same womb with progress—is, in fact, its twin brother; therefore Socialism cuts off the possibility of martyrdom, and, at the same time, cuts out the womb which, it is held by Marx, gives conception to progress. And to assume

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that Socialism would not need to move, evolutionarily speaking, would be the wildest utopianism."

Reasoning from any old doctrine, and using the criteria and ideas provided by *my* capitalist surroundings (as we all perforce must do, though we don't all do it the same way) *I* should be compelled to predict that if the future releases man from the necessity of blood-spilling he must inevitably increase and multiply as never in the world before; but as this is simply a difference of opinion, and as prophets have to get out of their own countries, anyway, before they can find anybody to believe 'em, we may as well dismiss prophecy.

Now we plunge into deep water .... Everybody will please put on a life preserver .... Capital begets its own negation; this negation is the germ of a higher development (which is Socialism) but since Socialism (according to Engels) implies a reversal of former relations between man and Nature, therefore it is to contain no negation and no germ of a higher development; consequently (according to Marx) it cannot be progressive because it ceases to manufacture martyrs through the workings of economic determinism; but a non-progressive Socialism would be utopianism—no; wildest utopianism.

And this, we are told, is Marxian and Engelsian doctrine!!!

Personally, I am of the opinion that such a state of affairs would contain, or at least beget, its own negation, just as did capital in the first place, and that the interrupted pastime of martyr-making would forthwith be renewed; which, again, would lead to a society so perfect that it would abhor the very thought of martyrdom and would put an end to it; which, in turn—but this is traveling in a circle ... something is wrong ... ah! I have it—the womb which gives conception to both perfection and martyrdom has been cut out! Which vastly simplifies things.

And yet—and yet—although Engels has reversed the time-honored relations heretofore existing between man and Nature and Marx has destroyed the womb that labored with those ill-assorted twins, Progress and Martyrdom, the Promised Land is not yet for us; for we are still wild Utopians. Whither shall we turn? Where look for relief? .... Aha,"—that "pale nemesis"! —who has made provision for *her* exorcism or destruction? Nobody, so far as I can learn. Marx has not, nor Engels; nor has McPherson. Why? oh! why has she been left at large? .... Darkness supervenes .... the race is lost.

* * *

Just a word in conclusion. Mr. McPherson may interpret Marx and Engels as he can or as he must, "as we all perforce must do;" but in those two grand old warhorses of the "Mani-

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festo" I see a pair of grizzled veterans whose life-work, given to a thankless, profitless and hopeless task, was not to free man from the domination of Nature, but to free him from the domination of his own rapacious kind—from Special Privilege whose specialty was plunder, from Divine Righters whose divinity was manifested in a heretofore fairly sucessful effort to befog the mind. They were revolutionists first, last and all the time, and evolutionists incidentally. But revolutions—that is, successful ones—require revolutionaries; and as the opportunity was denied them to use their swords in a class-conscious, intelligent proletarian revolt, for the good and sufficient reason that there was a dearth of class-conscious and intelligent proletarians who desired a revolt, they used their pens, instead, with what effect they might. They perfected and taught a surplus-value theory, as applied to wages, so that the victims might understand how they were being robbed; they gave a fresh fillip to the proletarian movement by demonstrating that society was divided into classes, the exploiters and the exploited, thus playing upon the strongest of human motives—self-interest—and so inciting to class-consciousness; they further encouraged the proletarian mind by attempting to prove that the capitalistic structure, because its foundations were insecure, would finally topple of its own weight; in the materialistic—(as distinguished from the theological-) conception—of history philosophy, they endeavored to arouse that irreverence for priestcraft and convention which is so fundamentally essential if the workers are ever to "emerge from mere animal conditions;" and on the other hand they applied the same philosophy to interpret the economic trend of history (the new-fangled name is economic determinism); they taught the masses that they must rely upon themselves, fight their own battles, eschew all compromise (even with Nature, to the best of my knowledge and belief) and that terrestrial salvation, if terrestrial salvation was at all to be theirs, *had to come from within their own class-conscious and militant proletarian organization.*

These things I know they taught, for I can give chapter and verse to prove it.

Maybe they also taught that by some miraculous sleight-of-hand man and Nature are to change places—are to reverse their "time-honored" relations—and that martyrdom is the sine qua non of human happiness and progress, and that Socialism, by ripping out the womb which gives conception to both martyrdom and progress, leads us straight to the wildest utopianism; but I cannot believe it. It sounds to me like a tale with which to beguile the marines.

C. A. STEERE.

Chipachet, R. I., Jan, 27. '08.

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Brains.



OME ENTERTAINMENT and perhaps much profit may be derived from consideration of a peculiar phase of recent thought and discussion in the Socialist movement in America. I refer to the more or less heated attacks upon those of our comrades who are included in the classification, "intellectuals". The subject also involves consideration of the cognate idea of "leaders" and "leadership". Strangely enough it is the "intellectuals" who are attacking the "intellectuals" and the "leaders" who are delivering the mightiest blows at "leadership". As no one has appeared to take up the cudgels for the sorely beset men of education in the movement may I not fly to the rescue? I may urge in proof of my disinterestedness that while a fond and self-sacrificing father gave me the doubtful advantage of a college education I learned a trade of my own volition and by virtue of union membership am, perhaps, as truly a proletarian as any comrade who wields pick or shovel.

If modesty is a virtue we must score one point at the outset for the despised "intellectual". History does not record examples of more passionate humility than have recently been provided by "intellectuals" in the movement who have sent out clarion calls for the pure and undefiled proletarians to take control of their party and do their own thinking. Because such appeals have gone up does not prove by any means that any one has taken from the proletarian control of the party or the operation of individual brains but merely serves to illustrate a tendency of the time which seems worthy of analysis.

We have hooted from the stage of the world's thought the idea that there is any divinity that doth hedge about a king but not a few of our Socialist "intellectuals" have apparently merely swapped idols and are disposed to outdo the old party demagogues in canting appeals to the "horny handed sons of toil". There is majesty and singular potency in the historic slogan. "Workers of the world unite; you have a world to gain and nothing to lose but your chains," but as far as I have been able to determine, the author of that slogan was of just as much value to the Socialist movement as he would have been if education had not fitted him for the conception and execution of the project of writing "Capital". Marx distinctly sets forth that the man who works with his brain performs useful labor and if we are going to demand that proletarians alone be admitted to the sacred re-

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sponsibilities of party membership why, in the name of truth, may we not consider the vertical lines between the eyes of the student as great a mark of honor, and as sure a sign of worthy labor done, as the callous on the hand of the man with a hoe?

An astonishing but still characteristic argument was recently leveled at the men of his own kind by an accomplished "intellectual". In a spasm of adoration of the "horny-handed" he assured the factory workers that the manual laborer who knows nothing is better qualified as a soldier of the revolution than the college professor. who knows much because, forsooth, the professor is more than likely to be wrong about many things. In other words, barbarism is better than civilization because civilization is marred by many disagreeably rotten spots. Of course that proposition cannot be seriously argued but it appears to be necessary to state what should be obvious; namely, that other things being equal, and the fallibility of the human intellect being admitted, the ignorant man, no matter what his class, is sure to be wrong about more things than the educated man.

If there is anything at all in education; if past generations have contributed anything at all of permanent value to the sum of human knowledge and culture; we must concede the ability of the educated man to do most things better than the uneducated man. It doesn't affect the question to say that much of the matter taught in our educational institutions is false and mischievous. Remove the whole mass of error and there still remains a certain residuum of positive knowledge which is the common heritage of all mankind. Whether in the domain of handicraft or intellectual endeavor the man who has measurably mastered this body of certain knowledge is better equipped for the accomplishment of a given task than the ignorant man. It is, of course, obvious that the manual worker with clear mental vision can see the merits of a proposition better than the "intellectual" who suffers from mental strabismus, but the mere fact that one is a manual worker does not imply that he is clear-headed.

The "intellectual" whose argument has been already noted continues to say: "Making a specialty of thinking they (the "intellectuals") have inevitably developed various phases of Utopianism." That is to say, the runner lost the race because he trained for the contest; the lawyer lost his case because he knew law; the logician drew false conclusions because he studied logic. Naturally, runners lose races, lawyers are defeated and logicians draw false conclusions but more athletes would lose if they didn't train, more cases would be lost to the lawyer if he didn't know law and there would be more false conclusions if we didn't have logicians. It stands to reason, therefore, that without the "intellectuals" we would have had more Utopianism and if the mists

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of Utopianism have been dispersed it is the same despised "intellectual" who, with the power of logic and keen analysis, has dispersed them. "The workingman who joins the Socialist Movement," continues our friend, "has in most cases never been a Utopian". That is a purely arbitrary assertion which is probably as far from the truth as the other statements we have subjected to examination. My experience of some years in the party is that the manual worker is decidedly prone to relinquish the bone of fact to grasp at the shadows of Utopian theory.

What we need to realize is that it is in the highest degree mischievous to permit these sneering attacks on the "intellectuals" to go unrebuked. I know of no "intellectual," no man who works with his brain, who has any feeling of hostility for his comrade in the movement who works with his hands, but it is unfortunately true that there exists not a little disposition in the ranks of the "horny-handed" to view with distrust the comrade who may have got a degree at college, filled a pulpit or engaged in the practice of law. If we are to encourage such distrust we might as well begin assailing the engineer for knowing how to run an engine, the chemist for the knowledge of chemistry, the electrician for his knowledge of electricity and so forth. The plain truth of the matter is that the things which make of one an "intellectual" are just as valuable and often more so than the equipment which enables men to run engines, reduce a substance to its elements or harness the forces of nature in the service of man.

It is a spirit of bigotry and proscription, if not contemptible envy, which would seek by sneers to hamper the usefulness to our movement of the men who are "intellectuals". We need sorely the exceptional man, no matter whether he is an artisan, artist or professional man.

The undoubted fact that we have exceptional men to whom we look for special service is in itself proof that the cry against "leaders" and "leadership" in the movement is irrational and unworthy of us. The idiosyncracy of the time is specialization and democracy is doomed if it shall prove itself incapable of utilizing the specialist. This applies now as it must apply in the Co-operative Commonwealth to come.

More than to any other one factor, perhaps, is the inefficiency of our party organization due to failure to make use of the specialists in our ranks. To the inefficiency resulting from putting square pegs in round holes we have "confusion worse confounded" resulting from the hopeless effort to have the rank and file pass upon every detail of party organization and administration in order to conform to an impossible ideal of democracy. It is manifestly impossible for the rank and file to pass on every technical problem either now or in the Co-operative Commonwealth. And it must be borne in mind that technical problems

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are not confined to any one department of human activity. The test of democracy is not that each individual citizen or party member shall be familiar with the details of every problem facing the part or the body politic. The test is in having the intelligence —the old-fashioned quality known as "umption"—to call, to the service of all, the most efficient individuals for the performance of any certain duty.

We have learned this lesson in many things but we need to learn it in everything else. If we desire that a food product shall be analyzed for the detection of poisonous elements we go to a chemist and not a mechanical engineer. Why, then, if we desire an efficient secretary for a party "local" should we not choose a comrade familiar with letter writing and office system instead of "honoring" some comrade with no knowledge whatever of such things?

Of course it is not always a simple matter to determine what comrade can discharge a given task most efficiently and we can rely upon only one rule: Efficiency produces order and results; inefficiency produces disorder and lack of results. Efficiency spells success; inefficiency spells failure. We are prone to denounce "business" and everything connected with it as evil, but the party will not begin to do what it may do until it adopts business methods of organization and applies the business principle of getting the best man for the accomplishment of a certain work. This must be observed not only in selecting comrades to attend to the various details of party work but in the nomination of candidates as well. Even if we have not the ghost of a show of winning we are derelict in selecting candidates if we do not act with a view to the most effective discharge of the duties of the office for which nomination is made.

Our movement has demagogues just as the old parties have them and while there is precious poor picking in the movement in the way of "graft" these demagogues all too often monopolize the "honors" attached to party position and stand in the way of comrades with special and technical equipment who should be drafted to perform the party's work. It is these demagogues who are responsible for the grotesque misapplication of many of the noble principles of democracy. They breed dissension and distrust by shouting that the collective wisdom of the party, or any subdivision thereof, is greater than the wisdom of any individual party member. That is only a half truth. In a day of specialization one party member with expert knowledge on any particular subject may know more than all the rest of the party membership composed of men not familiar with that subject. It may be a severely technical subject requiring years to master it. Does democracy demand that we shall not avail ourselves of this one man's knowledge until all the rest of the party membership

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have gone to school and mastered that particular subject? Preposterous, of course, but we go right along doing things of the same sort in our party organization. We demand, for instance, that all committees shall be elected, instead of being appointed, when the chances are that the chairman enjoys a familiarity with the qualifications of certain members for service on that particular committee that the bulk of the members in the meeting might not be able to acquire in weeks. I would be the last one to deny the necessity for placing the proper safeguards about the exercise of power, but those safeguards lie in seeing that power, when it is exercised, inures to the collective good. Let the chairman appoint his committee. The function of the collectivity is wisely to select the chairman. If the collectivity hasn't the intelligence to select one honest and efficient chairman why, in the name of common sense, should it be credited with the intelligence to select three or any other number of honest and efficient committeemen?

We are simply compelled to delegate power to individuals equipped by training in college, office or shop for the efficient discharge of certain work. If we do not so delegate power we will be a mob undeserving the consideration of civilized men. Accordingly we must sternly rebuke the disposition to question the honesty or efficiency of any party member simply because he does not happen to be a factory worker. Similarly we must rebuke any disposition to question the honesty or efficiency of the factory worker as such. The horny-handed proletarian, however, is already standing proudly on the pedestal and needs no defense. I have no disposition to pull him down because he is a factory worker, but if he is inefficient, and is hurting the party by his conspicuous position, I will pull him down instanter if it is in my power even though he belongs to all the trade unions. If the most efficient man to take his place should happen to be an intellectual—a brain worker engaged in work not susceptible of the trade union form of organization—I would as promptly elevate him to the position of prominence.

In the sense of availing ourselves of the superior wisdom and efficiency of our gifted individual party members we must have "leaders" and "leadership" and we should be proud and happy to honor those who render exceptional service. Just now we need trained fighters and captains as we shall need trained administrators in the Co-operative Commonwealth. Give me, with the rest of the collectivity, the power of keeping a check on the leaders to compel them to serve us all and I, for one, will prefer following a Moses into the Promised Land to wandering leaderless forever in the Wilderness where the manna long ago ceased to fall.

CHARLES DOBBS.

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Pause and Consider.



OCIALIST unity has been urged in the United States since the Paris Congress affirmed by resolution that the desirable thing would be one united party in each country.

In this resolution the Congress merely expressed what all sincere socialists desire. We all want unity. So do we all want Socialism. But there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. Between the thing we want and the existing conditions there stretches away a long line of years, in which we must learn how to get the thing we want. And most of us have yet to learn that just as the development from Capitalism to Socialism is a historical growth, so is the development from working class division to working class unity a process of historical development.

You can't get Socialism by mere resolution. Neither can you get socialist unity or labor union unity by mere resolution. That is, you can't get it that way until the time is ripe for it, and then a resolution to that effect is simply a recognition of facts which have become inevitable. But merely to pass a resolution expressing a desire for a certain thing without at the same time indicating the way in which the desire may be accomplished is more harmful than useful.

Our ideas are not wholly and solely controlled by economic conditions. Quite aside from the fact that earth's nature and the universe prove often stronger, and are in certain respects always stronger, than economic conditions in human societies, there is also the further fact that often past traditions and the habit of shallow thinking "weigh like a nightmare upon the brains of the living". For this reason Marx wisely said no more than that *in the last analysis* the economic conditions determine the general trend of human ideas.

Thus it may happen that some of our ideas run directly in opposition to the demands made by economic conditions upon our reason. This may lead us into pitfalls, from which we cannot extricate ourselves until after long suffering and with the loss of the results of years of patient and hard work for Socialism.

Every socialist with the merest smattering of Marx knows that it is an evidence of utopian thought to attempt to get Socialism at a time when Capitalism has just begun, or even before that. But it is no less utopian to attempt to get socialist unity

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at a time when the whole socialist movement is still torn apart by such wide differences upon points of tactics, that nothing but a misunderstanding of fundamental principles can account for them.

Of course, even a disagreement on points of principle need not necessarily be an obstacle to the accomplishment of unity. But the first prerequisite in such a case is that all sides show a spirit of conciliation and a willingness to discuss questions of principle in a scientific manner with a view to convincing either the one or the other side and bringing one of them to the acceptance of the views of the other. It is evident, that even this would require years of discussion and a mutual preparation of minds on both sides for united work, before unity could be actually inaugurated.

So long as one side claims to be absolutely in the right, as the spokesmen of the Socialist Labor Party do, so long as these comrades speak with dogmatic authority in the name of Marx, whom they misrepresent, so long as they claim that the Socialist Labor Party is the only truly revolutionary labor organization in the land, so long as they urge unity with the professed intention of "regenerating" the Socialist Party and rescuing its ranks and file from the pernicious and traitorous influence of "fakirs, compromisers", etc., etc., in short, so long as they persist in their policy of slander, misrepresentation, dogmatism, intolerance, conceit and presumption, which they have followed in the past, just so long is the basis for even the preliminary ground work of unity lacking.

This is said without a shadow of an insinuation that the comrades of the Socialist Labor Party are insincere, or that their spokesmen are doubledealers. On the contrary, I believe that the majority of them are earnest and enthusiastic workers for the cause. But they are under the influence of men, who, though they may be sincere socialists, are by nature intolerant, bigoted, unscrupulous, slanderous, narrowmindedly fanatic, and above all incapable of grasping the meaning of the Marxian theories.

I can affirm this last fact without exposing myself to the objection that I am claiming for the Socialist Party what I would deny to the Socialist Labor Party. We have the testimony of Engels himself to prove that the Socialist Labor Party under the theoretical leadership of its present teachers is not in line with Marxism, while the Socialist Party represents Marx and him as they wished to be represented.

For instance, on September 30, 1891. Engels wrote to comrade F. A. Sorge: "The 'People' is not worth looking at. For a long time I have not met with a paper so full of ridiculous trash." The "People" was then under the same intellectual leadership which led the Socialist Labor Party to combat the

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existing trade unions and which left the wrecks of many a good and promising working class organization in its wake.

At the time when Engels wrote this letter, the element controlled by the dogmatists of the Socialist Labor Party were boycotting Engels' works and vilifying and slandering those who were working in co-operation with him. The "People" was paraded as the only true Marxian paper, and the papers supported by Engels were subjected to all sorts of aspersions and sneers questioning their scientific standing.

No wonder that Engels wrote to Sorge on May 12, 1894: "The Social Democratic Federation (England) shares with your German American socialists the distinction of being the only parties that have accomplished the feat of reducing the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, into which the working people are not supposed to work themselves up out of their own class feeling, but which they are to swallow at once as an article of faith and without any development."

Schlüter was then carrying on a controversy in the "Volkszeitung" against the "Vorwärts", the German organ of the Socialist Labor Party, and Engels stood with him and his co-workers in the entire fight against the Socialist Labor Party. If necessary, the complete proofs of this state of affairs can be supplied in such a way as to settle for ever the assumption of those leaders of the Socialist Labor Party, who claim to be speaking in the name of Marx.

If, then, the Socialist Labor Party does not represent Marxian Socialism correctly, if its leaders do not work in harmony with the expressed views of Engels, they must necessarily be representing a Socialism peculiarly their own. Of course, that cannot be counted against them. Marxism itself is still in its beginnings as a theory, and it leaves plenty of room for further development. Since neither Marx nor Engels has ever claimed to be the embodiment of all wisdom, the younger generations of socialists have vast opportunities for contributing new and fertile ideas to the ground work laid by the founders of scientific Socialism. But before we can build anything new upon this foundation, we must have understood the old. A good many controversies might have been spared to us, if all sides had been able to bear this in mind and realize its significance. Many of the new claims advanced by some of the younger socialists against some theories of Marx were based upon a misunderstanding of his position. On the other hand, some claims made by younger men on a sound basis were refuted by the older Marxians in a way which bore the earmarks of shallow reading and preconceived aversion.

Certainly most of us younger men have still much to learn about the theories of Marx. And even if we have grasped some

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of these theories and built upon them some new pioneer work, this is not proof that we have understood the other Marxian theories. On the other hand, the older Marxians are far too prone to read the works of younger comrades superficially and declare offhand that the new thinkers do not understand Marx correctly, simply because the new ideas advanced by these young thinkers run counter in one respect or another to long cherished views of the older comrades.

This tendency is quite universal, throughout the socialist movement, even among comrades of the same party. And if it is difficult for comrades of the same party to come to an agreement on such theoretical matters, merely because there is not enough close study of each others' position, it is still far more difficult for members of different parties like the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, who are not merely divided by questions of principle and tactics, but even more by long years of personal controversy, which make an unbiased and scientific discussion almost impossible.

The present time seems to me particularly inopportune for any definite steps to unite the two parties. More than ever has the situation been complicated by the controversies arising from the Industrial Workers of the World. And let us not forget that the original cause, which led to the split in the old Socialist Labor Party and to the organization of the present Socialist Party, was precisely the Anti-Marxian position taken by the orthodox leaders of the Socialist Party in the matter of the relations of the economic organizations of the working class to its political organizations. Are not these same elements, who were then disavowed by Engels and his Marxian comrades, once more assuming the role of dogmatic teachers, who would cram industrial unionism down everybody's throat as an article of faith and without any historical development? Are they not doing this once again in the name of Marx, contrary to his own theory? Do we want these comrades in our party, so that they may carry the germs of disruption into it as they did into the Industrial Workers of the World?

We are still far from agreement on the question of industrial unionism, even within our own party. Much has still to be done among ourselves in the way of mutual clarification and understanding. Never did the habit of one-sided and superficial consideration of another comrade's position manifest itself more flagrantly than it did when the Industrial Workers of the World was launched.

The initiative in the creation of this new industrial organization was taken by the independent western labor unions outside of the American Federation of Labor. The overwhelming majority of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto were labor unionists. A few members of the Socialist Party, who were not

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labor unionists, participated in this movement only after they had been expressly invited to give their opinion as exponents of Marxism. A few others, who were neither Marxians nor labor unionists, were then working as organizers of the American Labor Unions, and were invited on account of their known enthusiasm and devotion to the social revolution.

The position taken by practically all the signers of the Chicago Manifesto was that industrial unionism must come as a historical necessity; that the new organisation was not intended as an attack upon the American Federation of Labor, nor as a rival organisation, but merely as a center for those advanced labor unionists, who for various reasons did not feel at home in the American Federation of Labor; that it was impossible to foresee what course the evolution toward industrial unionism would take, and that for this reason it was a matter of selfprotection and an assistance to the working class revolution to gather all independent labor unionists into an industrial union until such time as the development of industrial unionism inside of the American Federation of Labor should make a united industrial unionism possible; that this united industrial unionism might come either through a disintegration of the American Federation of Labor, if it should persist in its policy of frowning upon those of its affiliated bodies that had already adopted some form of industrial unionism, and in that case the industrial organisation of the American Federation of Labor would gather around the Industrial Workers of the World; or it might come by a gradual transformation of the American Federation of Labor into an industrial organisation, and in that case the Industrial Workers of the World and the American Federation of Labor would be able to unite.

But something happened, which most of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto had not anticipated. Only comrade A. M. Simons and myself called the attention of the other signers of the Manifesto to this eventuality, but we were not heeded. This something was the role played by the Socialist Labor Party in the labor union movement.

Comrade Simons warned the other comrades that it would be wise to exclude the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance from the proposed constitutional convention, because they would come into the organisation only for the purpose of disrupting it. While I would not go so far as to say that this was the purpose of those comrades, I certainly agreed with comrade Simons that this would be the probable result of their coming into the organisation. Therefore I like wise asked the other signers of the Manifesto to be careful, in an article written for the American Labor Union Journal (The Voice of Labor), in which I gave them a brief summary of the

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past history of the Socialist Labor Party and of the leading men in it. I advised that delegates from those two organisations should not be admitted unless they expressly endorsed the principles proclaimed in the Manifesto.

But these warnings fell upon deaf ears. Some of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto had strong leanings toward the Socialist Labor Party, and they happened just then to find more credence than we did. The general sentiment of the comrades was that the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance were not strong enough to harm the new industrial organisation, even if they wanted to, that the leaders of these organisations should be given a fair chance to redeem themselves and blot our their past record, and that it would be easier to control them inside of the new organisation than to exclude them from it and fight them on the outside.

I was myself inclined to lean toward this opinion, but only because I thought that the Western Federation of Miners was a solid and impregnable organisation without any significant internal dissensions. As it turned out later, there was an incipient division even in the Western Federation of Miners, due partly to personal jealousies, partly to differences arising out of questions of tactics. When the time was opportune, this division gave to the Socialist Labor Party and its sympathizers the necessary strength to split the Industrial Workers of the World and to prove that that party did not intend to blot out its past record, but would rather perserve in its policy of sowing discord and disruption, always in the name of truly revolutionary theory and practice.

The general attitude of the Industrial Workers of the World, as expressed and summarized above, was not strictly adhered to by some of the signers of the Chicago Manifesto. No sooner had the Socialist Labor Party grafted the dying remains of its Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance upon the Industrial Workers of the World, than it began a campaign of vilification and hostility against some of the craft unions of the American Federation of Labor. Instead of leaving the conversion and transformation of such craft unions to the socialists within the American Federation of Labor, as a reasonable division of labor would suggest, and devoting themselves to the organisation of such working people as belonged to no organisation or fell away of their own account from the American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party element assailed the American Federation of Labor, resumed the old scabbing policy of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and at the same time strove to expel those comrades from the Industrial Workers of the World, who did not sanction these methods.

Others, again, began to belittle political action, flirt with

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Anarchism, and declare industrial unionism to be the only truly revolutionary and invincible labor organisation. Most of the members of the Socialist Labor Party repudiated this anarchist position. But some of them went to the no less inconsistent extreme of claiming that industrial unionism would have to be built up first before any truly revolutionary party could become the political expression of the working class.

Needless to say that both comrade Simons and myself combatted these vagaries vigorously, wherever opportunity presented itself. But this did not prevent some of our comrades in our party from saddling upon our shoulders the sins of those whom we were opposing. One has but to read the controversies in the New York "Worker" concerning industrial unionism, in order to see that even comrades, who on other occasions demonstrated their Marxian scholarship by excellent writings lost all faculty of critical reasoning when turning their attention to us. Some of them attributed to us the position of the anarchists or of the comrades in the Socialist Labor Party, against whom we were persistently upholding the Marxian position.

Our view, which we justified on the ground of historical materialism, was that it was unwise to stand exclusively for the policy of boring for industrial unionism and socialism only inside of the American Federation of Labor at a time when vast bodies of organized laborers stood for these things outside of that organisation. We held that we could but recognise the existing state of things, try to understand the tendency of its future development, and in the meantime keep hands off as a party and let both the policy of working inside and outside of the American Federation of Labor take their course. On the other hand, the very comrades who falsely charged us with endorsing the Industrial Workers of the World at the expense of the American Federation of Labor had been instrumental in fastening upon the Socialist Party a trade union resolution, which evaded the question of industrial unionism entirely, took no notice of the developments within the American labor movement, and contained a clause, which implied a censure of the independent labor unions and a covert endorsement of the American Federation of Labor. This last fact has been continually denied, or at least the intention has been disavowed of producing any such effect. But the fact remains that this impression was produced and that an increasing number of comrades place this construction upon the trade union resolution of the Socialist Party.

Had the Industrial Workers of the World accomplished nothing else, it would at least deserve credit for bringing the question of industrial unionism so prominently to the fore, that even the conservative element in the American Federation of Labor had to acknowledge its existence and coming ascendency,

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and that it will be impossible for the next national convention of the Socialist Party to shirk a square answer to this question.

I mention these facts mainly in the interest of historical truth and for the purpose of illustrating, how the main point of a controversy may be completely overshadowed by false interpretations due to shallow reading and onesided thinking. This question of industrial unionism shows very plainly, how difficult it is to come to an understanding about the prevailing tendencies of social development, so long as the critical spirit of scientific penetration and objectivity is not better cultivated among us. When Marx and Engels are under discussion, all the arts of interpretation and the most liberal latitude are invoked in the case of doubtful passages. But when we are under discussion, we meet with the peculiar phenomenon, that our opponents place the most ridiculous interpretations upon our statements and misunderstand even the clearest passages.

These difficulties will be with us for a good while yet. So long as they are, it would be folly to create still greater troubles for ourselves by amalgamating our organisation with another one, which is known to make a specialty of perverted controversy, Not only would it be still harder for us to agree upon points which now divide us in our own organisation, but we should also be loaded down with the weight of other controversies, which we have happily outgrown, but which are the peculiar hobbies of the Socialist Labor Party. We should be thrown into controversy about centralised or decentralised organisation, about official party papers, about the question of immediate demands in our platform, etc. This would threaten the security of the Chicago Daily Socialist, and of some of the most promising weeklies of our party, for the dogmatists would have no difficulty in finding comrades in our party who are opposed to the present staff of the Daily, just as they had no difficulty in finding comrades in the Industrial Workers of the World, who were opposed to the existing executive staff. We should be hard put to it to hold our organisation together, factional fights would increase, our energy would be frittered away to the detriment of agitation and organisation.

This would be the natural result of unity at the present time, even if the question of industrial unionism were not just now assuming some new aspects, which promise to complicate the situation still more.

After the Industrial Workers of the World had been split, the Sherman wing changed its tactics and departed from the original intentions of the signers of the Manifesto to such an extent that it almost returned to the old policy of "no politics in the union". On the other hand, the Trautmann wing cultivated politics in the style of the Socialist Labor Party and devoted itself

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to economic organisation in such a manner, that the majority of the Western Federation of Miners gradually drew away from them. The end was that the Western Federation of Miners held aloof from both wings of the split Industrial Workers of the World, and steps are now being taken to organize an effective industrial organisation. Eventually it is not impossible, in view of the action taken with regard to the industrial organisations by the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Western Federation of Miners may affiliate with that organisation, or at least draw closer to it. This would be a distinct gain for industrial unionism and Socialism.

But if this should happen and the Socialist Party should then unite with the Socialist Labor Party, the western comrades would find themselves once more face to face with the same friction, from which they had just escaped, only they would then have it in their political organisation instead of the economic one. But the trouble would be the same as before. The interests of industrial unionism and of the Socialist Party, instead of being advanced, would be injured. The only one to gain in the end would be the Socialist Labor Party faction. Unity under such conditions cannot mean anything else but new disruption of the political organisation, a loss of sympathizers and members of the economic organisations, and a general reduction of our importance as a social factor.

Most of the rank and file of the Socialist Labor Party are new in the movement, know little or nothing of Marxian theories beyond the distorted versions placed before them in their official publications, are not familiar with the history of international Socialism in general and of American Socialism in particular. In the Socialist Party, on the other hand, we have now a goodly number of welltrained and well informed comrades, who can take care of the normal influx of newcomers. But if we unite with the Socialist Labor Party, we shall at once double our difficulties, because we should be admitting a group of comrades, who are under the influence of men adverse to us, so that we should have to divide our energies between fighting them and educating our new members.

Even if the delegates of the Socialist Labor Party should promise to drop all their typical hobbies and come into our organisation unconditionally, what assurance have we that they would keep their promises? Who will believe the promises of men, who have shown themselves callous against all considerations considered moral by most people and unscrupulous in the choice of their means?

Let me repeat that I do not wish to pronounce any moral condemnation in these words. Those comrades are what they must be. Neither would I pronounce any moral sentence upon

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a rattlesnake for biting me, if I got to close to it. But knowing what a rattlesnake is, I keep out of its reach.

Before we unite with the Socialist Labor Party, let the question of industrial unionism develop to a point where it shall no longer threaten to become a new cause of disruption. Meanwhile let the comrades of the Socialist Labor Party give better proofs of their willingness to co-operate like comrades than they have heretofore. There is no particular necessity for uniting now. We have gotten along very well without the Socialist Labor Party and shall get along quite well without it for a while longer. Let them improve their theoretical knowledge in such a way that we shall not have to educate their teachers along with their rank and file. Let them get in line with Marxian methods particularly in the matter of industrial unionism and show by their actions that they have definitely abandoned the policies, which have spelled ruin for them and others.

Until they do that, I for one shall look upon all offers of unity from their side with suspicion and oppose any attempt to humor them, that may be made by inexperienced or overconfident comrades in our party.

By all means let us work for unity. But let us do it in such manner that we may assist the general clarification of minds in both parties and not place ourselves in a position, in which this work of clarification will not only be hampered, but in which we shall also be compelled to make front against enemies inside and outside. Let us prepare for unity so well that it will remain unity after it has been officially proclaimed.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

(*Continued.*)



HE FEW FACTS mentioned show what an influence slavery began to exercise upon the southern white society. Another evident result was the loss of habit for intensive effort and work, so necessary and essential in the life of a colonist. A traveler through the Southern states in 1778 has noticed, that "the influence of slavery upon Southern habits is peculiarly exhibited in the prevailing indolence of the people. It would seem as if the poor white man would almost rather starve than work, because the Negro works."

But while slavery was having such harmful, demoralizing effects upon the white population of the South, it proved to be a school of civilization for the savage Negro. The Negro, who had lived many years on American soil, or the Negro who was born on American soil, and still more the Negro with a greater or lesser admixture of white blood, was even in the beginning of the 18th century vastly different from the newly imported African Negro. The difference was noticed in 1767 by the English missionary whom we have quoted above. The Negro who remained in the household of the master, doing domestic service, felt this civilizing influence more than the Negro slave in the field. That was one reason, among many others, why the Negro in the North felt it more than the Negro in the South.

The importation of new Negroes from Africa therefore called forth different feelings in the South and the North. New, wild Negroes everywhere presented a dangerous, threatening element, but in the South they were necessary, while in the North they were useless, since a new Negro remained for many years unfit for domestic labor. The opposition to the importation of new slaves, which existed in all the colonies, was therefore much stronger in the North than in the South.

Beginning with 1681 dozens of laws were passed by the various colonies limiting or altogether prohibiting by means of high import duties, the importation of new slaves. The reason given for these measures in the North was usually the desire to restrict the growth of the anti-christian institution,

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but the South was more frank in admitting the possible danger of an excessive increase in the number of slaves to the peace of society. Judging from this legislation, the struggle against slavery as an institution in the North began as early as the 17th century, but in reality the moral antagonism to slavery in those days seems to have been a very weak factor, since the laws of Massachusetts prohibited or taxed heavily the importation of Negroes into that commonwealth, but permitted the enterprising Yankees to continue their slave trade with the Southern colonies. Thus Massachusetts having established a very high duty on importation of Negroes in the beginning of the 18th century, nevertheless thought it necessary to return this duty at re-exportation, which made this state the main slave market. This materially affects the rights of the Northern colonies to the claim of a more humane attitude towards the slavery question.

Nevertheless, in view of the many economic and social causes indicated above, the first protests against slavery as such, had to arise in the North. Only a small minority could possibly be directly interested in the slave trade. The results of civilization and progress could more easily manifest themselves there, where the economic advantages of slavery were not so great as to suffocate all manifestations of protest. In any case, it is hardly necessary to say that towards the end of the 18th century these moral objections against the system of slavery had almost no practical effect upon the distribution of slavery. Nevertheless, the fragmentary information of such objections have a very great historical interest.

The first serious and sincere agitation in favor of suppression of slavery came from the Pennsylvania Quakers, that remarkable body of people of high moral principles.

John Woolman, (1720-1784), and still more Anthony Beneset were ardent preachers of the immorality of slavery as it existed in the South. Woolman protested mainly against the excessive work of the slaves, against the denial to them of a Christian education, while Beneset compared the condition of the slaves with that of the mode of life of the Negro tribes in Africa, which he pictured in rather sympathetic colors, and insisted upon the **Human** rights of the Negroes. But all these efforts, as far as they were directed towards a practical aim, and did not satisfy themselves with moral teachings, aimed only a reduction of the slave trade and of the importation of new slaves.

It is true, that Beneset, like the famous John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, went as far as to suggest the advisability of liberating the slaves, but they scarcely expected anyone to follow this advice, and they did not therefore ex-

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pect the appearance of the Negro problem, that is, the problem of the free Negro. They did not therefore try to solve that problem. Their preaching was purely religious and ethical, but not political.

In the North where the number of slaves by that time was small, where free Negroes side by side with the few slaves performed domestic service, the solution of the slavery problem did not present such difficulties as in the South, and there the preachings of Besenet and others had a much stronger influence. All through the seventies of the 18th century the slaves of Massachusetts began to fight for their liberty through the courts, insisting that the English common law did not permit of the institution of slavery. Frequently the juries took the same attitude. The revolutionary epoch brought the abolition of slavery by law in all the Northern colonies or states. The influence of these new thoughts began to be felt in the South as well; opposition to slavery became a sign of progressive thought during the revolutionary era.

The burning speeches and writings of Thomas Paine about the rights of man, the great formula, "All men are born free and equal," the whole theory of natural rights could not but have a strong influence upon contemporary thought. Not only Franklin, Hamilton, Jay, and Adams in the North, but also Washington Jefferson, Madison, and Henry in the South, were convinced opponents of slavery in principle.

It is true, that they continued to own their slaves, for without them life in the South would have been very uncomfortable indeed; besides, the liberation of slaves needed, not only principles, but also heroism and self-sacrifice. In his famous Declaration of Indeqendence Jefferson had originally included a few sentences, accusing England of the shame of introducing slavery in the colonies for its personal advantage. But Adams, the Northerner opponent of slavery, influenced Jefferson to strike out this paragraph, so as not to call forth the displeasure of the South.

But even among these "best citizens of the South" the radical tendencies were not caused by any greater respect for the Negro as a human being. It is no exaggeration to say, that the opinion of these men about the Negro was, if anything, a less favorable one than those entertained by the convinced slave holders. If Jefferson protested against the institution of slavery he did it more in the interest of the white population than of the colored one. The strongest argument against slavery was the consideration that it led to an increase of the black population. Slavery develops in the slaveowner a crude and cruel disposition and immorality.

"The children of the white folks are brought up in asso-

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ciation with the Negro slaves with results detrimental to the development of the children." All this was mentioned by Jefferson, while the Southern slave owners did not all see any harm in such association. That the Negroes represented a hopelessly inferior race was not at all doubted by Jefferson, who saw the solution of the Negro problem in the liberation of the slaves, with their subsequent return to Africa.

Such was the attitude of the various elements of the Southern population towards the Negro, slavery, and the Negro problem. There remains the interesting question, of the actual treatment of the slaves by their owners. To a great extent it was a personal matter, and depended a great deal upon the personality of the individual slave owners. Nevertheless, it may be reasonably assumed that disregarding individual peculiarities some average conditions asserted themselves. In general, the treatment of the slaves was kinder in the North than in the South, perhaps mainly because in the North the slaves were domestic servants. A great many Negroes were employed in the homes of their owners in the South as well, and these also received more favorable treatment. Bonds of friendship often arose between these slaves and their owners, the slave owner's children grew in the society of the slave, and often developed almost filial or fraternal feelings for their nurses or the comrades of their youth. From this class of Negroes the majority of the freedmen in the North as well as in the South were recruited. Into this class the majority of the Mulattoes and Quadroons were drafted; for in general, the most intelligent and civilized were chosen for domestic labor. These Negroes had exceptional advantages; their kindhearted mistresses took pains to convert them to Christianity, when towards the end of the eighteenth century the prohibition of such missionary work was removed.

But these patriarchial relations were limited to domestic servants as early as the end of the 18th century. Even then the great majority of the slaves were utilized for work in the field. These Negroes could not enjoy the advantages of personal relations with their masters; in their treatment the business principles predominated; and the object was to extract as much labor of them as possible, while making their support as cheap as possible. Here the point of view which considered the Negro a beast was the most convenient one, and undoubtedly influenced the treatment of the Negro, while the conditions of life which were the result of this treatment served to corroborate the beast theory. Into this group the newly imported African Negroes were admitted, and this continuous admixture of perfectly savage Negroes to the semi-

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civilized one could not, of course, serve to elevate the general level of civilization of the mass of the field Negroes.

The efforts of the white man to elevate this level of civilization were not many; on the contrary there was a strong opposition to all efforts in that direction, especially as far as the field Negro was concerned. In the beginning, even Christianity was a forbidden fruit, and this was defended by the curious argument that the ownership of Christian slaves would be against the spirit of the English law. But the clergy in its zeal for missionary work and the salvation of black souls, convinced the slave owners that there was no antagonism between Christianity and slavery. In the defense of this theory the dogma of a lower race, destined to serve the higher white race, proved a useful argument; thus Christianity became a strong force in support of the institution of slavery and a force of little civilizing value for the slaves. The English clergyman quoted, who wrote in 1768, points out that there are two kinds of Christianity and education, one kind which might inculcate dangerous ideas in the head of the Negro, and the other kind which will convince him of the essential justice of his position. Educated clergymen were a luxury which was granted only to the Negroes about the house; for the Negroes of the fields black preachers were considered sufficient, and those were naturally preferred who were ready to preach them the gospel, that religion demanded slavery, patience, obedience and industry. Notwithstanding all these precautions the majority of the slaves in the end of the 18th century was still unbaptized.

Even when the Negroes were baptized, their marital relations were but seldom solemnized by any religious ceremony, and even in those cases where such a ceremony was performed, its commands were absolutely disregarded by the slave owners. Incidents similar to that which serves as a plot for the famous novel of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, were undoubtedly more common in the eighteenth century than at the time, which the novel purports to describe, but in those earlier days they did not call forth any serious objection, and did not cause such deep anguish in view of the rather weak attachment of the primitive Negro to his wife and children. This weakness of the family bonds in the opinion of Southern society, was sufficient excuse of the infringements of family ties. But in reality the moral effect of these acts was much more harmful in the middle of the 18th century, than one hundred years ago. In the latter cases they were only isolated cases of cruelty which caused considerable suffering to individual families, but in the earlier days they

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undermined the family morality of an entire race, instead of inculcating moral ideas.

In Africa the Negro lived in the normal stage of polygamy, which probably was no worse than the polygamy of the Mohammedans.

If the morality of the men did not reach the height of European ideals, nevertheless polygamy in all probability proved an effective safety valve. When wives were personal property the coveting of another man's wife like the coveting of another man's property called forth severe punishment. With the exception of the custom of offering one's wives to one's guest, the Negro women like the women of all polygamous races probably were more moderate in their sexual life than their white sisters. The total and sudden destruction of the polygamous family without its substitution by a protected monogamous family could but lead to one result: irregular and promiscuous sexual relations. The African Negro was not familiar with prostitution. The Negro woman, who began as the possession of the slave owner or the overseer, and then changed hands from one owner to another, and changed husbands each time she changed her boss, and was often forced into separation from her children, even if it happened without any serious protest from her side, gradually fell to the level of a prostitute. And having caused this sexual demoralization the Southern slave owner pointed to, this lack of moral principle as an example of racial inferiority.

What wonder, that under the influence of these factors there grew the contempt for the Negro slave, which was later transfered upon the Negro freedman? Side by side with special legislation aimed at the Negro slave, the codes of the American colonies contained provisions intended for the free Negro. In the early days the freeing of the slave depended only upon the good will of the owners; and this remained the law in the Northern colonies up to the very liberation of all the slaves; but in the South an excessive number of freed slaves soon began to be considered a menace to the principle of slavery, and so the manumission of slave was made dependent upon administrative permission, to be issued by the governor. A wandering Negro had to prove that he was a free man; failing to do this he was to be sold at public auction. This is the final step in an interesting evolution of opinions. Towards the end of the 18th century the principle was established that "only Negroes could be slaves"; from this the next conclusion was drawn, that "Negroes could be slaves only"; and that each exception to that rule had to be judged on its own merits; besides the economic and social condi-

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tions of the Negro freedman in the South were scarcely better than those of the Negro slave. He was not permitted to travel from one colony into another; he was not permitted to own land, nor to practice professions and most trades, so that about the only trade open to him was that of a hired agricultural laborer, for wages which hardly provided him with a better living than what he had as a slave. Free Negroes could not appear as witnesses against white men, could not enter military service, had no political rights, but had to pay all the taxes on an equal basis with the white neighbors.

I. M. ROBBINS.

(To be continued).

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EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Political Outlook. The size of the Socialist Party vote, while not a matter of such vital importance as many take it to be, is always a matter of interest to socialists. And when all is said and done, the size of the vote depends far more on causes beyond our control than on our methods of propaganda, no matter how good nor how bad these may be. Let us take a brief glance at some of the factors that may help or hinder us this year. Our advantage four years ago was that Roosevelt and Parker alike stood for things as they were, so that the easiest way for the discontented Bryan men to voice their discontent was to vote for Debs. Now Bryan himself seems sure to be a candidate, and he will surely win back some of the old admirers who were with him in 1904. But he has been growing safe and sane these last four years, and meanwhile the Republican administration has been waging spectacular war on the Bad Trusts. So if Taft gets the Republican nomination, it should not be hard for us to show that the two old parties stand for the same things and that working people who want something different should come to us. If on the other hand the Magnates of the Bad Trusts succeed in putting up their own man in place of Taft, then doubtless Bryan's Third Battle will be as thrilling to the little business men and to the wage-workers with small-capitalist minds as was the first. In that case the labor conference of which our associate editor writes so hopefully on another page may even be stampeded for Bryan, and the socialist vote may drop to something like the number of revolutionists who know what they want. But this number is growing all the time, and the capitalists are giving us invaluable help from day to day in adding to its strength.

Two Points of View. When the Eisenachers and Lassallians buried the hatchet and consolidated into the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Karl Marx, an exile in England, protested. But the event seems to have proved that Marx was wrong and the German comrades were right. We are reminded of this by the contrast between the elaborate argument by Ernest Untermann contributed to this month's Review and the terse editorial by A. M. Stirton which we clip for our News and Views department from a recent issue of The Wage Slave. Untermann is an exile in the mountains of Idaho, cut off from active work in the Party as completely as was Marx in 1875. Stirton is in the midst of the fight in the one Western state (Michigan) where the strength of the Socialist Labor Party as compared with our own party strength is the greatest, and where therefore the question of uniting or not uniting is of more practical importance than elsewhere. (And here it should be remembered that the motion for a unity conference was endorsed by the state

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committee of the Socialist Party of New York, the state in which probably half the membership of the S. L. P. is located.) We have not space for a complete review of the arguments on both sides. But Untermann's in our opinion represents the view of a scholar impatient of criticism and taking past controversies too seriously, while Stirton impresses us as a man in close touch with the vital revolutionary elements of the present hour. Only one argument offered by Comrade Untermann requires special comment. He intimates that the rank and file of the S. L. P. are ignorant of socialism as compared with the rank and file of our own party. Our own impression, based on a pretty extended acquaintance with members of both parties, is that the exact reverse is true, as should naturally be expected in view of the fact that the growth of the Socialist Party has been by far the more rapid and that it spreads over much purely agricultural territory. The average S. L. P. member, whatever unpleasant traits he may have, does usually know something of Marx, and if we could have him on the inside instead of the outside, he would be a valuable help in clearing up the ideas of new converts. With this work in hand, he would have less time left for hair-splitting, and the union of forces would thus make for general efficiency all around. Old animosities are of very small importance as compared with effective party work. Let us get together if we can.

How to Get Socialist Unity. As we go to press, word comes that the National Committee of the Socialist Party has defeated Lee's motion authorizing the National Executive Committee to meet a committee of seven elected by the Socialist Labor Party to confer over terms of union. It has also adopted Berger's motion:

"That the sections and members of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to join our Party individually or in sections, and make their applications to our respective locals. All persons applying to pledge themselves as individuals to accept our Platform and our tactics."

It is hardly likely that this action will meet with any general and immediate response on the part of the Socialist Labor Party. The little band of enthusiasts who have strained their scanty resources for years to keep up their organization, for the sake of things that seemed vital to them, will naturally object to being swallowed so unceremoniously. Why not do as we did in 1900? The two parties which now make up the Socialist Party were then distinct. The rank and file for the most part wanted to get together, but the executive committees failed to agree, and a presidential campaign was on. What we did was to unite on the same candidates, elect joint local campaign committees wherever both parties were active, and get to work together. By the time the campaign was over, we were so well acquainted that the details of consolidation were easily settled with the best of feeling. The same plan ought to work in 1908. Let the Socialist Party adopt a clear-cut working-class platform, and nominate two clear-headed workingmen for President and Vice-President. Let the Socialist Labor Party endorse the platform and candidates; then let each party, maintaining its own dues-paying organization, join in the work of propaganda and education until November, working together locally wherever possible. Then after election let us take up the question of organic unity again; it will be far easier than now.

Brains and Atmospheres. Put a first-class brain, with body and lungs to match, into an atmosphere heavily charged with carbonic acid gas, and it fails to turn out a superior article of brain work. And there are mental atmospheres as well as physical ones. Their

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effects are not so speedy, but they are lasting. A brain receives impressions and draws conclusions from them according to the mental atmosphere in which it has moved. This is necessarily so. If a brain had to reason out each time from first principles an interpretation of each message of its senses, it would reach no conclusion till the time for action had gone by. Different mental atmospheres develop different types of brain. There is one of the big capitalist, one of the petty capitalist, the villager (probably Shaw is right in thinking this the commonest American type), one of the collegian and one of the wage-worker in the great machine industry. The Socialist Party of America contains brains of all these types. Each has its own instinctive way of approaching a problem, and each is capable of modifying its instinctive way more or less by conscious effort. We are led to these reflections by the entertaining article from Charles Dobbs, published in this issue. We are not writing this paragraph to defend the comrade criticized; he is quite able to defend himself. What we hope to do here is to suggest a way to distinguish between the "intellectuals" who are worth having and the other kind. Of the social groups we have named over, all but one are survivals from past social stages,—the city proletarian is the vital element of to-day and he comes nearer than any of us to the type which will decide how things shall be done in the near future. Hence we hold that, as a general rule, the proletarian's instinctive estimates of men and measures are more likely to be sound than those of people in the other social groups, unless these last have by persistent effort been able to modify their instinctive ways of thinking into something like the proletarian way. This we believe that Comrade Dobbs himself usually does, and so do some other college-bred men who are now active in the Socialist Party.

Unionism, Utopian and Scientific. A correspondent in our News and Views department insists on misunderstanding a signed article by the present editor of the Review which appeared in the December number. Any one who will take the trouble to refer to our article will see that we never said industrial unionism was utopian or futile. On the contrary we hold that industrial unionism is the logical outcome of recent changes in the mode of production. When commodities were mainly produced in small plants by small capitalists, craft unionism was logical and inevitable. Moreover it is always the case that ideas and institutions, like the organs of animals and plants, survive their usefulness for a while; they do not instantly and automatically transform themselves in response to a changed environment. So we find craft unions still the prevailing form of labor organization. But they are growing ineffective, and those that adopt the industrial form will stand the best chance of maintaining themselves in the fight against organized capital. The scientific way for those who see the desirability of industrial unionism to act is to point out this tendency; to show the practical advantages of industrial unionism right here and now, and to get real labor unions, comprising all the workmen in any one plant or industry, to reorganize themselves on an industrial basis. The utopian way is to urge the socialists in the old unions to leave them and organize rival unions, so as to be ready to run the Co-operative Commonwealth when it is voted in. When the campaign for industrial unionism in the United States is started on the scientific basis, we believe that something will happen soon. And the capitalists, as explained in our World of Labor department this month, are doing their share to help things along. Let us be duly grateful, and let us hold up our end the best we can.

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SOCIALISM ABROAD

Japan. Persecution after persecution. Arrest after arrest. But the Japanese government can not do any better than to make the socialist movement there ever stronger and brighter. On last December 27th the socialists of Tokio had a well attended meeting at the Yoshidays Hall, Kanda, where they usually met, but unfortunately the police told the owner of the hall that if he continued to rent it to the socialists he would have trouble very soon. So the frightened owner had to refuse the socialists the right to meet there any longer. On the 17th of January Comrades in Tokio, at last, decided to have their weekly meetings in the upstairs of the socialist publishing house, The Heimin Sho oo, where, however, again the police followed their track, and rushed into the house interrupting their meeting. Some of the Comrades became inpatient and got up on the roof and made a strong attack on the barbarous action of the police. While at least 3000 people on the streets listened to the fiery speeches of the socialists, half with curiosity and half with enthusiasm, the police sent the message to headquarters, and instantly thirty more policemen were sent to the place and arrested six socialists who opposed them and made speeches. Comrade Osugi, one of the six, had just come out of jail where he had to serve six months' imprisonment for the sake of socialism. The Rodosha, a little monthly sheet of propaganda for February, was devoted to the interest of farmers and made the "farmer special." It is said that the issue was distributed all over the country and made a very effective appeal to the farmers. The Nippon Heiminshinbun—a socialist paper—has been exposing the internal picture of The Osaka Arsenal in its current numbers. The Arsenal is conducted by the government, but the treatment the employees receive there is inexcusably cruel. According to the figures of 1907 there were 11,780 men and 298 women workers employed and the monthly wage they receive in all was 241,200 yen. Wages are paid by the hour. The lowest average sum the men get is 2 sen 8-10 an hour. Women and children get about 1 sen 8-10 an hour. After its careful investigation the Japanese government had found **"seven dangerous Japanese"** who at present are residing in the United States. Kilichi Kaneko, who is the publisher of The Socialist Woman, is said to be one of them.

England. In English papers of all complexions the chief subject for discussion during the past month has been the resolution adopted by the Laborites in their conference at Hull. It will be remembered that Socialism, defined in the orthodox way, was accepted as "a definite object" of the Labor Party's activity. Certain Socialists

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are discontented because the first of their resolutions was voted down, tho a second one, practically the same, received a majority the following day: they object also to the provision that Laborites who stand for election are not to be designated as Socialists. Liberal and Conservative leaders, however, regard the new move as a complete Socialist victory. The defeat of the first motion appears to them in the nature of a blind to the public.

In two ways the Hull resolution is resulting in great good. The Liberals have all along claimed the Laborites as their "advance wing," and some of the Labor Party leaders have evidently had their eye on Liberal cabinet positions. It is easy to see why these latter have refused to profess any principles: principles are liable to prove embarrassing to a man after an office. And these very men have been mistakenly supported by Socialist voters. But now all this must end; already there are signs of cleavage between the servants of God and mammon. Socialist voters will soon know who's who.

But perhaps the most important result of the passage of the resolution is the attention called to the Socialist cause. The public is astounded to find it able to command 510,000 votes. The old party papers are in what the English call a "dead funk." Monthly and quarterly magazines join frantically in the hue and cry. Even the staid old, blue-covered Edinburgh Review is running a series of anti-Socialist articles.

At this writing Parliament has been in session just a month. And a stupid month it has been—except for the humor of the thing. The long promised war against the Lords is yet to begin. There was no mention of it in the address from the throne. Later came the news that it was to be precipitated by the prompt passage of the Scotch Land Holders bill, but now it is rumored that the militant Premier, who was to have led in the struggle, is himself to become a lord.

Colonial affairs are hardly calculated to give the much needed comfort to the ministerial mind. The Transvaal government refuses to modify materially its attitude toward the Hindus. Partially on this account Indian discontent requires contantly more drastic repressive measures. "The word Empire loses its meaning," said a prominent Hindu recently, "when one subject is ill-treated by another." In view of the increasing uneasiness at home and abroad it is hardly to be wondered at that every new by-election goes to the Conservatives by an increased majority.

France. In France both Senate and Chamber of Deputies are dealing with troublesome problems. The first of these is the Moroccan policy. On Jan. 30th. a new Sultan, Mulai Hafid, set up in opposition to the old one and so became leader of the anti-French forces. His followers are fighting with religious zeal. The French, under General d'Amade, recently defeated them and destroyed the native town of Settat. So inspirited were the deputies by this and other victories that they voted by a large majority to uphold the ministry in its policy of conquest. Needless to say M. Jaurès made good use of the occasion to exhibit in its full glory this new evidence of the white man's superiority. The latest report from Morocco is of a French defeat.

So far as internal policies are concerned our state Socialists, M. Viviani and the rest, are having a sad time of it. They have managed to cut down the period of military service by a few days—

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while the conservatives wept as though universe were growing unstable—but beyond that they have accomplished nothing. Their two great projects, the purchase of the Western Railway and the providing of old age pensions, halt for lack of funds. A commision appointed to investigate the possibility of carrying out the latter measure reports that about 2,699,000 persons would be entitled to pensions: if each of these were to receive two dollars per month the amount required would be $60,000,000, or more than the whole budget hitherto. The rich, like their English comrades, object to paying added taxes, and the poor can contribute little. Even charity runs foul of the rights of property.

Germany. The Social Democrats are devoting their best energies to increasing and directing the discontent which recently found expression in the Berlin demonstrations. Meetings are being held throughout Germany in the interest of electoral reform in Prussia: Socialist periodicals warmly discuss the means to be used if the government remains obdurate. The weight of opinion seems to favor a campaign of education among workingmen and small trades-people.

The feeling against the government is increased by high-handed persecution of Socialists. Not much came of the raid reported in this department last month: one man was sentenced to six weeks imprisonment and another was fined ten marks. But there have been scores of new arrests. The German police are placed at the disposal of the Russian government for the arrest and extradition of revolutionists. This much was proved by the famous Königshütte case. And in the ruthless harrying of native malcontents the German authorities are close seconds to their brethren across the eastern border. Early in January seventeen persons, some of them Russians, were arrested in the house of a Socialist at Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin. They are now in prison awaiting trial. More recently in Leipzig a socialist debating club was broken up by the police and its leading members were measured and photographed for the rogues' gallery. The Russian Socialist Party has recently published a categorical statement of its opposition to Anarchist tactics, especially to terrorism. This statement has been approved of and widely published in Germany. Nevertheless everyone opposed to the German government is described as an Anarchist and proceeded against though he were a terrorist.

Belgium. There is still a good deal of talk about the great longshoremen's strike at Antwerp. Nothing could have shown more conclusively the superiority of the present organization of capital over that of labor. In 1900 there was organized at the Belgian capital the *Federation maritime,* a combine of vessel-owners backed by similar organizations at London, Liverpool, Hamburg and other foreign ports. Since the time of its organization the *Federation* has brought down the wages of its employees from ten to twenty cents a day, a very serious matter to men who at best can work only half time. Its most intolerable measure, however, was the creation of a "union" of its own, a union controlled absolutely by capitalists. The men were forced to leave their own organizations and enter this new one designed to keep them in their place.

The struggle began with a partial strike of the longshoremen, whose pay had been reduced from six francs to five. An attempt to force the men still at work to scab on their comrades resulted in a general strike. By the end of 1st August 15,000 men had walked out. The Mayor of Antwerp attempted to persuade the officers of the

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Federation to arbitrate. The impatient reply of M. Stenman, the president, made it evident that his organization merely represented the international shipping interests, and that the fight was not against the old wage scale, but against Socialism. English and German ship-owners sent money and strike-breakers in plenty to support their brethren in distress. The struggle became bitter. Most readers of the Review will remember the great fires which terrorized Antwerp on Sept. 4th. and 5th. Public sentiment was with the strikers and they were valiantly supported by some of their comrades. But all they were finally able to secure was a compromise: their pay was cut down a half franc instead of a whole one. Tom Mann, an Australian union leader, published in October a scathing denunciation of English workers, "railway servants," sailors and others, who transported strike-breakers from England to Belgium. European journals have taken up the matter, and on all sides the conviction deepens that strikes cannot succeed so long as capitalists of all lands unite and workingmen are content to help one another out now and then with a few dollars. Incidentally the "patriotism" of the employing class has been brought instructively into the lime-light.

Russia. The Russian government is feverishly taking advantage of the general despondency which has followed the unsuccessful outbursts of the past few years. Members of the first Douma who have thus far escaped persecution are now being brought to trial. All railway employees who took part in the strike of three years ago have been peremptorily discharged. It is reported on good authority that Finland is to be broken up and subjugated to a regime more despotic than the old one. Meantime the third Douma displays a great fondness for vacations; and when it is in session it is only with great difficulty that it can get a quorum. The members of the left take no part in its discussions.

Portugal. The disturbance which resulted on Feb. 1st. in the assassination of King Carlos hardly indicate a genuine revolutionary movement. To be sure there is a republican agitation on foot, but the real struggle is between different sorts of grafters who cannot agree as to the division of the spoils. The two parties in the Portuguese Parliament, the Progressists and the Regenerators, have for a long time carried on a system of rotation in office which admitted first one set of rogues and then the other to the public crib. The poor King, who had been left out of the reckoning, tried to assert himself by making Premier Franco dictator and refusing to call a session of Parliament. The latter measure, because of its unconstitutionality, gave the party leaders a chance to arouse popular revolt. The murder of the King was carefully planned by those same politicians. In all probability it will do more harm than good to the cause of republicanism in Portugal.

Chile. In December there occurred in Chile a barbarous massacre of striking nitrate-workers. In protest against the intolerable conditions under which they were forced to work in the deserts of the interior, these men, to the number of more than 15,000, had quit work and assembled in the seaport town of Iquique. The authorities ordered them to disperse; they refused, and the masacre followed. About 210 were killed and 50 wounded. The survivors were pursued to the mountains and hunted down like wild beasts. The Associated Press sent out reports of these events, but our newspapers saw fit to suppress them.

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LITERATURE AND ART

BY JOHN SPARGO

Hinds' "American Communities".—It is a fair test of the worth of a book that it should live thirty years, finding more readers at the end of the thirtieth year than ever before. And that is true of "American Communities", by William Alfred Hinds. Before me as I write there is a slim octavo volume of 175 pages, in a blue gray wrapper. It bears the title "American Communities", and the imprint of the almost wholly forgotten American Socialist, published at Oneida, N .Y. And the date is 1878.

In 1902, the first edition of the book having become a rarity, a second edition appeared, with the imprint of Charles H. Kerr & Company. It was essentially a new work, so complete had the author's revision been. Instead of one hundred and seventy pages, there were four hundred and thirty odd. The appearance of this revised version was most opportune in its coincidence with a revival of interest in the history of the Socialist movement in this countrv and the utopian communities and experiments, both religious and secular, which make the background for a study of that history. The works of John Humphrey Noyes and Charles Nordhoff had long gone out of print, and there was a real need for some adequate and sympathetic treatment of the subject. For such a task Mr. Hinds was peculiarly fitted, alike by experience and temperament, and his book at once took its place as a standard work, as the most comprehensive and authoritative book in its own peculiar field. The cardinal defects of the volume seemed to be, first: the inclusion of a number of trivial and unimportant experiments of no historical significance, and second: the failure to provide the student with adequate bibliographies of the really important experiments.

Now, at the beginning of 1908, thirty years after the first issue, Charles H. Kerr & Company issue the book in a still more expanded form, a bulky volume of six hundred pages. In one important respect the work has been greatly improved: there are bibliographical references to practically all the sketches of community experiments. There is also an index which adds to its value as a work of reference. The chief defect of the book in its present form arises from the author's lack of the historian's sense of perspective. He seems almost wholly devoid of a sense of values. One is astounded by the inclusion of accounts of such "communities" as Upton Sinclair's ill-fated, interesting Helicon Hall experiment in cooperative housekeeping and Elbert Hubbard's Roycroft establishment. If Roycroft, why not N. O. Nelson's Leclaire experiment and other examples of benevolent capitalistic paternalism? If one were to attempt to gather together all the examples of cooperation in this country similar to those described by Mr. Hinds, many volumes would be necessary.

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For example, it is becoming quite the fashion in New York city now for wealthy people to cooperate for the purpose of erecting costly apartment buildings as residences for themselves—experiments quite as significant as some of those recorded by Mr. Hinds. Still, when all this is admitted, it yet remains to be added that the book as it stands is one of the indispensable standard works to the student.

American Socialists will not need to be warned that there can be no "establishment of Socialism" piecemeal. We have outgrown that form of utopianism. The aspiration toward Socialism now expresses itself through economic and political organization of the proletariat. It may well be that Mr. Hinds is right in believing that those engaged in these movements will more and more seek the advantages of community life. The book is well printed and there are numerous excellent illustrations.

* * *

I hope, good reader, that you are not weary of utopian romance as yet, for there are a couple of books yet to be considered. They are not records of vain but glorious efforts to establish the perfect social state, but prophecies rather of how the perfect social state is to be ushered in. And—I whisper this to you gently!—they are not to be taken too seriously.

In **When Things Were Doing,** Comrade C. A. Steere has been gratifying a lurid and sometimes sardonic fancy. Indulging one of my bad habits, I turned to the last page of the book before starting to read it. There I caught sight of a confession by the hero of the story that it—whatever the "it" might be—was all due to a nightmare. So I began the story forewarned, and duly advised not to treat it too seriously. With a good deal of literary skill, Comrade Steere describes the *coup d'état* of the Social Revolution—as it occurred in a nightmare. And such a revolution! Imagine, if you can, a Socialist Board of Strategy, with a millionaire or two among its membership, sitting week after week preparing for the capture of the army and navy; dealing with inventions of such a nature as an explosive called *sizmos,* a five-gallon jar of which would split Manhattan Island in two; and submarine boats of miraculous powers. Then May Day is celebrated by the Socialist soldiers putting all others in jail and the declaration of the Socialist Republic!

There is a good deal of the Gilbert-and-Sullivan comic opera about this nightmare, and one feels all the time that the author is around the corner looking at one with a sardonic grin. He enjoys his joke the more in proportion as the reader insists upon taking him seriously. But one could wish that the author had taken himself a little more seriously, as a literary craftsman if not as a prophet. That he can write a good story is certain and his gift of humor is indisputable. But why, even in fooling us with a nightmare, should he mar his best passages with forced and unnatural slang when he didn't need that cheap subterfuge at all? I enjoyed his fooling, but not the manner of it!

* * *

Our second forecast is by a man who takes himself seriously and demands to be taken seriously. And his imposing, important-looking volume of some three hundred and twenty admirably printed pages, illustrated by diagrams and maps, demands our most serious consideration. Comrade Charles W. Wooldridge, whose little book, **The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand,** has started many a pious brother on the road to Socialism, has been indulging his utopian fancy in a

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book which he calls **Perfecting the Earth.** He starts with the Crisis of 1913. The date, if I am not mistaken, is the date fixed by Comrade Wilshire for the Social Revolution, but the crisis described bears a striking resemblance to the one we have been passing through lately. Like Comrade Steere, he begins the revolution with the U. S. Army, but in a very different spirit. For it is a peaceful revolution which is here described.

General Goodwill, finding himself in command of more than half a million men in a period of peace, proposes to Congress that he shall be permitted to use them in constructive work for the good of the nation. Not to divulge his secrets too soon, he asks to be permitted to keep his plans secret until they have been considered by a commission of world-famous scientists—and Congress—for the purpose of the story—forgets its class instincts and assents.

So we have the army of hate and murder transformed into an army of peace and industry. Reading the account of how this great army reclaimed waste places and made the desert blossom into sweetness, I have been reminded of the vision of my genial utopian friend, Capt. French, U. S. A., who believes in such a future for our military forces. Personally, I cannot pretend to a very keen interest in utopian forecasts of any kind, but I can readily see that such a book as **Perfecting the Earth** might solve some of the difficulties certain minds encounter in the study of Socialism. And it does show in a very rational manner, how an intelligent organization of labor would make plenty and comfort possible for all.

For the present, I have finished with the builders of Utopias and the history of past experiments in that same sphere of social enterprise.

* * *

Some years ago, when I was editing the now defunct **Comrade,** I made arrangements for the publication of an American edition of a remarkable little booklet, a mere pamphlet in size—my friend George Plechanoff's little monograph, **Anarchism and Socialism,** which Eleanor Marx translated into English some thirteen years ago. It was our intention to reprint this translation with an introduction written especially for the edition by Plechanoff himself. The book was announced—but alas, it never got further than that! Now it has been issued by Charles H. Kerr & Company, as one of the excellent "Standard Socialist Series", in a form greatly superior to the English edition.

I confess that I doubt the wisdom of inserting "An American Introduction" from the pen of Comrade LaMonte between the quite sufficient preface by Eleanor Marx and the book itself. Comrade LaMonte has acquitted himself very well of a thankless and, to my mind, rather unnecessary task. Yet, an introduction which gave an account of Plechanoff's position in the International Movement, and of his work, in short, such a biographical sketch as Dr. Ingermann, for instance, could write, would have been a decided gain to the reader. For it is unfortunately true that George Plechanoff is an unknown quantity to most of our American comrades. Few know that he is perhaps the greatest living Marxist scholar—not even excluding Kautsky. I have always regarded it as unfortunate that, owing to the close associations existing between German and American Socialism, so little attention should have been given to the work of some of our Russian writers. Just at this moment, I do not recall a single book or pamphlet issued by our party press from the pen of any Russian Socialist writer, with the exception of this little work by Plechanoff—and that was translated from the German!

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Suffice it to say that this little book is one of the most important in the literature of Socialism. It is probably not too much to claim for it that with the classic exception of the **Communist Manifesto,** no other book of its size is so important and worthy of careful study. The little book will do a great deal to make clear in the minds of our comrades the distinction between utopian and scientific methods, being even clearer than Engels' well known work upon that point. It will also do a great deal to destroy the very common notion that "Anarchism is a more advanced form of Socialism" to which many of our camrades cling.

Socialist Artists.—At a recent exhibition of Contemporary American Art, held in connection with the National Arts Club, New York, Socialist artists were well represented. In landscape there was the work of Leon Dabo, who has been campared to Whistler; he is a Socialist of long standing. Of the figure painters George B. Luke was beyond question the strongest man represented. Luke delights in the common types of our cities and he paints them—laborers, street waifs and starvelings—with terrible power. While Luke is not an avowed Socialist, his work is saturated with the spirit and feeling of Socialism and he is known to be most friendly toward the movement. George de Forest Brush, whose tender pictures of motherhood and childhood have endeared him to thousands of American households where prints of them are to be found, was not represented at the exhibition, but it is worthy of note that he, too, is an avowed Socialist. Quite the most notable things in the exhibition at the National Arts Club, however, were the fine pieces of sculpture by our comrade, Charles Haag. Two of his pieces, "The Universal Mother" and "The Immigrants" attracted more attention than anything else in the exhibition. Haag, who is a party member, is an old time Socialist, full of revolutionary enthusiasm. He has been connected with the movement for many years in Sweden, his native land; in Germany, Switzerland and France. His work unites something of the feeling of Millet, the peasant-painter and Meunier, the Belgian sculptor, with the revolutionary spirit of modern Socialism.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

The action of the United States Supreme Court, briefly referred to in last month's Review, in smashing the employers' liability law, in killing the Erdman act and legalizing the blacklisting, and in outlawing the boycott by interpreting the Sherman anti-trust law to cover trade unions, has, as might be expected, aroused tremendous interest among the organized workers throughout the country. Of course, the Supreme Court is being denounced in bitter terms by the unionists, while the capitalistic organs and spokesmen chuckle merrily and declare with mock seriousness that "our courts will not uphold class legislation, such as is sought by the labor trust." President Van Cleave, of the National Association of Manufacturers, says piously that capital and labor ought be friends and dwell together in peace and harmony, and that the Supreme Court is bringing about this happy state of affairs. One of the big plute organs, the New York Commercial, says gleefully: "Only think of it—the great 'anti-trust' law, framed and enacted to mulct wicked Capital, now turned on honest Labor!"

The labor-haters did not hesitate long in following up the advantage that they gained in the decision of the Loewe Co. against the United Hatters. As was pointed out in the Review some time ago, the Loewe Co. sued the hatters for $80,000 damages because of a boycott placed on that concern's scab products. Under the Sherman act the complainant may recover three-fold the damages sustained, plus cost of suit, attorneys fees, etc. The Loewe Co. claims a total of about $300,000 and brought attachment proceedings against the defendants, tieing up about $180,000 of their property. Having received their cue from the Supreme Court, the union-smashers are becoming quite active. Daniel Davenport, a prominent member of the National Association of Manufacturers and counsel for Loewe & Co., announces that hundreds of concerns that are on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations are preparing to take action against the unions to recover damages sustained on account of boycotts or institute criminal proceedings. Many unionists of New Orleans have been indicted as conspirators and violators of the Sherman anti-trust law, while in New York five officials of the Typographical Union have been fined various sums and sentenced to imprisonment. Actions are also contemplated in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, Pittsburg and other places. The cases of the Maebeta-Evans glass combine against the Flint Glass Workers' Union, in which over a million dollars is involved, and the Bucks Stove & Range Co. agaist the A. F. of L. are still to be decided by the United States Supreme Court, but nobody is quite foolish enough

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to believe that that court is likely to reverse itself, which would be an unheard of proceeding where labor interests are concerned.

The Sherman anti-trust law, under which the Loewe case was brought against the hatters, was enacted in 1887. It remained a dead letter until the Pullman strike in 1894, when Grover Cleveland utilized the law for the purpose of destroying the American Railway Union. Previously, in 1890, Congress had used the Sherman anti-trust law as a basis to pass an act "to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies."

In April, 1893, just one year before the Pullman strike, Judge Taft, now secretary of war, utilized the anti-trust law and the interstate commerce act as excuses to issue injunctions prohibiting the engineers on the Toledo & Ann Arbor railway from striking. The following year, 1894, Taft granted an injunction against the employes of the Cincinnati Southern railway to restrain them from compelling the road to boycott Pullman cars, and Organizer Phelan, of the A. R. U. was thrown in jail for contempt of court in advocating a strike and boycott. Thus Taft not only became the "father of injunctions," but likewise the pioneer in outlawing labor boycotts, as his acts were later sustained by the United States Supreme Court in the famous Debs case decision.

Section 1, of the act of 1890, declares that "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal." Provision is also made for a punishment of not less than one year or a fine not exceeding $5,000, or both, for violation of this section.

It is in Section 4 that Taft and the injunction judges were given their power. That section invests Circuit Courts of the United States with jurisdiction to "prevent and restrain violations of this act." It also empowers courts to issue "temporary restraining orders (injunctions) as shall be deemed just in the premises."

Section 7 is the provision under which the Loewe Co. proceeded in claiming damages against the United Hatters of America, and there is no gainsaying the fact that the paragraph is plain enough. It says:

"Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any Circuit Court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover three-fold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of the suit, including a reasonable attorney's fees."

There is still another important provision that permits the United States Supreme Court to override any state law, so that if any state declared unions exempt from anti-trust laws within its own boundary plaintiffs can appeal to the United States Supreme Court and secure judgments.

Those who have paid attention to the history of labor in the courts anticipated the Loewe verdict and were not at all surprised. Indeed, how could things be otherwise with capitalism in control of the governing functions? The tools of capital would betray their own class if they did not decide against labor in every crisis, and it is only those who persist in deluding themselves with the absurd notion that there is no class warfare who are surprised and chagrined. Probably if they continue to get their bumps regularly some day

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their conceit will leave them long enough to permit new ideas to penetrate their stubborn and thick skulls. But it is to be deplored that the innocent are compelled to suffer with the guilty—that those who have pointed out the necessity for political action on the part of labor are constantly victimized, while egotistical chumps, who are never happier than when they can fawn about or crawl upon their bellies before the throne of capitalism, are lauded as "great leaders" and escape without much inconvenience to themselves.

How many times have the Socialists, when they stood in conventions and pointed out the trend of events and the natural developments in the class struggle, been ridiculed as "calamity howlers," "prophets of evil," and what not? In the Boston convention of the A. F. of L., for example, where the writer made a report showing how the British trade unionists were mulcted in the famous Taff Vale decision (a case exactly similar to the Loewe suit, which was brought the same year the Boston convention was held), and how the British unionists and Socialists were pulling together to put labor men in Parliament to protect their interests Gompers, instead of profiting by the experience of the workers across the sea, made a bitter attack upon the Socialists, and, to the delight of the capitalist bunch in the Civic Federation, tried to make it appear that the Socialists, although trade unionists almost wholly, were enemies of organized labor. "Economically," Gompers declared, in his prerora-tion, "you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility." The capitalist press and politicians from one end of the country to the other applauded Gompers' speech "smashing socialism" and characterized its author as the greatest leader that stood on two feet. Well, the Socialists philosophically concluded to let the future decide whether they were unsound, wrong and impossible.

Now, after the short space of four years, we have Taff Valeism right here, and in a more malignant form than the British variety. Across the water capitalism merely attacked and confiscated union funds. Here capitalism not only aims to mulct the union treasuries, but the little bank savings and homes of workers who have practiced self-denial for years in order to save their wives and children from destitution and beggary are attacked. What can be said of such leadership that damns those who dare to sound a warning note and woos the workers into fancied security up to the point that they are dragged before the bar of capitalism, and stripped of their few belongings, lashed by the blacklist cat-o'-nine-tails, and informed that they may be ground to pieces and their masters are not liable for damages to support their families! Could the black slaves of half a century ago be treated worse?

Let it be understood right here that the Socialists, although secure in the knowledge that their principles are based upon the rock of everlasting truth and that their methods will thiumph, harbor no grudge against individuals or organizations of workers because of their shortsightedness. 'Tis human to err. In fact, we admire good fighters who consistently and as decently as possible battle for what they believe to be right. But there comes a time, in the natural order of progress, when either evolutionary facts or individual beliefs must give way, and usually it is the latter. Nor is it humiliating for any man who has fought a good fight to admit that he was in error and changes his methods. Wise men change their tactics; fools never do. Gompers and his friends have honestly and courageously, much as we question their judgment, fought along

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industrial lines to gain what the Socialists seek to accomplish politically, and the former lost. Are Gompers and his friends big enough to acknowledge that the time has arrived for action, say along similar lines pursued by the British working people?

Looking at the situation from the most unbiased standpoint possible as a Socialist and member of a trade union, and with no ill will against Sam Gompers as a man (for I think well of the old scout despite some of his, what appear to me, unfair methods), I am firmly convinced that the hour has struck when calm and cool consideration of the present crisis is absolutely necessary. Let us sink our differences of the past, as we did, in fact, at the Norfolk convention, and get together in a national conference, as is the desire of the rank and file everywhere, and proceed along the lines of the British Socialists and trade unionists and include the farmers, if they will come, and organize a political combination that will strike terror to the hearts of the fossilized Supreme Court, the plutocratic Senate, the petty Czar Cannon and his House, and all the cheap-skate politicians throughout the land. Let the executive council of the A. F. of L. issue a call for a conference to affiliated organizations, representing, approximately, 2,000,000 members; to non-affiliated bodies, with 1,000,000 members; to the Farmers' Union, with 1,000,000 members; to the Socialist party, with practically 500,000 voters; to the Society of Equity, with 100,000 members, and other friendly organizations, and, even if only one-half send representatives, the little, insignificant crowd of plutocrats in control of affairs will sit up and take notice. It would not only not be necessary for any organization in an alliance of this kind to surrender its principles or organization, but there would be such mutual assistance and co-operation as would gain immediate attention and respect from the great unorganized mass to bring them into touch and close sympathy with the movement, and lead to better things in the future.

The organized workers as represented by the A. F. of L. not only demand political action, but if it is denied them they will either desert their organization or turn on their officers or so-called leaders. The old plan of pledging Congressional candidates is played out, as everybody knows that the politicians promise everything and fulfill nothing. To organize a separate Labor party of only A. F. of L. bodies would prove suicidal, as it would be sectional and appeal only to a branch of the labor class. Let us have a truly representative political movement, to include all the organizers, speakers, newspapers and other parts of the machinery that make for a great party.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Socialist Political Unity. It would seem as though there ought not to be much hesitation in realizing the advantages to our movement in having all the Socialist forces marshalled under one political banner, and that if nothing else should bring us to our senses, the ridicule that is heaped upon us in the capitalist press ought to be sufficient. That is the way it strikes us in this office, and so we express ourselves both in our Finnish and in our English publications. We are very much confirmed in this position by reading the arguments against uniting with the S. L. P. that are to be met with in some quarters in our own party. They may be summarized as follows,—

That the S. L. P. have been in the past "a disturbing element".

That they have thrown considerable mud at men who are prominent in our party.

That their voting strength has fallen off while ours has increased, thus proving, it is claimed, that, on questions of tactics, we have been in the right while they have been in the wrong.

We are much inclined to think that the S. L. P. have been a disturbing element, and that it is a good thing for our Party that they have been. We are inclined to think that the debt we owe them, for keeping our movement out of the bogs and quagmires of opportunism, is very great. That they have thrown considerable mud at men who are prominent in our Party is also probably true, but that fact can not be taken into consideration in the least when the best interests of the working-class require unity on the political field. The argument that the increase of our voting strength, as compared with theirs, justifies our tactics is the quintessence of Opportunism.

In fact it is worse. This is exactly the line of argument adopted by the workingman who votes the Republican or the Democratic ticket. He tells us that we have no chance to win, and that there is a chance of electing "good men", and "friends of labor" on the capitalistic ticket. The same arguments exactly. The amendment to Lee's motion, as proposed by National Committeeman King, ought to prevail, that is, to elect a special Committee to confer with the Committee elected by the S. L. P. to consider plans of Union, rather than to designate as our representatives the incoming Nat'l Ex. Committe, three of whom are personally objectionable to the S. L. P.

So let's get together. Union is strength. One all-embracing Industrial Unionism is what we need, and one all-embracing Socialist Party and both revolutionary to the core.

The Wage-Slave, Hancock, Mich.

A Proletarian Criticism. In his article on "Woman and the Socialist Movement", in the February Review, Spargo repeats the old

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saying that "he who would be free must strike the first blow". He is right. Without doubt men are more interested in having the assistance of women in the movement in bringing about economic liberty to both sexes, than they are in woman gaining her own freedom from being the slave of slaves. When we have economic liberty for both sexes, woman will be in a position to demand and to take her entire liberty any time she so desires. But to-day she wants neither economic, political nor sex liberty. She has all the liberty she considers she is entitled to, or that she cares for. Working class men are just about the same. There are exceptions in both sexes, of course. The majority of working men imagined because they had secured political liberty they had all there was to be had. They are beginning to see they were mistaken, and some are beginning to find that their so-called political liberty, alone, can not even gain for them economic freedom. I suppose no socialist would deny to woman the right to vote. But why make a special effort to secure the ballot for her at present? Is there any reason to believe that the Supreme Court would have any more respect for the so-called labor laws which they have been declaring unconstitutional these many years, if women's votes had been instrumental in electing the law-makers?

It is indeed encouraging to see La Monte in his "Method of Propaganda," display so much brotherly love and appear so penitent. I suggest that he hunt up a priest and go to confession. His subject is a good one and he has some excellent suggestions; but his plea for laying-aside-of-differences won't wash down my throat. The different factions will unite when they have to, that is, when the force of economic development comes down on them with the force of the hydraulic press upon the paper that is being fashinoned into car wheels. I believe nearly everybody will agree that all socialists are united on the main issues. We want the collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution and of all natural sources, and the democratic control of them. They say we differ on "tactics". If this is true, let us unite upon the things we **are** agreed upon. But right here is where all shades of reformers halt! They want a good thing but not too much of it at one time! We wage slaves can continue to endure our slavery for awhile, perhaps. We are used to it, so let the factions follow their own courses. I am confident that some day we shall unite upon the vital things, the things we are already agreed upon. So fellows, take your time.

L. B. Boudin's article on "Immigration at Stuttgart" was the very best thing in the February number. **Peter F. Kennedy.**

A Letter from Honolulu. Recently we down here got together and formed a local of the National Party. Conditions here are not such that I anticipate startling results. On the one hand baronial estates employing asiatics whose wage, $16.00 to $20.00 per month is sufficient to support them, as they have been accustomed to be, four or five times over. In other words it costs an asiatic from four to six dollars per month to live, as he lived before coming here, and he receives from $16.00 upward. So that he feels himself quite a man. He is extremely patriotic, to Japan, and sends his surplus quite regularly to his old home. On the other hand we have very few white mechanics or laborers and each year their number diminishes, while the native, the Hawaiian, is a man risen in the last 50 years from barbarism, and while amenable to reforms, innovatious and even revolutious is still an unknown quantity. Some of our comrades, there are only 15 of us, lay great hopes in the Hawaiian. They know his discontent with existing conditions and think he can be railroaded into the Socialist movement and through it into the socialist state.

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I believe that the proper political agitator could make a tremendous stampede by next election and would not be surprised if some Socialists could be elected, for the Hawaiian is credulous and if shown opportunity for betterment will follow a leader almost pell-mell. But, looking to the resultant, I think that success would be a calamity, almost, for the Hawaiian has not that stability that has come to the white race through a few generations of capitalism. I believe that political success here at present would be the inauguration of graft such as the country has not seen elsewhere.—Each week we come together, a motley crowd, a preacher, a doctor, an entomologist, a sculptor, a painter, myself and one or two working men and try to enrich our small stock of Socialist knowledge by original talks, readings and discussions. Enthusiastic? Oh, yes, as far as lies in our various occupations. We are mostly idealistically inclined and in the movement through that inclination and not through the bond created by belonging to the working class. Like all socialists, everywhere, the method of procedure is a bugbear with us. Some favor distributing literature, others political agitation on every occasion, others are for renting a good hall and going at it in a business way, others for not making too much noise until we amount to something (don't go into the water till you learn to swim). Nevertheless we feel a part of the big Socialist movement, make our little contributions to it, in one way and another, and have a hopeful outlook for the future. H. CULMAN.

Industrial Union Tactics. While the position taken by Comrade Charles H. Kerr in regard to unity, in his article "Socialist Unity in the United States," in the December number, is correct, I find several matters in the article need correction. It is a fact that Socialist philosophy teaches that the only practical and successful way the working class can combat their capitalist oppressors is by uniting their forces on the lines of "the grievance of one is the grievance of all;" "Workers of the world unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." These are the principles of Industrial Unionism, which are **not** a tangle of Utopian speculations that are perfectly futile, but have been proven and are practical and effective in this age of concentrated wealth and combinations of trusts, manufacturers' associations, citizens' alliances and employers' associations, as demonstrated by the Western Federation of Miners—An industrial union labor organization. The fact that many Socialists are active in bringing the message of Socialism into the labor unions, which embodies the principle of industrial unionism, proves conclusively that Socialists know it is necessary that unions become class conscious, and they will all in time adopt industrial unionism.

The Industrial Workers of the World does not make it compulsory for members to leave their union and join the I. W. W., but leaves this question to the option of the member, and, if his convictions lead him to join the I. W. W., nothing should prevent him from doing so. This position is taken by the Socialists as to former Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists joining the Socialist party. Many a Socialist has lost his job because he declared himself a Socialist. There was a certain element in the I. W. W. who had illegally used questionable tactics within our organization and abused those who did not believe as they did, but this element has been expelled. I. W. W. speakers are admitted to a large number of labor unions to explain the principles of Industrial Unionism; whole bodies of organized workers have joined the I. W. W. and it is actively engaged in organizing the unorganized workers.

Wm. J. F. Hannemann.

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A Neglected Adjunct to Socialism. The perfect life aspired to by socialists must of necessity be rational, but few seem to realize the intimate correlation of socialism to the strife for the "Rational Life", the physiological revolution—physical culture. Neither movement can achieve its end without the other's aid. Our race is degenerate. To master the socialist philosophy takes clear brains, to win our battles, strong minds and physiques. Physical Culture produces a healthy mind in a healthy body. It is the only logical agent for the emancipation of woman and rescuing the sex relation from the prudish heterodoxies of "Civilization"; it promises a future perfect generation. Far from implying a return to savagery it teaches compliance with the laws of life. Its practice is free to all; environment may restrict its scope but cannot wholly annul its wholesome effects. Yet we parade our centuries old ignorance, asking hygienic measures from a ruling class while neglecting the opportunities for self-improvement within our reach. The attitude of part of our press, withholding such valuable information from the workers on the most flimsy pretexts, I consider criminal. The rulers are fast assimilating the doctrines of physical culture for their own benefit. In the hands of the workers physical culture will be a formidable weapon. Its use is a constant source of pleasure. Through it we shall attain to that high conception of life's possibilities which is the sharpest spur to social progress and that sublime self-reliance that knows not failure.

Charles Roux.

A Note of Explanation. On page 493 of the February Review we inserted a note to the effect that the article by Comrade Boudin was rejected by The Worker. We have received a letter from Comrade Lee, editor of The Worker, in which he explains that the article was omitted because he did not see the necessity of initiating a controversy between Comrade Boudin and Hillquit over the propriety of the various phrases of Hillquit's article; that he offered, however, ample space to Comrade Boudin for the discussion of the subject itself. We are glad in fairness to The Worker to print this explanation.

A Word of Appreciation. I want to tell you how much I like the February number of the Review. Comrade Spargo's article on Woman and the Socialist Movement is just what some of our locals need. Women are to be benefitted by the advent of socialism and we want and need their help in the work of propaganda. I. M. Robbins's article on The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem should be in the hands of all our colored friends. They would soon learn to realize their present slavery and turn toward the ranks of the Socialist Party. Methods of Propaganda by LaMonte hit the nail on the head in regard to the workingman. He wants HIS. He is not interested in our little personal bickerings and if we use time so spent in showing him that his interests are with ours, we shall have worked to greater profit.

F. E. Welker, Cestos, Ola.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

HOW SOCIALIST BOOKS ARE PUBLISHED.

By John Spargo.

Nothing bears more remarkable evidence to the growth of the American Socialist movement than the phenomenal development of its literature. Even more eloquently than the Socialist vote, this literature tells of the onward sweep of Socialism in this country.

Only a few years ago, the entire literature of Socialism published in this country was less than the present monthly output. There was Bellamy's "Looking Backward," a belated expression of the Utopian school, not related to modern scientific Socialism, though it accomplished considerable good in its day; there were a couple of volumes by Professor R. T. Ely, obviously inspired by a desire to be fair, but missing the essential principles of Socialism; there were a couple of volumes by Laurence Gronlund and there was Sprague's "Socialism From Genesis to Revelation." These and a handful of pamphlets constituted America's contribution to Socialist literature.

Added to these, were a few books and pamplets translated from the German, most of them written in a heavy ponderous style which the average American worker found exceedingly difficult. The great classics of Socialism were not available to any but those able to read some other language than English. "Socialism is a foreign movement," said the American complacently.

Even six or seven years ago, the publication of a Socialist pamphlet by an American writer was regarded as a very notable event in the movement and the writer was assured of a certain fame in consequence.

Now, in this year, 1908, it is very different. There are hundreds of excellent books and pamphlets available to the American worker and student of Socialism, dealing with every conceivable phase of the subject. Whereas ten years ago none of the great industrial countries of the world had a more meagre Socialist literature than America, to-day America leads the world in its output.

Only a few of the many Socialist books have been issued by ordinary capitalist publishing houses. Half a dozen volumes by such writers as Ghent, Hillquit, Hunter, Spargo and Sinclair exhaust the list. It could not be expected that ordinary publishers would issue books and pamphlets purposely written for propaganda on the one hand, nor the more serious works which are expensive to produce and slow to sell upon the other hand.

The Socialists themselves have published all the rest—the propaganda books and pamphlets, the translations of great Socialist classics and the important contributions to the literature of Socialist

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philosophy and economics made by American students, many of whom are the products of the Socialist movement itself.

They have done these great things through a co-operative publishing house, known as Charles H. Kerr & Company (Co-operative). Nearly 2000 Socialists and sympathizers with Socialism, scattered throughout the country, have joined in the work. As shareholders, they have paid ten dollars for each share of stock in the enterprise. with no thought of ever getting any profits, their only advantage being the ability to buy the books issued by the concern at a great reduction.

Here is the method: A person buys a share of stock at ten dollars (arrangements can be made to pay this by installments, if desired) and he or she can then buy books and pamphlets at a reduction of fifty per cent.—or forty per cent. if sent post or express paid.

Looking over the list of the company's publications, one notes names that are famous in this and other countries. Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Lassalle, and Liebknecht among the great Germans; Lafargue, Deville and Guesde, of France; Ferri and Labriola, of Italy; Hyndman and Blatchford, of England; Plechanoff, of Russia; Upton Sinclair, Jack London, John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Ernest Untermann and Morris Hillquit, of the United States. These, and scores of other names less known to the general public.

It is not necessary to give here a complete list of the company's publications. Such a list would take up too much room—and before it was published it would become incomplete. The reader who is interested had better send a request for a complete list, which will at once be forwarded, without cost. We can only take a few books, almost at random, to illustrate the great variety of the publications of the firm.

You have heard about Karl Marx, the greatest of modern Socialists, and naturally you would like to know something about him. Well, at fifty cents there is a charming little book of biographical memoirs by his friend Liebknecht, well worth reading again and again for its literary charm not less than for the loveable character it portrays so tenderly. Here, also, is the complete list of the works of Marx yet translated into the English language. There is the famous **Communist Manifesto** by Marx and Engels, at ten cents, and the other works of Marx up to and including his great master-work, **Capital**, in three volumes at two dollars each—two of which are already published, the other being in course of preparation.

For propaganda purposes, in addition to a big list of cheap pamphlets, many of them small enough to enclose in a letter to a friend, there are a number of cheap books. These have been specially written for beginners, most of them for workingmen. Here, for example, one picks out at a random shot Work's "What's So and What Isn't," a breezy little book in which all the common questions about Socialism are answered in simple language. Or here again we pick up Spargo's "The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For," a little book which has attained considerable popularity as an easy statement of the essence of modern socialism. For readers of a little more advanced type there is "Collectiveism," by Emil Vandervelde, the eminent Belgian Socialist leader, a wonderful book. This and Engel's "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" will lead to books of a more advanced character, some of which we must mention. The four books mentioned in this paragraph cost fifty cents each, postpaid. They are well printed and neatly and durably bound in cloth.

Going a little further, there are two admirable volues by Antonio Labriola, expositions of the fundamental doctrine of Socialist philosophy, called the Materialist Conception of History, and a

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volume by Austin Lewis, "The Rise of the American Proletarian," in which the theory is applied to a phase of American history. These books sell at a dollar each, and it would be very hard to find anything like the same value in any other publisher's catalogue. Only the co-operation of nearly 2000 Socialist men and women make it possible.

For the reader, who has got so far, yet finds it impossible to understand a study of the voluminous work of Marx, either for lack of leisure or, as often happens, lack of the necessary mental training and equipment, these are two splendid books, notable examples of the work which American Socialist writers are now putting out. While they will never entirely take the place of the great work of Marx, nevertheless, whoever has read them with care will have a comprehensive grasp of Marxism. They are: L. B. Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx" and Ernest Untermann's "Marxian Economics." These also are published at a dollar a volume.

Perhaps you know some man who declares that "There are no classes in America," who loudly boasts that we have no class struggles: just get a copy of A. M. Simons' "Class Struggles in America," with its startling array of historical references. It will convince him if it is posible to get an idea into his head. Or you want to get a good book to lend to your farmer friends who want to know how Socialism touches them: get another volume by Simons called "The American Farmer." You will never regret it. Or perhaps you are troubled about the charge that Socialism and Anarchism are related. If so, get Plechanoff's "Anarchism and Socialism" and read it carefully. These three books are published at fifty cents each.

Are you interested in science? Do you want to know the reason why Socialists speak of Marx as doing for Sociology what Darwin did for biology? If so, you will want to read "Evolution, Social and Organic," by Arthur Morrow Lewis, price fifty cents. And you will be delighted beyond your powers of expression with the several volumes of the Library of Science for the Workers, published at the same price. "The Evolution of Man" and "The Triumph of Life," both by the famous German scientist, Dr. Wilhelm Boelsche; "The Making of the World" and "The Ending of the World," both by Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer; and "Germs of Mind in Plants," by R. H. France, are some of the volumes which the present writer read with absorbing interest himself and then read them to a lot of boys and girls, to their equal delight.

One could go on and on talking about this wonderful list of books which marks the tremendous intellectual strength of the American Socialist movement. Here is the real explosive, a weapon far more powerful than dynamite bombs! Socialists must win in a battle of brains—and here is amunition for them.

Individual Socialists who can afford it should take shares of stock in the great enterprise. If they can pay the ten dollars all at once, well and good; if not, they can pay in monthly instalments. And every Socialist local ought to own a share of stock in the company, if for no other reason than that literature can then be bought much more cheaply than otherwise. But of course there is an even greater reason than that—every Socialist local ought to take pride in the development of the enterprise which has done so much to develop a great American Socialist literature.

Fuller particulars will be sent upon application. Address:

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (Co-operative),
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. VIII APRIL, 1908 No. 10

The Discovery of the World Elements.

(*In Honor of Ernest Mach's Seventieth Birthday.*)

I. THE ABSOLUTELY UNCHANGEABLE BODIES.



IN A PARIS BUILDING expressly erected for this purpose, the *Bureau International des Poids et Mesures* (International Bureau of Weights and Measures), the standard measure of length, the prototype of the meter, is stored away. The walls of this building are hollow, so that liquids of definite temperature may be passed through them for the purpose of maintaining a constant temperature in the rooms, which contain the standard meter. But even this does not suffice to protect the rod against changes of temperature, and thus against expansion. In addition to these precautions, the rod must be kept in a bath of definite temperature. After many tests this rod was finally made of an amalgamation of Platinum and Iridium, which are but little subject, like other precious metals, to chemical alterations under ordinary conditions, and which have the additional advantage of great hardness.

The hardness of the metal, and the form in which this rod has been molded (its cross section is approximately that of a cross) protect the rod against bending by its own weight and thus against contraction.

We will not mention all the other precautions taken for the prevention of alterations in this rod of Platinum-Iridium. We have said enough to indicate how much the physicists have

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labored, and how much the employes of the Bureau of Weights and Measures still have to labor every day, in order to maintain this body unchanged. Under these circumstances this standard longitudinal measure, aside from its great practical significance for systems of measurement, stands forth as the most striking monument of the variability of all bodies. For if the success of all exertions of science to find an unchangeable body is embodied in this Paris type of the meter, which human beings might break, melt, dissolve in acid, might change at will in all its qualities, then it becomes palpable that we cannot find in this world any body that shall be permanently unchangeable.

In spite of the immense labors performed by the physicists and chemists in the manufacture of standard measures, and in spite of the fact that all their labors have led only to relatively unchangeable bodies, the idea is still widely entertained precisely by the scientists of these fields that there are such things as unchangeable bodies, or even that all the changeable bodies of the world consist in reality of absolutely unchangeable bodies.

In our experience, as we have just indicated, we do not meet with such absolutely unchangeable bodies. We can construct them only in imagination. We may assert that they exist, and we may express the hope that we may find them some day. Such constructions of imagination have appeared several times in the course of the development of physical sciences and have presented different forms. The particles of matter carrying heat, electrical fluids, light as conceived by Newton, were such unchangeable bodies. But no one takes any more notice of them to-day. On the contrary, belief has now passed on to the existence of molecules, atoms, ions which have been joined quite recently by the electrons. These different classes of allegedly unchangeable bodies are mainly distinguished from one another by their size.

What does physics want with these imagined unchangeable bodies? It desires to understand the alterations of the real variable bodies, which we know, by different arrangement and different conditions of motion of such unchangeable bodies.

The aim of physics, then, is the understanding of the alterations of real bodies, which we know from experience. It desires to show in what manner the mutual positions of these bodies are changed, what is the interrelation of the changes in temperature among them (for instance in case of mixtures), what new bodies arise from the chemical combination or disintegration of certain bodies, etc. The imaginary unchangeable bodies serve merely as auxiliaries for the understanding of the changes in real bodies.

If we remember the fate for the many unchangeable bodies, which have fallen into oblivion, if we look at the meager success in the figuration of the world of phenomena by unchangeable bodies, when we consider that precisely those lines of physics,

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which do not make use of unchangeable bodies, have made the greatest progress and are regarded as the most secure, then we involuntarily face the question: Cannot physics accomplish its aim, the figuration of changes in real bodies, without the existence of absolutely unchangeable bodies?

If we are to-day in a position to reply that the elimination of the idea of all absolutely unchangeable bodies from physics is possible, and therefore necessary, we owe thanks for this to the comprehensive critical labor, to the penetrating investigation of the entire science of physics, performed by *Ernest Mach.* In fact, the clarification of this question is one of the most important steps taken by *Mach* in his effort to remove all metaphysics from science.

The researches of *Mach* have been published partly in the form of critical historical essays, partly in monographs. He did not write any systematic presentation of the fundamental principles of physics based upon variable bodies. In the following lines, we intend to discuss briefly two preliminary questions, which belong to such a presentation of physics. These questions are: What is a real body, if it does not consist of unchangeable bodies, and in what does the unchangeable consist, if it is not a body?

2. THE DIRECT EVIDENCE.

A deep chasm has long separated the physical from the psychological sciences. (By physical science we mean physics in its widest sense, including chemistry and astronomy.) The psychologists opposed to the unchangeable bodies of the physicists the sensations and feelings of human beings, as the last resort of human experience. They argued justly that the sensations and feelings were directly evident in human beings, their existence could not be doubted, the standard of false or true could not be applied to them at all, they were the most reliable foundation of human knowledge. Of course, the direct sensations and feelings should be distinguished from the interpretations and theories, which are connected with them. The interpretations and theories may be false, but never the sensations and feelings as such.* And psychology adds rightly, that these directly perceived sensa-

1) For instance, I saw a man standing at a certain distance in a garden. But when I came closer to him, I noticed that I was mistaken, that it was not a man, but a dry tree stump. Now what was false here? What did I really see from the distance? A brown spot of a certain form. This was the real observation, which I shall make again, if I go back to the same place. This observation, this complex set of sensations, is something actual. What, then, must be false or true here? The interpretation, the theory, which I drew from the observation. In what does the false interpretation consist? I merely chose too narrow a term for the designation of my actual observation. Instead of the conception "a long and erect brown spot" I se-

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tions and feelings are the most familiar and best known facts, which do not require any further explanation.

At this point the chasm widens. The psychologist says: I know only the directly perceived sensations and feelings, I do not know how I shall get them in touch with the bodies of the physicists. And the physicist says: I know only the bodies, which consist of nothing, but unchangeable bodies, that cannot be analyzed any further, and I do not know how I shall bring them in touch with the sensations and feelings. Between these two, there exists an apparently irreconcilable dualism: On the one hand the world of sensations and feelings, on the other hand the world of bodies.

Attempts were made repeatedly by both sides to bridge this chasm and to establish a monistic conception. The ways chosen for the purpose of reaching this goal resemble one another in that they are equally absurd.

On the psychological side the way led to "pure idealism" or "solipsism". Nothing was recognized but the direct evidence, but the existence of the bodies, of the "outer world", was denied. On the physical side the equally preposterous attempt was made to reduce the direct perceptions, the sensations and feelings, to the movements of atoms, or other unchangeable bodies, to "explain" the best known by the entirely unknown.

If we leave aside these two absurd expedients, the chasm between the physical and the psychic remains open. Nevertheless we may succeed by a simple move in overcoming this chasm and arriving at a truly monistic conception. Like so many other great discoveries, this move, which we will call the discovery of the world elements, was made simultaneously in two places, independent of one another. It was made on the psychological side by *Richard Avenarius*, and on he physical side by *Ernest Mach*.

3. SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

In the human language the separation of subjects from objects, such as is required for every day use, has been completely effected. It teaches us to recognize things (bodies), such as "the house", "the tree", "the book", etc., and "I's", such as "I", "You", "my uncle", "Mr. Smith", etc.

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lected the conception "a man," which is much more defined, since it carries many more marks of identification than I had actually perceived. I merely expected to find those marks under different circumstances. My false interpretation consisted in the application of a false conception. The observed brown spot is a fact, which cannot be false, no matter whether I interpret its connection with other facts correctly or not.

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This "I" of common speech comprises on closer scrutiny two different "I's", which may be distinguished even by the simplest mind. It is customary to speak of "body and soul", of "body and mind". The most complicated philosophical theories are connected with these terms. We need not enter into them here. It is enough to say that in almost every one of such commonplace expressions a certain understanding is put forth. From every one a correct kernel may be culled, which will prove useful to science. So it is here. There are two kinds of "I's". We will distinguish them for the present by the terms "physical I" and "psychical I", without deducing any further theories from them. The "physical I" is a body like other bodies, such as a house, a tree, etc. When we speak generally of the "I", we will have it understood that we mean the "psychical I".

Ordinary language divides everything into subjects and objects, into "I's" and "bodies". It enumerates "the qualities of the thing" as well as "the sensations" of the "I". We say that "the leaf is green" and besides that "the I has the sensation of green". The thing and the I's are regarded as isolated, the green appears on the one hand in the thing and on the other in the I, it appears twice.

This conception of things is in keeping with the ordinary view of the matter. But if we desire to know what a thing (body) and an I is, we must not analyse the abstractions of ordinary language, but must rather investigate the actual interrelations. The most complicated and superfluous problems of philosophy are due precisely to the fact that the abstractions of ordinary language were made special objects of investigation. But if we consider subject and object in their actual interrelations, as *Mach* and *Avenarius* have first done, then all these difficulties disappear.

The truth of the saying, that "the leaf is green", is accurately considered the following: If I or some other person look at a leaf, we have the "sensation of green", or rather, we often have this sensation. For the green appears only under normal circumstances, when the light of the sun and our organs of vision are normal. In the light of a sodium flame the color is brown, and when we have taken a dose of santonin it is yellow. The two phrases "the leaf is green" and "the I has a sensation of green" resolve themselves on close scrutiny into this single fact: Different I's have the repeated sensation of green. If I and a leaf enter into relation with one another, *one* green appears. If I turn my head, the sensation of green disappears. If I look again, the green reappears. We do not know what happens, when we do not look at the leaf. It is true, the philosophers have put forth many theories as to how the leaf looks, when we do not see it, but science can fulfill all its duties without knowing the unknowable.

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A leaf is green, when I and the leaf, or more generally, when subject and object, are in touch with one another. This fundamental relation between subject and object, which is the only one that is known to us at all, is called by *Avenarius* the "co-ordination of principles". There is only *one* green which belongs simultaneously to the subject and object. In its relation to the subject, to the I, we call the green "a sensation", but in order to make it plain, that it belongs at the same time to an object, we call it "an element". As such elements we must consider all sensations known to ordinary language, that is, colors, forms, tones, pressures, etc. But in their capacity of "elements" they are not merely sensations in the sense used by ordianry language, they belong at the same time to certain objects.*

4. THE ELEMENTS AS STARTING POINTS.

We have now come to the understanding that an "element" is a combination of subject and object. This enables us to grasp the step taken by *Mach* and *Avenarius*. It consists in a change of perspective. They leave aside the ordinary separation into subjects and objects, and make the elements the starting points of their researches. Since the elements are the direct perceptions, the most familiar and known facts perceived by us, and since every element, which belongs to some object, must also belong to some subject, we undertake to show that the world of subjects and objects is built up of such elements.

The attainment to this standpoint of *Mach* and *Avenarius* which takes the elements as its point of departure, is by no means easy. It is true we may grasp the possibility of this point of view by logic, but in order to be safe against a relapse into the conceptions of ordinary language, it is necessary that the indicated change of perspective should be actually experienced. As *Mach* puts it, it requires "a complete psychological transformation". But once that we have worked our way through into this point of view, we find easily the solution of all socalled riddles of the universe, which go with the use of the ordinary language in the investigation of fundamental questions.

We will now attempt to sketch a few outlines of the world image, as it appears in the light of the conceptions of *Mach* and

*) There are also some elements, which correspond exactly to the term "sensation" as used by ordinary language, that is, there are some elements, which do not belong to any body. There are cases, in which there is no body that is "green," as ordinary language would express it, and yet the element "green" appears in some "I," as it does in mechanical affection of the retina, hallucinations, etc. These elements we will not discuss at this point, where we are concerned principally about the elucidation of the essential principles, particularly about physical bodies.

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Avenarius. The understanding of all such questions and their details requires, of course, a familiarity with the original works.*

From our new point of view we now ask: What are subject and object, I and body, with reference to the world elements? (Keeping in mind that the "I" has also some elements, which are not bodies.) We answer: The "I" is a combination of elements, which are at the same time parts of different bodies. A body is a combination of elements, which are at the same time parts of different "I's".

It is, as a rule, readily understood that the psychical "I", or as *Avenarius* calls it, the central link, is but a combination of elements, but it is not so easily grasped that the same is true of the Body, or, as *Avenarius* has it, the opposite link. We cannot discover any other components in the "I" but sensations and feelings. Some philosophers, for instance Kant, operate with an "I in itself", but so far as we are concerned this is merely a metaphysical construction, with which we have nothing to do.

It is the same with a body. Take, for instance, a leaf of some tree. It is green, it has a certain visible form, it smells and tastes in a certain way, it feels soft and cool to the touch. This leaf may change its "qualities", yet in ordinary language we still speak of it as the same leaf. It may turn red instead of green, it may feel warmer to the touch, it may assume a different form, present a different scent. It may also lose certain qualities, it may become scentless, tasteless, invisible. This induces the idea as though all its qualities could be taken away and yet something left over, "the thing itself". But so far as we are concerned, "the thing itself" belongs as much to the realm of metaphysics as "the I itself". Science has for ever separated from metaphysics.

The elements are mutually connected in a very complicated manner. In this whirl of elements we might regard every bundle of elements, which turns around some central link, as a "thing", but generally we select a whole bundle of elements containing a goodly number of central links. The boundaries, which we draw, are to a certain extent arbitrary and determined chiefly by the temporary aim, which we seek to accomplish. Take, for instance,

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*) Of the original works, the following will be most suitable for the beginner: Avenarius, "Remarks Concerning the Object of Psychology," a short essay, which appeared in volumes 18 and 19 of the "Vierteljahrsschrift für Wissenschaftliche Philosophie." Furthermore: Avenarius, "The Human World Conception," a small work, which appeared recently in a second edition. Mach treats of that part of the fundamental questions, which we are discussing here, in his "Analysis of Sensations," fifth edition, 1907. This, however, is not so easy for the beginner. A position closely akin to this one is taken by Cornelius in his "Introduction to Philosophy," and by J. Petzoldt in his "World Problem," which appeared in Teubner's collection of "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt."

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some monument, say, the "Lion of Lucerne", as an illustration of a thing. The "Lion of Lucerne" is a certain combination of elements, which, since the time of their creation by Thorwaldsen, have been parts of innumerable human beings. The "Lion of Lucerne" is therefore, in its capacity as a thing, above all *one* immense bundle of elements, which grows every time that this thing becomes an opposite link of some central link (co-ordination of principles). The interrelations of that network of elements, which we call our "I" (central links), pass through a similar development, which begins with the birth of a human being and ends with its death.

That immense bundle of elements called "The Lion of Lucerne" shows a certain systematic arrangement. Certain of its parts, which repeat themselves frequently, may be selected from it, that is to say, we can find in it certain groups of elements, which, aside from their connections, from which they are isolated, are equal. Such equal groups of elements belong successively at repeated intervals to some "I", and they may also appear side by side at the same time in different "I's".

5. THE BODY.

A body consists of a combination of different groups of elements which repeat themselves. For the crude approximations of ordinary life it is customary to overlook many changes and call a body the same, even though some groups may have received different elements, and other groups may have been entirely displaced by new ones. "My table is now lighter, now darker, according to the light, it may be warm at one time, cold at another. It may get an ink blot. One of its feet may be broken. It may be repaired, polished, renewed part by part. Yet it remains for me the table at which I write every day." Every-day life is inaccurate, it gives to a body the same name, when a certain relatively large part of its elementary combinations remain the same.

In science, likewise, the conception of a body had not been sharply defined, any more than in ordinary life. The term "body" was employed for various purposes. It will contribute materially to a clear conception, if we will consider a body as a definite combination of definite groups of elements, and every change, either in the individual groups or in the whole combination, as a transformation into a new body. Then we shall no longer speak of alterations in the conditions of *the* body, but shall rather express ourselves somewhat in the following manner: The body water becomes the body ice. Elements of heat, pressure, color, form, have changed, the groups of elements differ, a new body has arisen.

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Scientific investigation generally extends only to certain elements, not to the whole combination of elements, which we term a body. This sort of investigation will not be interfered with, if changes of the body take place while investigation continues, provided only that the special objects of the investigation remain unaltered in the elementary combination. It will then be the task of science to define the characteristic part of the elementary combination for every kind of investigation and give it a special name. For instance, in the analysis of mechanics any changes in light, color, temperature, will be immaterial, since it is mainly a question of the volume, which presents itself as a combination of sensations of touch. So long as any such volume is bounded by *one* limited plane, the object of analysis is not altered for mechanics. Those changes, which mechanics does not consider, are, however, the objects of analysis of other physical researches, such as changes of temperature, which are the objects of the science of calorics.

Chemical analysis deals with a larger portion of elementary combinations (bodies) than any other, yet it also leaves aside some alterations. In short, no scientific investigation embraces the whole actual body, but always merely some segment of it, some abstraction. There is no reason why such segments should not be called abstract bodies. For instance, the objects of mechanics might be called "haptic (tangible) bodies". The science of the real body would then be the sum of all statements concerning the abstract bodies.

Let us keep in mind, that the physicists were always of the opinion, that a real body consisted of absolutely unchangeable bodies, and we shall realize the revolution in physics accomplished by *Mach*. We see, then, that science consists of abstractions, but the real body does not consist of abstracts.

In attempting to arrive at a clear conception of a body in the way indicated above, a difficulty arises often through the following circumstance. If we leave aside the color, scent, taste, temperature, of a body, its touch remains as a last kernel. This "tangible" part is either directly the actual essence of "the thing itself," although some philosophers will not admit this, or it is at least the source, from which this preposterous imagination, which carries this name, derives its life. For us, however, the tangible part is by no means an indissoluble kernel, which cannot be analysed, but a combination of pressure elements (sensations of touch).

This combination of elements of touch is relatively more stable than that of the other elements among themselves and with the first. For our orientation these relatively most stable combinations have a fundamental significance. We make them generally the points of departure of our observations and relate

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the other elements, which are more fleeting, to them. But even these combinations are by no means absolutely stable. If we melt ice and then steam the water, the groups of tangible elements perceived in a piece of ice and a volume of water differ widely. The "tangible kernel" does not remain the same, there is merely a continuity between the various successive combinations of elements of touch. Their characteristic expression is the statement, drawn from experience, that no volume, which presents itself to us as a combination of elements of touch, can be reduced to the magnitude zero. This statement comprises one of the experiences which are summarized in the unclear phrase of the "indestructibility of matter."

We have just said that the sensations of touch have a fundamental significance for our orientation, and to that extent the commonplace conception is justified. But we must guard against an overestimation of the sensation of touch, because all kinds of elements are directly perceptible and to that extent of equal value. With the understanding, that only certain volumes present themselves as sensations of touch, but no other magnitudes (no mass, no capacities of heat, etc.), all difficulties disappear, which the conception of a body after the manner of *Mach* might offer.

6. THE LAWS OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF BODIES.

Does this definition of a body as a combination of elements say everything that might be said about a body? Even commonplace reason will say: By no means. And *Mach's* conception agrees to that.

Are two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, altogether the same? In what can their difference exist, if a body is *only* a combination of elements?

I have a number of coins before me. They show the same coinage (form), the same color (bright silver), they are equally hard and heavy, in short, they are equal as combinations of elements. And yet I may ask, whether all these coins are "genuine". In other words, I ask whether they differ in something. I throw every coin, or equal parts of them, into a test tube containing dilute nitric acid. The coins are "dissolved", that is, new bodies are formed. I combine every one of these new bodies with another body, a solution of kitchen salt. A solid white body is formed, which I call chloride of silver. If I obtain the same quantity of this white body in all test tubes, then the coins were all equal and I shall designate them with the same name, for instance, "genuine dollars". But if any of the test tubes contains less chloride of silver, or none at all, I shall give the original body a different name.

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It follows, then, that we may distinguish such bodies, as are equal as combinations of elements, by the laws according to which they are transformed into other bodies. Two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, will receive different names when the bodies, into which they may be changed under otherwise equal circumstances, are different.

This may happen even in the case of the simplest alteration, division. If division turns bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, into new ones that are unequal, then the original bodies receive different names.

We see, then, that we do not have to discover a mysterious "something" hidden in bodies, but only ascertain the laws, by which bodies are transformed into one another.

The finding of these laws is all that science can accomplish. But that is in fact all we need to learn. The most comprehensive of these laws, and therefore the most important, are that of the mass, that of the capacity of heat, etc., which are generally comprised in the laws of matter, and the laws of energy.

In the natural laws, which indicate the way in which bodies change, we also find that which remains unchanged in our image of the universe. With every progress of our knowledge, with every new law that is discovered, our image of the universe gains in stability.

The first step in every physical understanding consisted always in the claim that a new unchangeable body had been discovered. The latest discoveries on the field of electric radiation have again induced the belief in many physicists, that at last the unchangeable body had been actually found, namely the electron. But the opinion is only too well justified that just as our previous knowledge of electricity developed from the primitive conception of electric fluids to the laws of electric science, so the primitive conception of an unchangeable electron will be relieved in due time by the laws of electric radiation.

In spite of the rise and decline of the ideas of unchangeable bodies, the belief in the existence of unchangeable bodies remained. It seems that these unchangeable bodies lent a durable and stable basis to the various systems. In the conceptions of *Mach* the unchangeable likewise is recognized, but it does not consist of bodies, which we have never perceived. It consists in the natural laws, which we learn to understand in an ever increasing degree.

In the old conceptions the point of departure of science coincided with the permanent, stable, substantial parts of the universal picture. *Mach* has shown that a separation is necessary here. The point of departure of science should be the most variable, the elements; the permanent, stable, is the crowning of the system, the laws of nature.

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7. PHYSICS AND PSYCHOLOGY.

We know only one kind of elements, but these elements form two kinds of combinations: On the one hand the psychical combination (The psychic I, the central link), on the other hand the physical combination (the thing, the body, the opposite link). In reality there is no opposite link without a central link, there are no other combinations but co-ordinations of principles. Research divides the field of labor in such a way that certain explorers, the psychologists, study above all the combinations which we call the central link, while those explorers, who deal with the opposite links, to the extent that they are bodies, are devoted to physics in the widest meaning of the term.

The central link consists of elements, which in their turn form opposite links in particular bodies. If this combination is intended to be the object of psychological study, then the elements must be studied in *all* their interrelations. If we are led astray into the belief that the boundary between the different fields of research is a boundary of the real elements, then the field of research becomes a hotbed of metaphysics, then people speak of a "soul itself", "a psychic force itself", "a thing itself". The accomplishment of *Avenarius* consisted in recognizing that psychology can be carried on scientifically only when the world elements are studied in all their interrelations, when the object of psychology is allembracing.

And on the other hand, in order to study the physical interrelation, the body, which is the object of physics, the opposite link, the body, should not be isolated, the elements, the co-ordination of principles, must not be drawn apart. It should rather be remembered that bodies consist of elements, which belong at the same time to central links. In this understanding culminates the achievement of *Mach*. In the experience of the physical we must not exclude the psychical, otherwise we come face to face with "matter itself", "energy itself", "the thing itself".

In following up special problems, we can devote ourselves only to definite interrelations at one time, we must leave out of consideration certain other interrelations, but we must not do this in such a way as to lose our way back to a monistic picture of the whole. The *one* whole picture shows that science is not limited to the sensations of the "I", that its progress does not consist in reductions to unchangeable bodies, but that its goal is rather the figuration of the mutual interrelations of the world elements.

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER.

(*Translated by Ernest Untermann.*)

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The Knout and the Fog.

[From advance sheets of "Stories of the Struggle."]



IT MAY sound incredible, but I can vouch for the fact that Nellie, when last heard from, had developed a profound admiration for the dense London fog,—that English survival of the ninth plague of Egypt. Now don't shake your head. Read on, and be convinced.

Nellie was a native of Russia. She was born of fairly well-to-do Jewish parents in the old historic city of Smolensk, where you can still see the fortifications erected by Boris Godunoff in the sixteenth century, and where the French in 1812 defeated the Russians under Barclay de Tolly, thus clearing their way to the ancient capital.

Nellie, blue-eyed, blonde, well-shaped, sweet-voiced, was the favorite child in the family, and as such got a good education. She was sent to a grammar-school—curiously called a gymnasium—for girls, from which she was graduated after a period of six years with honors, though disliked by masters and authorities owing to her somewhat "rebellious" spirit. She had a will of her own. To the Russian official mind such a thing savors of treason in its embryonic stage. Red tape sees in it the germs of Red Terror.

At that time Nellie was sixteen years old. As higher colleges for women were then still in existence in both capitals, she took it into her head to go to Moscow and there to study medicine. Her parents, old-fashioned, though not exactly orthodox people, with a deep-rooted aversion for all new-fangled notions, and particularly for the "women's independence craze"—so greatly in vogue among the youngest members of the fair sex in Russia—would probably have objected to Nellie's enterprise, but they were, alas, both dead. Her uncle, a brother of her father's, who had been her guardian for some years, offered no resistance, and so she left the "old place" for Mother Moscow, the White House-town with its forty forties of churches, its Kremlin, its Czar-Bell, and what was of more importance than the rest to Nellie, its college for girls. There, in the fall of 1882, she was allowed to matriculate, and to take a course of medicine, having bravely surmounted no end of difficulties before entering college.

For a while all went well.

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Following upon the outrages against the Jews from below, persecutions from above were now in full swing, subjecting the old race to suffering of every kind. The most exasperating form of persecution was the rigid enforcement of the law by which Jewish settlers in the "Interior" of the empire were driven back to the "Pale of Settlement," that is, to the North-Western and a few other provinces which they had inhabited long before Russia annexed them.

The authorities now discovered that Jewesses, while entitled to study, had no right to live in either St. Petersburg or Moscow, where alone such studies could be pursued. Consequently, Nellie, like many others of the objectionable race, was told to go. The poor girl was thunderstruck. There was to her knowledge but one way out of the trouble; to embrace Christianity. She would never do that. "I am not a hypocrite," she said.

A few days went by.

"Whatever shall I do?" she exclaimed, while talking the matter over with a friend of hers similarly afflicted.

"The same, I suppose, as Minnie and myself," said the other girl, bitterly.

"And that is?"

"That is to take out yellow passports."

"Yellow passports! What do you mean?"

"What I mean? Why, you poor little goose, I mean that we shall get ourselves registered at the — at the Police Bureau as — as prostitutes — They don't mind Jewesses of that class here. For —" The poor girl, who had begun her little speech defiantly, expectorating, as it were, her words, those disgusting words, one by one, now broke down, and sobbed violently. Nellie bit her rosy lips, muttered something inarticulate and getting up, went away with a determined step.

In a few days she was duly registered a common harlot, free to live under the holy sound of a thousand Christian church bells, pursuing her studies as heretofore entirely unmolested. But she was no longer the same person. At a time of life when woman and love are supposed to be synonymous, Nellie learned to hate, her hatred growing in strength and intensity as one black day succeeded another, and the persecutions of the Jews increased in volume, in their variety and cruelty. However, she stayed at college some six or seven months longer.

* * *

In the spring of 1883, Nellie found herself an object of love. It was a young man of her acquaintance who now offered her his hand and heart. She hardly reciprocated the sentiment, but being more than ever in need of a friend, she was glad enough to receive his attentions. It is not at all improbable,

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too, that Nellie would sooner or later have come to love the young man she did not dislike, but her first romance was cruelly nipped in the bud. The mail carrier had one morning brought her a letter couched in the following terms:—

"SMOLENSK, May 19, 1883.

"*Dear Niece,*—

Have just received a notice of expulsion. In three weeks from now I shall leave this town a ruined man. You must come home. You are, of course, welcome to a share in whatever may be left to us, but your continuing your studies is, under the circumstances, out of the question.

YOURS, ETC.

"Come home!" she exclaimed, repeating those words in a tone of voice almost terrible for a tender girl of her age. Then, the first shock over, she began to revolve various plans in her mind, finally deciding upon one. "But," said she to herself, "*he* must know something about it. He might take it into his head to follow me, and I have no right to drag my friends into the whirlpool after me."

In the midsummer of that year the population of the British metropolis was increased by one poor soul. It is true, the young woman's heart was broken, but the census man counts folks without in the least bothering about integrity of hearts.

* * *

In London Nellie spent a few years trying to live. She only managed to vegetate. With all her knowledge absolutely inapplicable to anything, and her inability to eke out a regular living of any kind by manual labor, nothing she turned to seemed to prosper in her hands. In turns she worked hard at capmaking, buttonhole sewing, at needlework of almost every other description, at cigarette rolling, even at letter-writing (for illiterate countrywomen); but none of these occupations yielded her, on an average, fully six shillings a week, while gradually destroying her once robust health.

Nellie was soon in a fearful plight. Too ill to work, too honest to steal, too proud to beg, even too proud to apply for temporary assistance in the shape of a loan, she had starvation staring her in the face. With her colorless eyes, her emaciated cheeks, her faded lips, her neglected teeth, and her bending knees, she looked the very image of wretchedness personified. And the clouds kept gathering very fast. The arrears of her rent had accumulated to a *non plus ultra* extent, and her landlady, herself very poor, at last gave her notice to quit. She was not unprepared for that, and left the house without a murmur.

There was the workhouse, but no Russian Jewess ever went there. What else? Well, the streets and the sky. Alas! The streets in November are inhospitable, and the sky was chilling and terribly unfriendly.

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When, after a day's wandering, the night overtook her, Nellie was sitting under the portico of a house in one of the least frequented streets. The rest was a great relief to her, and she was on the point of going off to sleep when she was rudely awakened by a watchful guardian of the public peace, and told to move on. Resigned to her fate she crawled along. A well-dressed young man passed by, glanced at her, and concluded that she was drunk. Having given vent to his feelings by violently spitting on the pavement, he quickened his pace, and soon disappeared in the darkness. After this Nellie made several fruitless attempts to give her tired limbs a rest, and was half-dead when the merciless night was gone at last.

With a few pennies, obtained at the cost of the last articles of comfort, she managed to keep body and soul together during the next few days; but rest there was none as the cold, angry nights relieved each retiring, gloomy day. Rest came at last, though.

One bleak November night London got enveloped in a dense, black, suffocating fog. No policeman, not even the most lynx-eyed, can then penetrate into the doings of the poor settled on doorsteps in the streets. Nellie slept, having closed her eyes with a fervent blessing addressed to the kind, merciful fog. The same happened on the night following. "Oh, that blessed, blessed fog!" she said. The third night was better still. She slept so soundly that when the stifling darkness at length cleared away, the constable "on duty" found it impossible to rouse her. Nellie was dead.

But Russia was purged of one moral monster, of one Jewess, at all events.

MORRIS WINCHEVSKY.

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The Confusion of Tongues.

Reform or Revolution.

"  ND the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.

"Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

"So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city.

"Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."*

What the Lord is here described as having done is exactly what we Socialists have now to undo; we have to put an end to the confusion of tongues first and we may then hope to put an end to the confusion of nations afterwards.

The competitive system operating between nations puts between them barriers not only of Space but of Language; and operating within nations puts between them barriers of Class which are added to these, so that we are never all allowed to get together nor when some of us do find ourselves together are we permitted to understand one another. The difficulties of space are not immediately surmountable; but those of language can be surmounted, and it is to the task of surmounting one or two of them that the following pages are devoted.

The first confusion attacked will be that contained in the words "Reform" and "Revolution" and my first contention is that these words must in their very nature and do as a matter of fact have a totally different meaning in America from what they have in Germany.

Germany is taken as a contrast to our own country because it is to Germany that we owe the great work of Marx and most of our Socialist literature; it is in Germany that Socialism is the most highly organized and it is by Germany that our tactics are for the most part determined.

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* Genesis, Chapter XI, 6-9.

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Amongst modern writers Kautsky, one of the orthodox apostles of the Marxian Gospel, has written an Article on Reform and Revolution which naturally suggests itself to all who think on the fundamental questions to which these words give rise.

The most important of these questions, because our tactics depend upon it, is this: Can Socialism be attained by Reform or must it be conquered by Revolution?

Kautsky recognizes that the French Revolution in 1789 is the one to which the public mind naturally reverts as the type of all revolution[1] but he insists that all revolution need not for that reason be attended by "force, as for example street fights or execution"[2]; what he regards as the essential difference between reform and revolution is that reform is a concession granted by, or wrung from the class in power, whereas "revolution proceeds from the class which has been economically or politically oppressed." Turgot's measures were reform; the measures voted by the Convention were revolutionary because "between the two lay the conquest of political power by a new class."

Kautsky proceeds from this definition to discuss whether this conquest of political power can be secured by successive reforms or whether it can only be attained after "a great decisive battle"[3]. In other words his book is a condemnation of "step by step" and a vindication of revolutionary tactics.

Now, while Kautsky's definition is *so far as it goes* correct, it contributes nothing to the solution of the question before us. The moment he defines revolution as the conquest of political power by the oppressed, we are all revolutionary, for all of us—even those he condemns as "parlor Socialists"—will be satisfied with nothing less. The only issue between us is as to whether we are to wait on the border of the promised land—as Moses did—until we have an army numerically superior to that opposed to us, or whether, confident in the justice of our cause, we are going to march boldly forward with the army we have—like Joshua—capturing every strategic point according as the lay of the land permits, step by step.

So instead of adopting Socialism "as a fad" with no weapon save "persuasion" and "moral superiority"[4] we step by step men are the ones who are clamoring for action; who are challenging our leaders to talk less and act more; and who, as we impatiently

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1 p. 8. "The great transformation which began in France in 1789 has become the classical type of Revolution."
The translation of A. M. and May Wood Simons published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. is the edition referred to.
2 p. 7.
3 p. 82, 83.
4 p. 48.

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clash shield and spear, present a far more revolutionary aspect than those who sneer at us from philosophic heights because we ask to be led into battle.

But all this is not the fault of Mr. Kautsky; nor is it our fault; it is the fault of "the Lord" and of the confusion of tongues. What is a reform in America is a revolution in Germany; what is a revolution in Germany is a reform in America; how then can there be an understanding between us till this immense confusion is cleared away!

I. In the first place revolution implies a great deal more than a conquest of power by the oppressed class; it includes the idea of a destruction of political machinery. The Convention destroyed three things before it achieved the so-called conquest; it destroyed the Throne, the Nobility and the Church; it had to destroy these three things before it could get control of the great fourth factor of government, the Army. Now in Germany *these three things still stand between the oppressed and the political power they seek;* and they probably have to destroy all three before socialism can be attained. In America none of these things stand in our way; neither King nor Noble, nor Clerk; all *we* have to do is to *agree.*

II. In the second place Revolution generally involves the construction of new political machinery to replace that which has been destroyed. At present the Prussians have neither manhood suffrage nor secret ballot; and either they must get this before they conquer power or they must introduce it after they have conquered it. The present riots in Berlin indicate that some violence must be exerted and suffered before this essential weapon of Democracy can be secured there.

In America we have both; manhood suffrage and the secret ballot; in four States we have even female suffrage in addition; *all we have to do is to use them.*

III. In the third place Revolution is inextricably associated in the public mind with the use of extra-political methods for securing political ends. The extra-political method habitually used up to the present time is violence or resistance that results in violence: the capture of the Bastille is an illustration of the one and Hampden's refusal to pay ship money an illustration of the other. Now this is I think *the* essential distinction between Reform and Revolution; and Kautsky's whole scheme of argument proves it: for after having shown the difficulty, if not the impossibility of ever securing a parliamentary majority for Socialism in Germany owing to the Laodicean lukewarmness of the few intellectuals, bourgeois and farmers* whose minds are at all open to Socialistic theory, he explains that it is with extra-

* pp. 45-54.

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parliamentary weapons that he believes the "decisive battle" will be fought and amongst them he enumerates: the disaffection of the army; strikes; and adroit use of the conditions produced by war* .

Kautsky is doubtless right as regards Germany; deplorably right; but as regards America he is altogether wrong; *Socialism can be attained in America by political methods,* that is to say by a political majority; why this is so can best be discussed under our fourth and last heading, namely

IV. The Socialists in Germany have no one issue which will unite the oppressed class.

In America we have.

And as this is the crucial point, it must be given a little preliminary study:

Socialists are agreed that the thing we ultimately aim at is the public ownership of all sources of production, including of course all franchises and the machinery for distributing the necessaries of life; this does not necessarily mean *government* ownership; what Socialists want is that the ownership be *public,* so that the benefits therefrom go to the public and not to a privileged class.

Now in Germany Government ownership largely prevails: the Government owns the Railroads and the Mines; the Municipalities for the most part own waterworks, gasworks and trams and the Government uses this ownership to oppress the people; for example the ballot not being secret, all the servants of the Railways, Tramways, gasworks, etc., who have a vote dare not cast it for the Socialist Party for by so doing they would lose their employment. But this is not all: Not only does the Government by this ownership of Railroads deprive the proletariat of votes; it also deprives the proletariat of a far more precious thing —an issue. Kautsky very persuasively explains that there is in Germany no issue that will unite the factory hand and the farmer; and that so long as the farmer votes against the factory hand a parliamentary majority is difficult if not impossible. And so Kautsky depends more upon the defection of the military, the strike and even war, than on parliamentary majorities for the ultimate conquest of political power.

Obviously then in Germany according to Kautsky *public* as opposed to *government* ownership cannot be secured through a parliamentary majority but only through a "great decisive battle" or in other words a revolution.

In America the situation is almost the exact reverse: In the first place our enemy is not the Government: it is Wall Street. Our government is *not* in possession of our railroads,

* pp. 88-98.

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our franchises or our factories; but Wall Street *is*. The Government can not use this ownership to oppress us but Wall Street does.

On the other hand Wall Street does not present to us a homogeneous, well-drilled political majority. On the contrary it is not organized politically at all; it is divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, both of which being politically corrupt it alternately controls.

Again the rule of Wall Street is a far more obvious oppression than the rule of Government in Germany; in the shape of the Capitalist it obviously oppresses the Workingman by keeping down wages; in the shape of the Trust it obviously oppresses the Tradesman by its control of prices; in the shape of the Railroad it obviously oppresses the Farmer by keeping up rates. Moreover it has not the sanction of our constitution; on the contrary it is a monstrous violation of our constitutional rights; and because it is unconstitutional, un-American and intolerable, it outrages the conscience of every American who has a conscience left to outrage. An issue then aimed straight at Wall Street ought to unite all these. Now no issue will constitute a more direct step towards Socialism than public ownership; for public ownership means an eight hour day for the employé; the elimination of trusts for the tradesman and low rates for the farmer. Last, but not least, *Public Ownership is an issue upon which the oppressed class can ride into power* if it unites a majority at the polls on election day; such a vote will transfer political power from the wealthy minority to the unwealthy majority, and the transfer will take place without violence, without the destruction of political machinery, without military defection, without strikes and without war.

And so we are brought back to the contention with which we started, that what is reform in America is a revolution in Germany, and what is a revolution in Germany is a reform in America; for Public Ownership which has been repudiated as a mere reform by Socialists in America turns out to be an issue upon which the transfer of power from the exploiters to the exploited — that is to say a Kautskian revolution — can be effected; and although this transfer of political power can only be effected in Germany by a veritable revolution—that is to say by extra political weapons such as military defection, strikes and war—; it can be attained in America by the peaceful exercise of the ballot and upon so moderate a reform as Public Ownership.

All the foregoing must not be understood to be an effort to prove that the adoption of Public Ownership as a political slogan is recommended to the Socialist party in America; on the contrary the question of the particular issue, on which we are to

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deliver battle or indeed whether we should ever deliver battle upon any narrower issue than the whole Socialist platform is a grave subject for debate not yet attempted in these pages. All we have endeavored to prove as yet, is that, because extra-political methods must be resorted to in Germany, they need not necessarily be resorted to here; the conditions are different here and because of different conditions we do not use the words reform and revolution in the same sense here as they are used in Germany. There being no Throne, no Nobility, no Church between us and our goal, we have no obstacle in our way to destroy; we already have the political machinery at our disposal if we will only agree to use it; in a word, we can peacefully secure by what we understand as Reform what in Germany can only be attained by Revolution.

There are of course objections to the adoption of Public Ownership as our political platform. The principal objection has probably been best expressed by Mr. A. M. Simons as follows: He fears, "the advocacy of such measures to such an extent as to bring into the organization members not fully in accord with the main purpose of the party"* and that the party will thus be diverted from the essential feature of the Socialist party, that is to say the substitution of co-operation for competition through the whole economic field.

The thorough discussion of this important point is impossible in the space left to me, but a word may be said on the subject if only to bring out another illustration of the difficulty in which a German finds himself when he undertakes either to prophesy or to dictate concerning matters of tactics in another country.

All Socialists are, I think, agreed that they cannot be satisfied with anything less than the ultimate realization of the whole Socialist programme, but in some countries Socialists are obliged to recognize that the class that is most interested in the realization of this programme is least disposed to adopt it; in other words there is among the majority of Trade Union men in America an aversion to Socialism which, however unfounded, Socialists must recognize as an undoubted and deplorable fact.

Under these circumstances another issue which has greatly divided Socialists is as to what the relations between Socialists and Trade Unionists should be. In Wisconsin the question has been solved by the Socialists under the leadership of Victor L. Berger. There they have persuaded the Trade Unions that while Trade Unions constitute the *economic* weapon—or arm—as Berger calls it, the Socialists constitute the *political* weapon or arm of the workingman. There is therefore in Wisconsin not only absence of friction but actual co-operation between the two,

* International Socialist Review, Vol. VI. p. 494.

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and the result of this is that Wisconsin is the only State in the Union where the Socialists poll a sufficiently large vote to constitute an appreciable factor in politics, and the only State where the Socialist party has secured actual legislative results. Unfortunately such co-operation does not seem to be possible in other States. It is notably impossible in New York where workingmen can hardly speak of Socialism without irritation.

The experience, however, of England upon this point is singularly illuminating, and all the more so because with the exception of the intellectuals, no one receives a larger dose of criticism and contempt at the hands of Mr. Kautsky than the English Trade Unions. "Nowhere," says he, "is political freedom greater than in England, and nowhere is the proletariat politically more helpless. It has not simply lost all independence in the higher politics; it no longer knows even how to preserve its immediate interests."[1]

And again: "Even the latest scourgings of their opponents have not served to rouse the proletariat of England. They remain dumb ,even when their hands are rendered powerless, dumb when their bread is made more costly. The English laborers to-day stand lower as a political factor than the laborers of the most economically backward country in Europe—Russia. It is the real revolutionary conciousness in these latter that gives them their great political power. It is the renunciation of revolution, the narrowing of interest to the interests of the moment, to the so-called practical politics, that have made the latter a cipher in actual politics."[2]

In a book published in 1901, but written in 1898[3] I ventured to predict that the prosperity of English Trade Unions could only last as long as English Trade was expanding and that when this expansion was checked, as it certainly must be, the defeat of the Trade Unions in their effort to maintain high wages with contracting trade, would drive them into politics.

Owing to the defeat of the Engineers in their great strike of 1897-1898, Trade Union Congresses had already begun to listen without impatience to Socialist doctrine and the Taff Vale decision proved the last straw that broke the back of their unwillingness to enter into the field of politics.

Events have since shown how unmerited was Kautsky's contempt, how effectual Trade Unions can prove on the political field and how political action inevitably swells the ranks of the Socialists. With a membership of only forty-one in a Parliament of nearly seven hundred, the Labor Party has obtained legislation

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1 p. 100.
2 pp. 100, 101.
3 Human Evolution, Vol. II p. 149 and 525.

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which has reversed the Taff Vale decision, and,—what is far more important — the Labor Members of Parliament though elected upon a purely Trade Union platform, have for the most part to-day become Socialists. The President of the Party, Keir Hardie, is a Socialist, and so is their secretary, Mr. McDonald.*

And this might have been foreseen in advance.

Socialism is not a mere programme; it is a destiny. Ever since the beginning of civilization, humanity has been moving slowly, it is true, and unconsciously, but inevitably towards Socialism. It has staggered on the way as a drunken man staggers, driven by action and reaction hither and thither, and sometimes lying for centuries helplessly in the gutter. But every time humanity has stood upon its feet, the inevitable and necessary direction of its movement has been towards Socialism.

The question Socialists have now to decide is whether humanity is to continue to stagger or whether it shall at last begin to walk. Unfortunately Socialists to-day are not content with walking; they want to fly. Mr. Dooley will not believe in flying machines until they have laid eggs; I am not so exacting; I only insist that until Socialists have developed wings and have learned how to use them, I shall be content to walk. What I object to is either staggering or standing still.

It seems to me that Socialists lack faith in their own principles. They stand in fear of being captured by somebody. They, whose mission it is to capture and conquer the entire universe, quake and tremble lest some one should capture and conquer them; and because of this terror, keep aloof from the real battlefield altogether. But when men go into battle they risk capture and even death. Those who are not willing to risk these things must not enroll in the Socialist army. Above all they must not undertake to dictate to the Socialist army what it shall do. It is as though we had with infinite labor and care constructed a great ship, prepared for it engines of untold horse-power; guns of unimagined calibre; plate after plate of impenetrable armor; and yet when the moment arrived to launch the ship, we were suddenly arrested by a cry of warning: "What! will you confide this, the product of years of labor to the dangers of the deep; of sinking of its own weight, or if it does not sink, of capture by the enemy? Will you deliver it over to a crew that may soil its decks, flood its boilers and tarnish its machinery? Let us be cautious. Let us keep this beautiful ship on the stocks, where, though it be perfectly useless, it is at any rate perfectly safe."

*) Since this article was written a Convention of the Labor Party has adopted Socialism as the party programme.

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Perfectly useless perhaps, but not perfectly safe. While we quarrel over its destinies, it is threatened by dry rot and because we are afraid to use it, it may be putting itself by its own inertia beyond the reach of use.

I do not mean by the foregoing that the Socialist party should at once or ever adopt a political platform such as public ownership. On the contrary there are other ways of carrying on the fight. Caesar did not disdain to use auxiliaries; why then should we? And who are our natural auxiliaries in this great struggle? They include all the victims of existing conditions; whether they choose to organize in the Socialist party, or whether they prefer to organize a more comprehensive party with a less comprehensive programme, is a matter that ought to be indifferent to Socialists. The only matter of vital interest to Socialists is that our auxiliaries be organized *and that we have a hand in that organization,* so that when the day of battle comes we shalll stand side by side and not find our natural fellow soldiers in the ranks of the enemy.

The Socialist party in a word has a higher mission than it seems yet to have realized. By all means let our own ranks remain homogeneous and our own ideals high; let us model our phalanx after that of the Sacred Band, pledged to unceasing and uncompromising effort till the goal is won; round us the hottest battle will rage and the weaker brothers falter and fly; but only to rally again—as the Boeotians at Delium—to our unbroken front; meanwhile let us organize all our natural allies in regiments of their own; let us assist them to conquer strategic point after strategic point until they have occupied enough of the enemy's country to justify the hurling of our Sacred Band straight at the Capitol itself. As to caution, let us be cautious indeed in our preparation but in our attack send caution to the winds.

In conclusion let us recognize that while our courageous comrades in Germany have an unrelenting enemy to fight *on the outside,* our enemy is *on the inside*—in the fierce individualism of American character. Individualism has been the sieve through which European immigration has sifted into America; none but individualists have passed through. Our most difficult task is to handle our own forces. Macaulay has somewhere said that the English Church has remained English whereas the Roman Church has become Catholic because Rome knew and England did not know how to utilize enthusiasm. Wesley was driven by Anglican intolerance to organize his *Methodists* outside the Church; Ignatius Loyala, Francis of Assisi and Francis of Sales organized their followers in Orders *within* the Church. Let us learn a lesson from Rome; let us not discourage enthusiasm by criticism and contempt; on the contrary let us encourage it; let us help the American Fabian to publish tracts; the American

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labor man to secure his eight hour law; the American seamstress to get her vote; and as we are helping these diverse enthusiams let us harness them; and as we harness, let us train them; until we attach them all to our chariot and start at last on our triumphant way. EDMOND KELLY.

The Strength of Millions.

With song of the dynamo-swirling incessantly sounded,
With chant of scurrying bobbins and clashing cranks,
With song of the dynamo-swirling incessantly sounded,
With rhythm of packed steam pounding the piston-tanks,
We, that are factory hands—yea, hands, not Souls,—
We, that are slaves of the mill's strong Soul, the Machine,
Call in once more our God, whose great voice rolls
Unheard in the engine-roar of our Human Scene.

O, God is scattered broadcast in the Earth's two billions,
We call Him into a fire that sweeps the race,
His Humans are stricken and kindled millions by millions,
One by one catches fire, face by face!
And the skies become the roof of a church eternal,
And the Earth is as a floor in the house of God—
And Work is Worship, and weird the rhythm diurnal
Of human speech with the touch of Soul is starred!

Lo, we sway in our millions in one congregration,
A new Divine Service, a Service of social deeds,
Yea, and drive home the fires of Revelation
With the sledge of Love, the simple meeting of needs!
O thou God, we thought that Thy house of Earth
Was a prize-fight ring where our fed lords watched as we bled,
How could we know in the smoke and the stench and the mirth
We stood in Thy church? Yea, were our brains not dead?

Lo, we have gazed on our lords where they smoke and drink,
Lo, we have gazed on ourselves in the polished steel plates,
Slowly our eon-fogged minds pierce through and think,
Think, think through this whirlwind of bales and crates,
Think, think through to the Pain in the Engine, the Human,
Think, think through to the Cry of the Steel-Work, Man—
O the wild underworld horror of Man and Woman
Where the sunk caissons shoulder the Bridge's span!

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Earth is a slaughterhouse weird with the screaming Souls
That go to the mangling and kill; but our butcher-lords
Live in the Silence far, far from our bloody goals,
And slaughter by wireless,—weapon so sweeter than swords!
But lo! a wireless answers back from the skies!
Lo! the crowd-hearts click—click—click with a shock—
We arise, we are wild with the Word, we uplift our cries,
"God, is it Thou?" And lo, the Soul-gates unlock!

Unlock, and poured on the Earth like a simoom of fire,
Faith catches up the Earth crowds, wild faith, living faith,
And the strength of two billion Souls with a common desire
Becomes a might which shall reckon with the Living Death!
Up, ye in bondage, the Releaser calls, the Earth rolls
Shouting in new free skies; up, ye downtrod!
Raise the vast anthem of eternal Souls
God-mighty in the infinite House of God!

O be uplift, my million brothers in prison,
Burst the steel-doors, break, mighty, the iron bars,
Rally, ye circling millions, to the fire of the Vision,
Go out to the Lord under the night of the stars,
Go out to the Lord, ye millions a-march in the street,
Send one in another your Souls, be one in the Lord—
In the rhythm and trample and chant of your marching feet
Shall ye be freed and uplift and released and restored!

JAMES OPPENHEIM.

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A Nation of Ostriches.



ERNARD SHAW has called us a nation of villagers and incidentally says some very true things. If he closely watched recent events, he will probably charge us in the near future with being a nation of ostriches and very gun-shy at that. The ostrich, in hiding his head in the sand at the approach of danger, is like the little boy who draws the bedclothes over his head when he hears a noise and fancies he is safer than before.

Undeniably the muck-raker is in bad repute with the American people. So long as he confines himself to something afar off, we laud him, but, when he gets near our own toes and sticks the probe into our own intimate affairs, we condemn him and stick our heads into the sand. Of course, in doing this, we are not doing wrong. We are only following the dictates of the first law of nature, self-preservation. Nevertheless, it is the lucky doctor who does not occasionally find it necessary to turn his probe upon himself.

As in a good many other things, we believe in publicity so long as it does not make public anything of importance. We believe in the publicity of orthodoxy, which is "my doxy" and we abhor the publicity of heterodoxy which is the other fellow's doxy. Witness the present (or recent) financial stringency. Our first overt act, when we recovered our breath, was to seal up as many avenues of publicity as possible in order to conceal from ourselves the true state of affairs. This was the general policy and aroused no opposition except from the Socialists. Like the man going through the graveyard at midnight, we kept up a prodigious whistling. After seeing but one little corner of the catastrophic results of widespread and long-known business and financial chicanery, we drew the curtain and closed our eyes.

Day after day, the wise editors of the financial columns acted as if nothing much had happened and confidently asserted that liquidation was over and that the market had definitely turned upward. They did this for policy's sake and everyone approved. Every little fellow who was afraid he'd lose his job approved. Every little merchant who was trying to work off a stock of goods approved. Every bank that was trying to sell out stocks with which it was loaded approved. And yet the statements were false and, if the editors did not absolutely know them to be false, at least they did not know them to be true.

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Day after day, the announcement was made that everything was all right, when every man in the country, no matter how circumscribed his own little experience may have been, knew that everything was far from all right. Every man who had to accept, in place of money, checks which were almost impossible to cash, knew that everything was not all right. Manufacturers who perceived their orders falling off, knew that such an announcement was untrue. Every dealer who knew that collections were "fierce", recognized the falsity at once, yet each one kept on whistling, stuck his head in the sand and allowed the lie to pass unchallenged.

Day after day, with all possible show of authenticity, it would be announced that all the banks which had so far weathered the storm, were safe, an announcement that had hardly found its way into the hands of the readers until another failure would come along to prove its falsity.

A long-established custom of immediately making public the condition of closed banks was overturned and only the most meager information was given out. Here was a violation of the law which was considered a virtue of the highest type.

Think what you please about the financial situation, but don't say a word. Act and talk as if you thought it was all right. Lie to yourself and to everyone else. That was the slogan. Keep up a prodigious whistling. Talk about the sunset, the famine in China, the next or the last polar expedition, but not a word about the financial situation as you value your standing in the community as a loyal liar. Talk about this politician or that, this candidate or that, but do not, for the world, offer the slightest hint against the great god Business.

That is the way of ostriches. They lie to themselves. But we have not always been that way. Time was when events such as have been and are transpiring, would have precipitated intellectual debates without end throughout the land, both in and out of Congress. Time was when from twenty-five to fifty per cent. at least of the newspapers would have spoken right out in meetin'.

Why the change? Does it come from a tacit understanding that our affairs, our business system, are so woefully out of joint that they will not stand plain talk? That would certainly be the conclusion of a casual observer, of the Man From Mars. If that is so, all the more reason why we should talk about them, quick and lively. If that is so, we are on the shifting sands and the wisest man is he who first recognizes it and demands its consideration. Is anything to be gained by supine silence? But a few days ago, we were talking about our unexampled prosperity and our wonderful banking system. Not even the most venturesome optimist now talks in that strain. Why the

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change? We know ourselves too well not to know, if we still believed we had unexampled prosperity and an ultra-wonderful banking system, that we would not hesitate to say so. We have never posed as modest. What therefore is the logical conclusion?

The logical conclusion is that we no longer think as we did, but we are too cowardly to frankly admit it. But what is to be gained by silence? Why not look the facts square in the face? Why not speak the truth and hew to the line, letting the chips fall where they will? Honesty is the best policy. Why not discover the worst as soon as possible and not content ourselves with covering up the sore spots with courtplaster and rags and then forgetting the patient? Even that would be all right if it did the patient any good, but it does not.

I know why we falter and every man that reads this knows. It is because of a myopic fearsomeness, because we are ostriches. It is because each man's nose is on his own grindstone which prevents him from taking a large view of affairs. Each one of us thinks he can cover up his own little head and escape the general storm.

If we think at all about "big affairs", we take the jingoistic view that we have reached the pinnacle of all that's possible in civilization and that, in order to remain at that dizzy height, we must carefully balance ourselves on one foot, fearing to breathe lest we suddenly be precipitated into the uttermost depths of the middle ages. We feel that certain institutions which have grown up and with which we have been wont to glorify ourselves are *sine qua nons* to our very existance.

Oh, fie! Civilization is not so ephemeral and evanescent as all that. Civilization is, after all, more of a tendency than a realized goal and we have not yet reached the after-us-the-deluge stage. Not by a long shot. Nothing has happened to render less intrinsically valuable the products and contents of the farms and mines of this country. Nothing has happened to destroy the knowledge which scientists have organized and classified throughout the centuries. Nothing has happened to render abortive the efforts of Darwin, Burbank, Edison, Morse, Marconi and millions of others who have pointed out more or less distinct paths to a higher life. Nothing has happened, comparable to the San Francisco earthquake or a mighty war, to unduly destroy the existing works of man.

What then has happened? Merely that indisputable evidence has been furnished of the utter inadequacy of certain ways of doing business to twentieth century conditions. Nothing has happened to prove that we are not able to produce goods in plenty to meet the needs of our people, but something has happened to show that our methods of distributing those goods,

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our medium of exchange, are outworn and antiquated. That's all.

If the blind leadeth the blind, then shall they both fall into the ditch. It is to laugh that our knowledge of the world and its eternal laws is so slight in this enlightened twentieth century, that a little truth about our business and industrial affairs can turn the wheels of time back to the stone age. If we were confronted by the bubonic plague or a dreadful famine, we might be justified in bewailing our fate. But it is neither one of these nor anything similar. We have our health. We have our wits. We have the goods, which only wait to be properly distributed.

It is not money we need, but goods which must be in the proper place at the proper times. We can not eat, wear or live in money, or burn it for fuel. Money is an institution, a way of doing things, if you please. Is a nation which finds itself able to telegraph across the Atlantic without cables, going to acknowledge defeat before a matter so slight as the distribution of actual tangible goods to the production of which there is no conceivable limit? That is the question which must be attacked in our national and state legislative halls, in our universities, in our clubs and debating societies, in our churches, everywhere, until we stand forth the proud victor instead of the slinking vanquished.

Let us not be like the ostrich, not "like the quarry slave at night, scourged to his dungeon", but like free men, freed by truth and light, with all the inherited powers of many centuries full of invention and discovery. Let us know the worst and do the best.

ELLIS O. JONES.

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Universal Military Service.



ILLIAM H. CARTER, a brigadier-general in the United States army, writing in the January number of the North American Review, presents a few facts and a suggestion that are worthy of the most thoughtful consideration. From the Socialist view-point it is probably the most important article that has appeared in recent years upon the subject of "Militarism" in America.

The general is a graduate of the United States Military Academy and in his thirty-five years of active service has risen from the rank of a second lieutenant to that of a general in command of the Department of the Lakes, with headquarters at Chicago. He has a thorough knowledge of the status in which the American land forces are maintained at the present time, and in no uncertain terms he points out their utter inadequacy to cope with the best that any first-class Power might offer in opposition.

The article is written under the title "When Diplomacy Fails," and that it must fail General Carter seems to have not the slightest doubt. In fact, this defender of capitalism in America seems to have a very clear conception of the Socialist theory of "economic determinism," for he says: "It is easy for a nation to profess high-mindedness; but in the eternal warfare for commercial supremacy, it is much easier to be good if the consequences of an opposite course are to be feared." He is mindful of the efforts that have been made toward the disarmament of the nations and universal peace, also of the fact that most of the great world powers are expending enormous sums of wealth in the development of their naval strength. But he is certain that conflicts will arise between the nations that are struggling for commercial supremacy, that in these conflicts much will depend upon the land forces, and that the United States army has been neglected to an extent that is positively alarming.

Aside from Coast Artillery which is practically immovable and of use only in repelling attack made at established points, the American army of to-day has but fifteen regiments of Cavalry, thirty regiments of Infantry and six regiments of Field Artillery not yet thoroughly organized, a total of about sixty thousand regular troops if all the regiments were recruited on a war footing, but most of the regiments have barely one-half that strength. As a further consideration, one-

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half of the Infantry and nearly the same proportion of Cavalry is on duty in our various "island possessions," which means that only a handful of well trained and thoroughly equipped men are available for the purpose of repelling invasion or suppressing insurrection within the borders of the States.

The Dick Militia Bill, passed by congress and signed by the president January 21, 1903, provides, "That the militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states and territories, and the District of Columbia, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen, who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age." The second section of the bill provides that certain government officials and employes shall be exempted from militia duty, also all persons who are exempted by the laws of the several states and all members of religious organizations whose creeds forbid participation in war.

This bill, which has become a law makes soldiers of all of us, subject to the command of the president of the United States and the Governor of the State in which we live, unless exempted in the manner described above. It divides the militia into two classes—"the organized militia, to be known as the National Guard, and the remainder to be known as the reserve militia."

The total strength of the "organized militia" at present is about one hundred and five thousand, and there are upwards of ten million men who constitute the "reserve militia." But General Carter does not think very much of the ten millions who belong to the reserve militia, and, indeed, he has not a very exalted opinion of the one hundred and five thousand who belong to the organized militia. He says: "At a recent annual inspection of the National Guard by Regular Army officers, about fifteen per cent. of the men were reported absent. Out of a total of 2,179 organizations of all kinds, 1,437 were reported as fully armed, uniformed and equipped for field service at any season of the year."

Summing up all of his figures regarding the military strength of the nation the General concludes as follows:

"With these facts as a basis and past experience as a guide, it may be safely predicted that it will be a practical impossibility to assemble, at any point in the United States, two completely organized Army Corps of Regulars and Organized Militia. With proper regard for the general defence, in the event of war with any first-class Power, detachments would immediately reduce the strength of these Corps, if ever assembled, below a state of fitness for offensive action.

"It is hardly possible to conceive of any war in which

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less than two hundred and fifty thousand men would be required at the start. All of the available men of the Regular Army in the United States, and of the National Guard, would amount to but little more than one-third of that number. The outlook for any material increase in numbers and efficiency of the National Guard is not encouraging. On the contrary, the surprising part is that so many officers and men are willing to devote their time and personal means to building up creditable National Guard organizations in the face of lack of appreciation, general indifference and much actual antagonism. Some of the existing organizations are hardly worthy to be called soldiers, but many others have not only fitted themselves to answer the call of duty in emergencies, but have the framework upon which to rapidly build splendid regiments of Volunteers. This is most creditable to their enthusiasm and patriotism, but it should not prevent a recognition of the fact that the existing system and laws do not meet the needs of State and Nation."

The above words uttered by an army general who knows whereof he speaks, ought to have the effect of green persimmons in the mouths of American capitalists. It is true that the General speaks mostly with reference to "war with some first-class Power," and situated as we are, geographically, and having close at hand a magnificent navy, there is really but little if any danger of invasion by a foreign foe; but here and there the General had to let slip a more or less guarded reference to the possibility of some sort of internal "rebellion against the authority of the United States," and this brings us to the point which should be of interest to the whole working class of America and especially to that portion of the working class which is class-conscious and revolutionary.

The tactics employed by the Socialist party at present aims at the capturing of the powers of government through political action, united action of the working class at the ballot box, and if this policy is to be adhered to the capitalists are really in no immediate danger of losing control of the industrial and political situation. But suppose the Socialist party with its half a million voters should change its tactics and begin secretly to organize military companies. We have many party members who have had military training either in the regular army or militia of this country or of some European country, and it is certain that a number of first rate strategists could be quickly developed. There is already a sufficient number of party members in many of the industrial centers of America, if they were properly organized and instructed, to swoop down upon the military garrisons that are situated in the outskirts of the cities, surprise the sleepy

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sentinels on guard, pour into the barracks where the soldiers sleep and capture the gun racks. If properly planned and executed, the battle might be won without the firing of a single shot. Away from the industrial centers of the country there are not half a dozen regiments of soldiers and these would stand but small chance against a half million determined rebels.

Of the national guard organizations, a majority of the companies are located in the large cities. Their arms are generally kept at the armories, which are not guarded and to which access is easy of attainment. With the arms and armories of the city regiments and companies in the hands of rebels, the national guard would be disorganized and absolutely worthless.

However, it is not at all likely that the Socialist party will change its tactics; but regardless of whether or not there is any immediate danger from within or without, it is time that the American capitalists gave heed to the crying need for a stronger military if they would maintain their commercial supremacy and remain in control of the nation's industrial and political life.

General Carter proposes a plan, and it is akin to what the Socialists of Germany are demanding, a citizen soldiery, or, as the general calls it, "universal service." He says:

"The only way in which a State can secure an absolutely representative body of troops is by universal service in the Organized Militia. A State law requiring every young man, on coming of age, to serve one year in the Organized Militia, in organizations in which the officers and non-commissioned officers are appointed and not elected, would soon justify itself to all fair minded men for reasons not far to seek. Rich and poor alike would learn that the Organized Militia knows no class or creed, but stands for the majesty of the law. Lessons in patrotism, respect for flag and country and a high regard for citizenship would be some of the wholesome advantages of this system, under which there would be no purchasing of substitutes. The knowledge gained by actual service would allay the suspicions, and sometimes animosities of members of labor unions. More liberality in supplies and armories, enhanced State pride, improvement in knowledge of firearms and an increased ability to fulfil the highest duty of a cititzen of the republic would be the natural consequences of universal State service. In no other way can the great body of citizens be made acquainted with modern arms and training, and properly fitted to fulfil their obligation, when called upon under the provisions of the constitution, to suppress insurrection or repel invasion."

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In Germany and some other European countries, military service is compulsory, that is, all able-bodied male citizens upon attaining their majority are required by law to serve not less than two years. It is during this period of cumpulsory service that the men of Europe are trained to "fulfil the highest duty of a citizen" which is not to invent or improve productive machinery or processes, or to excel in art or letters, but to destroy human life whenever the interests of a ruling class demand it.

In America, in the past, this plan of compelling all young men to serve in the organized militia might have proven to the advantage of the capitalist class and it is possible that it might prove so just now. But the number of Socialist homes in America is constantly on the increase and the training which boys receive in these Socialist homes is such as would wholly unfit them for service in military organizations which exist solely for the purpose of maintaining and defending a class of parasites, idlers, who own the means of production and exploit those who perform the labor. In fact, the influence of these young Socialists in the capitalist's militia organizations would be decidedly undesirable for they would be continually spreading the propaganda of Socialism among their mates.

There are some Socialists in America who think that our young men should join the army of the organized militia and learn the methods in vogue with the capitalist's fighting machine. There are very many others who have never given the subject a single thought. But there are a few, among whom the writer of this article is included, who think that the best policy for the Socialists of America to pursue is to keep outside of the ranks of these military organizations and to carry on, by means of the circulation of literature, a vigorous campaign of propaganda among those workers who, unconsciously, have betrayed their class by joining the army or the militia.

It is not at all likely that the capitalists or their legislative agents will pay any attention to the recommendation of General Carter, for other men, both inside and outside of the army, have repeatedly called attention to the fact that the armed and trained forces in this country are insufficient to meet a demand that is apt to be made upon them at any time. The workers of America have been so thoroughly deceived as to their own interests that in the past they have always responded when called upon and served faithfully in the interests of the master class, and the masters are so confident that the workers will continue to be faithful that they can see no need of maintaining an expensive military establishment.

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The Socialists of America have reason to rejoice that the organized forces of militarism are so small and it is our business to so educate the workers that they will oppose all efforts to increase this power. In his lecture at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the subject, "The Failure of Philosophical Anarchism," Comrade Arthur M. Lewis finished his masterly discourse with this sentence: "If a workingman will use his ballot to vote for his master, what would he do with a gun?"

MAURICE E. ELDRIDGE.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN A REPUBLIC.



TOWARDS the end of the eighteenth century the development of negro slavery reached its most critical stage. This was mainly because of two events, which influenced both the political and the economic status of the South: First, the formal union of the American colonies into a nation, and, secondly, the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney. In their effect upon slavery these two events were diametrically opposed to each other, and it was the collision of the two opposed forces which not only created the negro question, but centered the entire subsequent history of the United States until the Civil War and for a good many years after that, around the black man.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century strong symptoms of the decay of slavery could be noticed. It had already vanished in the North, and was becoming less profitable in the South. The union of all colonies, which had taken place, in the face of a strong opposition, under pressure of unrelenting forces of economic necessity, made slavery an inevitable subject of issue between the North and the South; for the first time the Northern antagonism to slavery became a perceptible force in the South. Even the constitution bears the traces of such conflicts in the clause which prohibited the importation of new slaves after 1808. That was a compromise which must be considered as a material victory for the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. To these factors must be added the effect of the Haitian catastrophe of 1791, where the mutiny of the negroes, who greatly exceeded the white population in numbers, led to the extermination of the whites. Besides, during the period of economic stagnation which followed the revolutionary period, the profits of the exploitation of slaves could not be very high.

Rapidly even those states which fought against the suppression of the negro slave trade in the constitutional deliberations, one after the other passed laws, immediately and absolutely suppressing the importation of slaves; it actually seemed as if the young republic was on the verge of a peaceful solution of the slavery problem, as even George Washington had hoped.

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But Eli Whitney's invention at once destroyed the hopes for an early solution. This invention has solved the very difficult problem of separation of the fibre from the kernel of the cotton plant at small cost, which problem arose at the very beginning of cotton growing in the South. By means of this invention cotton growing soon became the main business of the South, rapidly increased the value of land property, and created a demand for a great quantity of very hard and very unhealthy labor, for which the negro was much more fit than the white man.

The temptation is great to devote many pages to an investigation of the economic development of the South, and the political events of the following sixty years. But for obvious reasons we must limit ourselves to those facts only which have a direct bearing upon the problem of the development of the relations between the white and the black man.

The growth of cotton culture in the South stimulated the development of the cotton industry in the entire world. The demand for cotton grew even more rapidly than the supply. The importation of slaves, which had been falling off towards the end of the eighteenth century, soon began to increase rapidly. The acquisition of Louisiana met the demand for additional territory, and slavery began to grow rapidly westward. When the nation was formed, the North had reasons to think that, being limited to a few states, the institution of slavery would die a slow but natural and inevitable death; and the conditions of the times justified such a view. But the beginning of the nineteenth century brought with it a complete reversal of the attitude of the South towards slavery.

During the sixty years that followed, the South never once ceased to make all possible efforts to establish its right to extend the system of slavery into the new regions of the acquired territories; while the North was forced to fight against these efforts, though with indifferent success for many years. The aim of the Southern planters was to re-establish the principle of legality of slavery throughout the union, and these efforts finally led to the historical struggle of the Civil War. Who knows but that if the South had not shown such a militant spirit, slavery might have survived until now in some of the more backward states? But this militant spirit was not willful or malicious, it was inevitable because slavery could only be made profitable in conjunction with extensive agriculture.

Notwithstanding the constitutional prohibition, the importation of the negroes continued throughout the entire period. Southern men who remember ante-war times admit that newly imported slaves could be found as late as 1861; and I have a statement of a very patriotic Southerner that his father had bought new, wild negroes less than one month before open hos-

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tilities had broken out, when the entire question of slavery was so hotly discussed throughout the land. It may now seem difficult to understand the speculative spirit which justified such investments on the eve of the great struggle. But new slaves were absolutely indispensable to the South. And under the influence of this necessity the ethical objections to the slave trade rapidly vanished. At the time of the formation of the republic all the Southern colonies, with the exception of Georgia and South Carolina, admitted that the forced importation of slaves from Africa was a very immoral and undesirable thing. Forty or fifty years later entirely different views were held in the South. Time went on and again conventions of Southern citizens during the thirties, forties and fifties expressed their conviction not only that slavery was just, but that even the slave trade and the capture of negroes in Africa for purposes of selling them into slavery could not be unjust or immoral. It was pointed out that the prohibition of such importation led to a creation of a monopoly in the negro trade in the hands of the states of Maryland and Virginia, and that it was therefore necessary to recall the provision in the constitution which prohibits the free importation of negroes. Among the reasons which have finally led to the war of secession this demand for the re-establishment of the importation of negroes was not the least important one.

But notwithstanding the smuggling in of considerable numbers of negroes the demand for labor could not be satisfied thereby, and the interstate trade in chattel slaves had rapidly grown. The border states, which did not need so many slaves, could dispose of their surplus and sell it down South. Gradually these states became veritable negro farms and the cases of forced family separations became much more frequent. This fate befell most frequently the children of the field negroes, who were so used to it that they took it quite philosophically. How profitable a business was this raising of negroes may be seen from the statement that about 1850 "a new-born picanniny was worth about $200 at his first cry."

One can easily see what an attitude towards negroes such a situation was forced to create. The negro woman, like a cow, was valued primarily for her capacity for child-bearing. On the other hand, the negro woman who worked in the field found it to her advantage to become pregnant as often as possible, for this freed her for some time from labor, and besides guaranteed her some kind of care and comfort. A high development or even preservation of chastity and modesty was not to be expected under such circumstances. The slave owners did all they could to lower the moral feeling of the slaves. Strong and healthy male negroes were coupled with females as bulls are with cows for the improvement of the stock, and it was not unusual for one

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slave owner to lend his "buck-nigger" to his neighbor. Often the slave owners themselves undertook this duty of improving the race, and the famous Southern chivalry towards women in general and their wives in particular did not at all interfere with these practices. The price of a mulatto was so much higher than that of an ordinary negro, that out of financial considerations the slave owners systematically encouraged the production of mulattoes and delegated it to their children, or friends, or to the white overseers of the slaves. There were few plantations on which blood relatives of the slave owners, brothers, children and grandchildren, did not work as slaves.

In the treatment of the negroes in the first half of the nineteenth century a noticeable step was taken backwards, as compared with the end of the preceding century. The distinction between house servants and field hands, which was noticeable in the colonial days, was strengthened and a greater part of the negroes belonged to the latter class. These became material of pure business enterprise, even up to the process of child-bearing in the interests of the employer exclusively. With the increase of the price of the slave from $700—$800 to $1,500 or more, the cases of inhuman treatment were more or less exceptional. But on the other hand the general treatment grew more severe and impersonal. The Northern abolitionists may have somewhat exaggerated the conditions, for obvious reasons, in describing the cruelty of the slave owners, but on the other hand, the apologists of slavery always liked to and even now frequently do draw pictures of conditions before the war that are entirely too mellow and mild. For even the Southerner, E. Ingle, who writes on slavery in a very apologetic tone, admits that chastisement by means of straps was a matter of common occurrence. And he quotes the opinion of a New Orleans *physician* of that period, who argued "that if any slaves were inclined to raise their heads to a level with their master or overseer, humanity and their own good require that they should be punished until they fall into that submissive state which it was intended for them to occupy."

The great number of freed slaves in the South, and the Northern propaganda in favor of abolition, news of which gradually reached the Southern negro, influenced the slave owners to keep the negro on a low level of intellectual development. The prohibition against teaching the negro again became stricter, and included even free negroes. It is true that under pressure of public opinion the slave owners were making efforts to convert their slaves into Christianity, and that towards the end of the Civil War there were almost no heathens among the slaves; but this work of Christianizing the slave proceeded under many precautions and restrictions, in order that religion might not raise any revolutionary tendencies among the slaves. The Southern

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clergy fulfilled its duty towards the slave owners so well that it succeeded in depriving Christianity of almost all its civilizing effects. Of the whole field of applied religion, or ethics, the only doctrine taught the negro was the doctrine of obedience. Even the doctrine of marital fidelity could not be taught; and to be frank, how would that doctrine have combined with the practices of the "buck-nigger"? In performing the ceremony of marriage the Christian cleryman administered the oath to remain faithful to their spouses "until death or *uncontrollable circumstances* (i. e., the will of the owner) shall divide them." Even in teaching the doctrine of the future life extraordinary precautions were necessary, for the promise of freedom in heaven could awake the thought of the desirability of freedom in this world. Therefore, teachers of the Lord's gospel would not go any further than the promise of a white skin in the other world to every good and obedient negro.

Such was the religion which the slave owners helped to spread, since they soon discovered that the negroes who most ardently visited the church usually made the very meekest and hardest working slaves.

Thus consciously, willfully, cunningly, the Southern slave owner endeavored to stupify and demoralize the negro population of this country, and many years later the results of this demoralization were pointed out as great argument against the biological potentalities of the race.

All these efforts were caused by the natural desire to preserve the economic advantages of the slavery system. It is not necessary to go here into an extensive discussion of the question, how far the slave system was profitable to the entire South. It is certain that, as Olmsted and other observers had pointed out in their own time, negro labor was not cheap labor by any means; that the working capacity of the negro, inert as he was, and absolutely disinterested in the result of his labor, was scarcely equal to one-half of the productivity of the white laborer. The high price of the negro made his labor dearer than the labor of the free wage worker in the North, and the fact that the negro slave represented an outlay of capital made his sustenance more expensive, as it forced upon the slave owner the cost of the care of the slave's health. Thus one finds a Southern economist in the early forties claiming that the natural progress of the South, by increasing the population and lowering the wages of free labor, would make the hiring of such free labor more profitable than owning slaves, and would thus create the natural conditions for the abolition of slavery. The well-known Northern economist, Carey, also thought that high prices of the slaves would lead to the abolition of slavery.

This rise in the price of slaves was most noticeable during

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the fifties, and by that time the financial position of the slave owners, with the possible exception of a few thousand magnates, was anything but enviable. The profits of their industry was constantly falling. Why, then, did they hold on so tenaciously to the profitless system?

In one of his interesting books of travel through the Southern states Olmsted relates that many slave owners would rent their slaves into the mines for $120 to $140 a year, which was considerably more than the corresponding wages in the North, when the additional cost of feeding the slave is considered. An income of $120 to $150 per annum was considerable, even at the price of $1,500. A freed negro usually received about $150 to $200 a year in addition to his food and lodgings, and a freed man could more easily save a competence in the South than a white laborer in the North.

In other words, because of the system of slavery prevailing, the South suffered from an insufficiency and high cost of labor, and slavery labor was necessary no matter whether dear or cheap. It is interesting to point out in this connection the obvious fact that at the present time the general rate of wages is much lower in the South than in the North. Individually each planter in the South felt the utter impossibility of getting along without the slaves, and a full emancipation of the slaves was feared as a crisis, the results of which could not be foretold. Finally there was the general hope of escaping the results of the rising prices of slaves by the acquisition of virgin and cheap land in the West.

While thus a number of potent economic causes forced the white South to hold on to the system of slavery, the psychology of the Southern gentleman,—in its turn the result of preceding economic conditions,—played a by no means insignificant part. The cumulative effects of two centuries of slavery, which Jefferson had feared so much, did not fail to manifest themselves. "The man must be a prodigy," wrote Jefferson, "who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. * * * With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed." The evidence of many travelers through the South in the middle of the last century fully corroborate the truth of these predictions of Jefferson. The rich white people of the South clearly demonstrated the evil effects of this system. The superficial polish and manners, the classical education, were often found side by side with the wildest debauchery and a complete incapacity for productive thinking or hard work. The Southern gentlemen were much better prepared to enjoy the fruits of civilization than to create them. The poor white trash lived by hanging on to the rich planters, and looked with contempt upon manual labor. The South "classed the trading and manufac-

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turing spirit as essentially servile" in the words of a Southern journalist in 1852, who wrote in the famous De Bow's Review. Certain forms of work were considered especially undignified, and the poor white man met the offer to perform such work with the contemptuous remark that "he was no nigger." This led to the idea that hired white labor was altogether unsatisfactory, and that the negro slave was indispensable to Southern industry and agriculture.

It was thought necessary to dwell so long on the psychology of the white population of the South, because this psychology played a very important part in the subsequent events. With such a psychology and such a national character, the philosophy of the necessity and inevitableness of slavery found general approval not only among the wealthy slave owners, but also among the poor white trash, which found considerable satisfaction and consolation from its poverty in the consciousness that, no matter how low its own social scale, there was still left a very large class of people below them.

The greatest effort to support this view upon slavery and the negro was undoubtedly made by the clergy. The part taken by the Christian church in the defense of the institutions of slavery presents one of the most interesting pages in the social history of the United States. "The American Churches, the Bulwark of American Slavery," thus runs the title of an exceedingly interesting pamphlet anonymously published in 1842. The war was not yet over when a doctor of divinity and professor of a Southern theological seminary devoted a bulky volume of 562 pages to prove the thesis that the clergy of the South was mainly responsible for the secession. This may well be an exaggeration; nevertheless the facts presented by these two authors are of the greatest interest and importance not only for the understanding of that epoch, but also because the Southern church is still a great factor of reaction in the relegated "negro question."

It is interesting to follow the development of the attitude of the church to the question of slavery. To take for example the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1780 it expressed its firm belief that "slavery was contrary to the divine, human, and natural law, and harmful to society." In 1784, membership in the church was denied to whomsoever did not promise to free his slaves. In 1801, the church was more than ever "convinced of the awfulness of slavery." But the invention of Eli Whitney made its impression upon the clerical mind, for in 1836 we find the assembly of the clergymen of this church protesting against the action of two of its members, who dared to speak against slavery, and hastening to announce that it denies any desire to interfere in the relations of master and slave. Even in New York the representatives of this church fought against any man-

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ifestations of the spirit of abolition among its members. For preachers as well as other men owned slaves and therefore had direct interest in defending the institution. But more important undoubtedly was the consideration that the church felt the necessity of being on the side of the stronger.

Still more striking is the testimony gathered by Professor Stanton, whose work was referred to above. He inclusively shows that not only the Southern clergy, but even many of the Northern preachers, energetically preached the necessity of the Southern rebellion, and defended the South, after the secession had taken place. What Professor Stanton mainly objected to was the fact that the Southern clergy, in coming out in defense of the rebellion, had broken the pledge of obedience to the legal authorities. But in reality this was only caused by the natural anxiety of the clergy then, as now, to serve that legal authority which was recognized de facto by the majority of the population; and that was the authority of the Southern states and of the confederacy. Thus until the very last day of the emancipation of the slaves the entire clergy of the South continued to preach that slavery was morally in harmony with God's will, that it was eternal and necessary, because the negro was a lower being created by the Almighty for the special purpose of working for the white man, in exchange for the care which the white man was to take of his physical, moral and mental well-being. One may well recognize in this doctrine the forerunnings of the latter day theory of the relations of the wealthy men to the working class, which Comrade Ghent has so characteristically christened as the coming "benevolent feudalism," and which finds its expression in the writings and speeches of Lyman Abbott, Andrew Carnegie, and President Baer of the Reading Railway.

A touching agreement and understanding may be found between these clergymen and the Southern professors, economists, politicians and statesmen. That the clergy exerted a direct influence upon the scientific fraternity of the ante-bellum South, is shown by the importance which the religious argument played in the reasoning of the latter. This unanimity may partly be explained by the peculiar character of education in the slave owning South, where a superficial polish and some knowledge of classics stood for real education and learning. The universities and colleges were mainly interested in oratory and partisan politics. The Southern periodical literature, the most important representatives of which were the De Bow's Review and the Southern Literary Messenger, defended slavery and savagely attacked everyone who dared to express the slightest doubt of the usefulness and justice and permanency of the peculiar Southern institution.

I. M. ROBBINS.

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Confusion of Tongues. Mr. Edmund Kelly, in his able article in this issue of the Review, points out the difficulty which people of different nations have of understanding each other. He is quite right, but the difficulty extends further still. Comrade Kelly is a man with a fine classical education, a lawyer, a diplomat (not long ago the legal advisor of the American legation at Paris). In his past experiences the people with whom he has come into close personal touch have doubtless been of the possessing classes, while the working classes have probably figured in his experience mainly as voters to be reached by political methods. Now he has thought himelf out of the class in which he has lived and joined hands with the working class. But he does not yet speak its language. There are many others like him; perhaps a third of our readers will heartily endorse his view. But the wage-workers will sigh, smile or swear at his artless assumption that the petty capitalists who hope to hinder the growth of the trusts are our "natural allies" in paving the way for a new social order. In saying this we do not wish to disparage the value of the writer's reasoning. Grant his assumptions, and much of it is irresistible. We need such writers and speakers. But we also need the other kind. In the next issue of the Review we hope to have a promised article from Vincent St. John, a comrade on the firing line of the class struggle (indeed he is just recovering from a serious wound inflicted by one of the mine-owners' thugs at Goldfield) who will write on Industrial Unionism.

Public Ownership as an Issue. One passage in Mr. Kelly's article is worth special attention. In his fourth section he says:

"Now no issue will constitute a more direct step toward socialism than public ownership; for public ownership means an eight hour day for the employé, the elimination of trusts for the tradesman, and low rates for the farmer."

Let us pass lightly over the eight hour clause. It is doubtless true that the sight of an increasing number of government employes working eight hours would intensify the discontent of the laborers who still have to work ten. But the government employés would no longer have to fight for their eight hour day, and might neglect to help the outside laborers who could not get it without fighting. And suppose the capitalists should decide to give all laborers an eight hour day, would that show that the end of capitalism was near? And if so, why? But the other two clauses of this "direct step", the tradesman clause and the farmer clause, are something more than doubtful. If we could "eliminate the trusts" for the tradesman (which we can't) he would cease to be a virtual wage-worker for the big capitalist with only "profits" enough to live on, and would be on the road to becoming a capitalist himself, destined to become a magnate and to be "eliminated" by the powerful

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reformers of the next generation. And if we were to give the farmer "low rates" on his freight and the things he buys (and of course "high rates" on what he sells), would he not thereupon become a staunch conservative? Where does the proletarian come in, all this while? He has pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for his "natural allies", and he is still hungry. If the big capitalists were really as united and class-conscious and far-seeing as we used to imagine them to be when we were populists, they might reasonably come out for a large measure of "public ownership" themselves. Judicious concessions along this line might conceivably prolong capitalism fifty or a hundred years. But things don't happen in that way. The people who make history are not far-sighted theorists; they simply act as their environment makes them act.

What Shall Our Platform Be? There is one big debatable question. Two courses are open. We can make a vote-catching platform to allure as many as possible of our "natural allies" who want the trusts busted and railroad rates reduced so as to make small individual production or the petty exploitation of a few wage-workers more profitable than now. Perhaps such a platform would increase our vote faster than any other we could adopt. But the new voters who would thereby be attracted would be a source of weakness. If by chance we were to elect the officers of a state with such allies our party would be disrupted at the first practical test. The other way is to adopt a platform which will put on record our interpretation of the way in which the evolution of industry is urging on the development of society. The platform drafted by Comrade Hillquit, while it may require slight amendments, performs this task admirably. Industry is rapidly evolving to the point where the final grapple between laborer and capitalist is near. We can do little to hasten or delay this; what we can do is to think, talk and write clearly, and organize the workers who know what they want into a machine for getting it.

The Constitution of the United States. The recent Supreme Court decision setting aside the railroad rate laws of Minnesota and North Carolina, on the ground that their effect was to confiscate the private property of the railroad stockholders, by reducing rates to a point where dividends could not be paid, will help to clear the air. This decision is perfectly logical, and we socialists have no occasion to question either the integrity or the intelligence of the judges who rendered it. The constitution of the United States was framed for the express purpose of protecting private property. True, in 1788 the most important property interests were those of small producers, while now the trust and railway magnates control nearly all the property worth mentioning. But the constitution still works as it was meant to work in protecting property-owners against those without property. One moral is that trust busting on the part of state legislatures has now become merely amusing. Another is that if the socialists capture a city council or a state legislature, their hands will be tied so long as the capitalist parties control the federal courts. But all this is no reason for our sitting down and waiting. On the contrary, this logical action of the Supreme Court is a new stimulus to us, for it helps draw class lines more rigidly than ever before. When the people who work come to realize that they must act unitedly in order to get the wealth they produce, the battle will be all but won, and every act of the federal courts on behalf of the corporations helps the workers to wake up.

Socialists as Jurors. The right of trial by jury is one survival in the American Constitution that works to our advantage, and we have thus far been slow to realize the fact. The jury is a weapon that was

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slowly and painfully forged by the English bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism, and it is embodied in this same constitution which is otherwise so useful to the capitalist. Moreover, it is one of the Fourth of July traditions that help persuade us that we are a free people, and to abrogate it now would be a dangerous experiment for the powers that be. A juror has full power to judge the law as well as the facts. Here in Chicago an attempt has lately been made to revive an obsolete state law requiring that saloons be closed on Sunday. Thus far every jury before which a case under this law has been brought has either acquitted or disagreed. Here is a precedent that will be to our advantage. As the class struggle grows warmer, arbitrary arrests of workingmen will be more frequent. Every man arrested should demand a jury trial, and every socialist should assert his right to judge whether the enforcement of the law in the case before him is for or against his own class interests, and act accordingly. Nearly every offender brought before a jury is deprived of his liberty because his actions are a menace to the welfare of the capitalists. They may also be a menace to the interests of the laborers, but these are two independent questions, to be settled on their merits.. A clear recognition of this on the part of every socialist may do something toward hastening the break-up of capitalism.

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England. — The impotence and bad faith of the Liberal government become more and more manifest. Since last month's report in this department two of its measures have failed of passage: the Scottish small land-holdings bill was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of 120, and the unemployed workingmen's bill went down in the House of Commons under a majority of 149. Meantime two other long promised measures have been introduced, the education bill and the licensing bill. Both are having a rough time of it. The first provides that in all "one-school" towns the schools are to be taken over by the county governments. In places where there are more than one school denominational institutions are to receive support *pro rata* for their pupils. Like the education bill now in force this measure satisfies nobody. The licensing bill is more drastic than anticipated. It provides for local option, Sunday closing and the distribution of public houses in proportion to population. The last provision would close some 30,000 places of entertainment. The Laborites have got little comfort out of their anti-military propaganda. A resolution in favor of reducing the naval appropriations was lost in the House by a vote of 320 to 73. More than $160,000,000 has been voted for the navy and a similar sum for the army —slightly less than the appropriations of last year, but more than was considered necessary at the time of the Boer war. All this must tend to drive intelligent Laborites out of the Liberal camp.

Two things have happened which throw light on the probable realignement of parties. The first of these was the delivery of Lord Roseberry's speech before the Liberal League on March 12th. The time might come, said the former premier, when Liberals would have to chose between Conservatism and protective tariff on the one hand and Socialism on the other. In that case he, for one, would not hesitate: for "Socialism is the end of all, of empire, faith—religious faith—freedom and liberty." The second significant event was the beginning, some weeks ago, of vigorous agitation in favor of the organization of a Center Party. According to its advocates this new party would stand for free trade, union with Ireland, moderate imperialism and—most important of all—war upon Socialism. This Center Party movement marks the definite beginning of the break-down of the present form of Liberalism: Lord Roseberry's speech foreshadows the final alignment of the friends and enemies of Socialism. The first will probably come soon; the second later on.

Australia. — Australia has a habit of following England at a distance—sometimes rather a long distance. This fact has been strikingly exemplified by recent developments in the Australian working-class movement. The Labor Party has rapidly increased in power: on the 5th of

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February it made great gains in the number of its representatives in the provincial assemblies. But its program leaves much to be desired. Its chief demands are: compulsory arbitration of strikes, state ownership of certain monopolies and the abolition of the upper houses and the office of provincial governor. So far it has steadily refused to take action analogous to that of the Hull conference in England. Just recently, in convention, it voted down a Socialist resolution by 118 to 37. But if precedent counts for anything, it will probably fall in line with its English prototype within a year or two.

France.—In France the month has been uneventful. Early in March the Independent Socialists—those who have refused to come into the unified party formed in accordance with the resolution of the international congress—held a convention at Marseille. Only a small number attended and the event aroused little interest. The Chamber of Deputies is voting, item by item, a new fiscal law. This is made necessary by the half-way relief measures it is trying to palm off on the radicals. So far it has provided for an income tax, 4 per cent on the earnings of capital and 3 per cent on the earnings of labor. In Morocco the government is getting in deeper and deeper. It has recently dispatched fresh troops to the scene of action. The people become more and more restive as they see how a war ostensibly for the preservation of peace is becoming a war of aggression.

Germany.—The German government is always constructive—actively, paternally constructive. Witness its campaign against the steadily rising forces of the Social Democracy. True to the Teutonic instinct it began by playing the schoolmaster. Its first move was designed to save from pollution the minds of its youth. In order that its efforts might be systematic and at the same time effectively veiled it founded, more than thirty years ago, the "Society for the Propagation of Popular Education." Up to the present time this society has sent into the world about half a million volumes of "safe and sane" literature. Some of these are copies of well known literary and scientific works doctored to suit the governmental taste; others are goody-goody essays and stories especially prepared to keep the children of the Emperor properly respectful of political and ecclesiastical authority. Just now, sad to relate, the Liberals and Centurists wage bitter war as to just what sort of sterilized pabulum is to be doled out of the innocents. Meantime these latter seem to be waxing moderately lusty on food of their own choosing.

Not content with the moderate success of its campaign of education, the imperial government is now aiming to dominate the field of labor organization. This is the purpose of the Law concerning Labor Commissions which has just been submitted to the Bundesrat. This measure provides for the constitution of labor-commissions, one for each branch of industry in each administrative district. Their chief duty is to be the encouragement of peaceful and profitable relations between capital and labor. To this end they are to act as arbitration boards, to exercise a general supervision over workingmen's relief measures and to make suggestions to local governments. What has made workingmen suspicious is the make-up of these commissions. They are to consist half of capitalists and half workingmen. The labor members are to be elected by the vote of all workers over thirty years of age, union and non-union. In case of an even division of a commission the chairman, named by the government, is to cast the deciding vote. If the measure was to deceive the proletariat into thinking the government has an interest in them it has failed miserably. Organized labor is solidly opposed to it.

For more than twenty years the Prussian government has made a

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notable fiasco of its Polish expropriation policy. It has expended nearly a hundred million dollars and accomplished little except to enrich German landholders. Nevertheless both houses of the Landtag—under Von Buelow's whip—have recently voted the appropriation of an additional fifty million for the further carrying out of this policy. Nothing could give better proof of the need of electoral reform.

Austria.—The Social Democratic Party of Bohemia has lately taken a decided stand in the matter of the German-Czechish race war. Bourgeois papers have represented its pronunciamento as patriotic, i. e. anti-international. In reality it is nothing of the sort. Its chief contenI tion is that a secret popular ballot would do away with a good part of the existing difficulty. It demands, further, the institution of two autonomous governments, one for each race. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of this demand.

Russia.—Russian labor unions carry on their work under the greatest difficulties. By misinterpreting a law promulgated in 1905 the Stolypin ministry finds means to prevent the delivery of lectures to workingmen and the distribution of relief to strikers or unemployed. In spite of restrictions, however, the unions are carrying on a thoroughgoing work of organization and education. In Petersburg and other industrial centers they have started numerous societies for the study of history and economics. Some of these count as many as five or six hundred members. An important part of the union propaganda is directed toward the moral improvement of the laborers. The government, especially through its sale of poisonous vodka, has done its best to demoralize the proletariat. Against this demoralization the unions are using their utmost influence.

Italy.—Near the close of February the Italian chamber voted down a resolution in favor of complete secularization of public education. In the support of this resolution Socialists and Radical Republicans were united. The fight was a bitter one—in fact so bitter that it is impossible to suppose that it will not be renewed.

Denmark.—Danish Socialists are facing a problem much like that of their comrades in Prussia. In Denmark there is in force a two-class electoral system. That is, the members of the two houses of parliament are named indirectly: the electors who make the final choice are chosen, half by the voters paying tax on a thousand dollars or more, half by those who are less wealthy. In both these classes the ballot is the prerogative of all male citizens over thirty years of age. Not willing to trust its fate even in the hands of the propertied class, the government retains the right to designate twelve members of the upper house. The Socialist group has introduced into parliament an extremely modest measure looking toward the modification of this system. It provides for universal suffrage for men and women over twenty-one years of age. It has been thought best not to attack the two-class system at this time.

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Jack London has joined the ranks of the prophets. It seems that few Socialist writers can resist the temptation to speculate upon the nature of the Socialist State and the manner of its realization. London makes his contribution to this branch of the literature of Socialism in his new book, *The Iron Heel,* published by the Macmillan Company. He resorts to the familiar device of the novelist, writing his forecast in the form of a retrospect.

He takes a long leap forward of some seven centuries in order to tell the manner of the transformation of society from capitalism to Socialism. One Anthony Meredith, writing from Ardis in the year 419 of the Brotherhood of Man, edits and publishes the manuscript story, discovered in the hollow of an oak tree, of the first of a series of revolts which overthrew the capitalist system, though at a terrible cost. The story was written by Avis Everhard, wife of the central figure of the first revolt, leader of the forces of the working class. Ernest Everhard, the hero of his wife's thrilling story, is a Socialist of the most composite type. There is a good deal of Jack London's vigorous personality about him, as well as something which the active Socialist Party member of a few years' standing will recognize as being characteristic of several other well known comrades. He writes a book, called "Working Class Philosophy", for example, which for three hundred years continued to be popular. Some quotations from the book are given, explaining the class struggle theory, and lo! I find that they are taken from my own book, "Socialism: a Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles". In a word, Everhard represents the Socialist movement rather than any phase of it.

"The Iron Heel" is the name which was given to the Oligarchy which developed about the year 1910. The Oligarchy reminds one of the Fourieristic prediction of a coming feudalism, which Ghent revived in his "Benevolent Feudalism". The Oligarchy was, however, the opposite of benevolent. In 1912 there was a landslide toward Socialism, fifty Congressmen being elected. But they found themselves without power. Then the Oligarchy forced a war with Germany which the Socialists of both countries frustrated by a general strike. Then the Oligarchy succeeded in dividing the ranks of the workers by confering special advantages upon a few select unions, entering into compacts with the union leaders.

From this point on the story is one of terrible bloodshed. There is the "Chicago Commune" (why the word "Commune" is used in connection with the uprising does not appear!) of 1918, in which carnage far excels that of the Paris Commune of 1871. Tens of thousands of people are slaughtered, the workers' first great revolt is crushed, drowned

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in blood. The Oligarchy follows its ghastly triumph with countless executions. This reign of terror continues until 1832, when they capture and kill Everhard. This takes place on the eve of the second revolt which he had planned—a revolt which took place and was crushed just as was the first. Here the story contained in the manuscript ends, but we learn from the editor that there were several other revolts of the workers, crushed in like fashion, and that the Oligarchy managed to maintain its power for three centuries—three hundred bloody years!

It is impossible to deny the literary skill which London displays in this ingenious and stirring romance. He has written nothing more powerful than this book. In some senses it is an unfortunate book, and I am by no means disposed to join those of our comrades who hail it as a great addition to the literature of Socialist propaganda. The picture he gives is well calculated, it seems to me, to repel many whose addition to our forces is sorely needed; it gives a new impetus to the old and generally discarded cataclysmic theory; it tends to weaken the political Socialist movement by discrediting the ballot and to encourage the chimerical and reactionary notion of physical force, so alluring to a certain type of mind. As a statement of the cataclysmic theory and an argument against political action, it is worthy the careful study of every Socialist and every student of Socialism.

* * *

I have read with much satisfaction the little book, *Evolution, Social and Organic,* which Arthur Morrow Lewis has added to the Standard Socialist Series, published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. In this modest little volume of less than two hundred pages, in simple and lucid language, Comrade Lewis tells the story of the evolution of the theory of evolution, summarising most of the information contained in Clodd's well known book, "Evolution from Thales to Huxley". But he does more than this, a great deal more. He never loses sight of the application of the laws of evolution to society, completing his Darwinism by his Marxism, so to speak. Valuable, too, are the chapters on Weismann's theory of heredity, the "mutation" theory of De Vries and Herbert Spencer's Individualism, though, curiously enough in a Socialist treatment of the last named topic, no mention is made of the fact that Spencer himself repudiated Individualism and thought that if we had too much government in some directions, we had too little in others. Curious, too, that he should miss the point made in volume III of the "Principles of Sociology" that the wage system, commonly held up as exemplifying Individualism, is a form of slavery, the wage-laborer having "liberty only to exchange one slavery for another". Spencer himself threw over the whole superstructure of Individualism when he admitted that "in conformity with the universal law of rhythm, there has been a change from excess of restriction to deficiency of restriction". I cannot resist the feeling that had the writer been a little more familiar with Spencer chapters VIII and IX of his book would have been much stronger. I hasten to add, however, that the little volume is a valuable addition to our literature.

* * *

When H. G. Wells was in this country a year or two ago I had the pleasure of meeting him upon several occasions.. Nothing about the man impressed me so much as the robustness of his Socialist faith. I had long known him as a Fabian and was most agreeably surprised to learn that he had joined the out-and-out Social Democratic Federation.

As further evidence of this robustness of Socialist faith comes his new book. *New Worlds for Old,* a fresh and striking presentation of the case for Socialism. As might be expected from the author of "a Modern Utopia" and "Mankind in the Making", there is a utopian strain running

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through the book. It is, also, written from a British point of view, a good many allusions to contemporary English life rather weakening its interest for the American. Both these defects—if so they are to be regarded—are, however, the defects of its qualities. The great value of the book lies primarily in the novelty of its approach to the subject and its statement in terms of contemporary fact rather than in terms of abstract theory. The book is published by the Macmillan Company and should be read by all Socialists.

* * *

Benjamin Tucker, the Anarchist publisher, has issued in an admirably gotten-up volume Steven T. Byington's translation of Dr. Paul Eltzbacher's well known book, *Anarchism*. It is not too much to say, I think, that of all expositions of Anarchism this is by far the best for the average student. Eltzbacher is not himself an Anarchist, but he has succeeded in making a statement of the varied principles designated as Anarchism which most Anarchists accept. The opinions of Eltzbacher himself are of relatively small importance. What is important is the careful summary made, in their own language, of the principles taught by such writers as Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoy. Admirable portraits of all these—except Stirner, of whom no authentic portrait exists—are included in this very handsome volume.

* * *

In view of the present revival of interest in the writings of Nietzsche, "the mad philosopher" of Germany, the publication, by Charles H. Kerr & Company, as one of the Library of Science for the Workers series, of an admirable translation, by Alexander Harvey, of Nietzsche's little book, *Human, All Too Human*, is a welcome event.

I have read a good deal of Nietzsche's writings and it has always been a puzzle for me what professed radical thinkers could find in his endless negations. From a Socialist point of view, it seems to me, Professor Alfred Russell Wallace gave a crushing reply to the Nietzschean pretensions about the development of the Superman, when he pointed out in "The Eagle and Serpent", some years ago, that the inevitable result must be the development of an Oligarchy, to which philosophers, poets, scientists, inventors and artists would be subservient.

"Human, All too Human" is, in my judgment, the clearest and most coherent of all Nietzsche's works. While Nietzsche was not a Socialist, being in fact bitterly hostile to Socialism, the Marxist will find that there is much in common between Marx and Nietzsche. Just as Marx shows the influence of economic conditions upon social evolution, and upon the ethical concepts of classes, Nietzsche shows the influence of economic conditions upon individual ethical concepts. The little book might be fairly described as an application of the extreme theory of economic determinism to personal conduct. Judge not any man's life too harshly —for he is human, all too human!

It is rather a pity that the translator of the volume did not include Peter Gast's preface to the German edition in which he contrasts the ideas of Nietzsche with those of his longtime friend, Paul Ree, bringing out the distinctive features of Nietzsche's teaching very clearly. Gast was Nietzsche's friend and literary executor and he has been a most faithful exponent of his master's teaching. He shows the utilitarian concept, what Nietzsche calls community-preservative ethics, as one half of ethics only, the other half, of course, being what he calls self-ethics.

In view of the foregoing, it is not necessary to remark that "Human, All too Human", is not published as a Socialist work, nor must it be so regarded. It is not a child's primer, either, and whoever fears to exercise his brain over a book, or resents an attack upon his intellectual idols, had better leave it alone. To all others the volume may be confidently recommended.

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WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Despite the petitions that have been sent to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor by city central organizations in various parts of the country urging that a national convention be called for the purpose of planning a political campaign as labr's reply to the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court declaring the employer's liability law unconstitutional, legalizing the blackiest and outlawing the boycott, it is practically certain that nothing will be done by the national officials—that is, nothing along the line of independent political action.

During the past month a conference of officers of international unions was called by the Federation executive council to meet in Washington and discuss the crisis in which organized labor finds itself. Several hundred of our worthy presidents, secretaries, etc., did gather, but if any practical move was made that would throw the fear of God into the hearts of plutocracy and its politicians it escaped the notice of the lynx-eyed reporters. All that they did was to go through the same old mumery of the last year, when they, armed with a so-called "bill of grievances," solemnly marched up to Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. and in the name of organized labor demanded relief from injunctions, etc. This year they appointed a "committee on protest," and, after looking the field over, the committee concluded that there was really cause to protest, and so with Gompers in the van the whole crowd marched up to the Capitol with becoming dignity (it is not related whether a brass band accompanied the procession or how many times they had their pictures taken) and once more told their troubles to Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. The politicians looked wise and declared that the protest would receive their most thoughtful consideration, and then, after some handshaking, the delegation departed while Cannon, Fairbanks & Co. retired to their private offices, consumed a few cocktails, admitted that the labor men were a nice, conservative lot of fellows, and then fell to discussing ship subsidy, new banking and financial laws, tariff revision, and so forth.

It looks as though the revolutionary spirit (or the spirit of secession) has been grounded on the Civic Federation wire. President Seth Low, and Vice-President Gompers, of the latter body, and Roosevelt have had their heads together, and an agreement is said to have been reached to use labor as the sad victim to secure the repeal of the Sherman law or to amend that act to make it useless. But there is no assurance given that labor organizations will be made immune from damage suits for boycotting. The injunction evil is also to be so modified as to permit strikers to come into court when capitalists seek a temporary restraining order and hear the edict promulgated by the court after the defendants' attorney goes through the form of opposing the bosses' petition.

Those workingmen in New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo and other places who have been shouting for independent

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political action—those members who pay the freight and who are compelled to undergo the hard knocks on the firing line while certain great leaders make merry at Civic Federation banquets and believe they cultivate an air of respectability by basking in the sunlight of great capitalism—the rank and file can swallow their chagrin and start little irresponsible and disconnected sideshow labor parties that can be easily shot to pieces by the trained politicians and capitalists with unlimited money. The common herd—the dues-payers—need look for no sign of progress from those in control of the Federation. Reforms do not come from the top. You can no more expect Gompers to give the word, "Forward, march!" than you can expect Cannon to take the lead in boosting labor legislation.

At the same time, while the actions of the Federation officials in refusing to call a national convention for the purpose of arranging plans to take independent political action are somewhat disappointing, their decision may really be a blessing in disguise. There is but one practical step that can be taken by the sincere and thinking trade unionists, and that is to follow the example of the several hundred thousand who have already made the move, viz.: join the Socialist party, the real and only labor party the world over. That many unionists are joining the Socialist party at present is clearly demonstrated by the reports of the officials of the national, state and local organizations of the S. P., but there is room for more. This is going to be a memorable year in political history, the year that will see the Socialist party make a tremendous stride toward victory. Help the good work along.

The indications are that the attempt of a few mine-owners to precipitate a national conflict will be frustrated. It is a well known fact that the United Mine Workers prefer national settlements rather than district agreements, and the national contract plan is especially preferred by the new administration of the miners, in fact it was one of the issues in the recent campaign in the U. M. W. Part of the Ohio operators and some in other states believed if they would stand out against a national agreement and in favor of a wage reduction they would force a national strike, when they could take advantage of the general industrial situation, after the unions were starved for a few weeks, to declare for the open shop or non-union mine. But the miners were shrewd enough to see through the game and went on record for district settlements, which means that the vast majority of operators in all the states will come to agreement with the men. In districts where the operators want fight they will probably be given fight and a chance to lose some money and markets. Two years ago the Northeastern Ohio crowd, who were the ringleaders this year in trying to create trouble, made a stand for the so-called open shop and it is doubtful whether they are through paying expenses of their Pinkertons at this date. Still they want more trouble. The truth of the matter is that some of the Ohio operators also own West Virginia mines and they are forcing their scabs to pay the price of creating scab mines in other states.

The talk of reducing the wages of railway employes has practically subsided. For the first time within the memory of man the railway brotherhood acted together in preparing to do battle. When the corporations, through their publicity departments, began to drop loud hints that it would be necessary to decrease wages in order to stimulate business, the brotherhood officials quietly got together and compared notes, with the result that they made the announcement that under no circumstances would they accept a cut in wages. They charged that the proposed reductions were merely stock-gambling schemes to assure gullible investors that dividends would be paid on the wind and water that had been poured

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into railroading to enrich the frenzied financiers who worked out the plans. Observing that the men refused to be bullied or stampeded into accepting the gratuitous offer of the magnates, the impetuous Mr. Roosevelt could not resist the temptation to make another gallery play by instructing his interstate commerce commissioners to find out why the railway barons wanted to reduce wages, but no matter what the report of the government agents might be, whether a decrease in wages was justified or not the fact is the moment the various railway organizations decided to stand together they took a pretty safe position from which it would be difficult to dislodge them.

Another industry in which it was promised that the men would be compelled to accept reductions and perhaps accept other open shop conditions was that of marine transportation and longshore work. As long ago as last fall certain vessel owners made threats of what would be done this spring, and the marine reporters on the dailies "played up" the stories forty different ways. But it is doubtful whether there will be any trouble as the different branches of the traffic are now making their annual agreements, not without days of sparring and oceans of talk, but they usually make their arrangements on the basis of last season's conditions. Of course, there is still a chance for a general strike in some line, as not all contracts have been made at this writing, but such an occurrence is improbable and would hardly last long, as the workers would go into battle divided, many of the mariners having been tied down with agreements. Some day the marine workers will get together in an offensive and defensive alliance, but it will only be after some of the so-called leaders have been sent to the rear. The sailors especially are a clannish lot; many of them imagine that the world stands still and that the same skill and bravery to man a ship is required to-day as was necessary a century ago. The fact is the average sailor is just a common, ordinary piece of clay, a laborer, like a longshoreman.

The building and metal crafts have formed international trades sections, which will be subordinate to the A. F. of L., with the purpose in view of settling jurisdiction disputes among themselves, without dragging the whole labor movement into their quarrels, anl also to insure more harmonious and united action in arranging working conditions with employers. If the open shop movement among the bosses had no other effect than driving the fighting factions together it was no unmixed evil. The building crafts held their get-together conference in Washington and the metal crafts assembled in Cincinnati. The international sections will charter local central bodies, which latter become branches of the central organizations chartered by the A. F. of L. The limitation of powers of the international and local bodies will go far toward removing a great deal of friction that has irritated the general labor movement.

The temporary injunction secured by the Bucks Stove & Range Co. against the A. F. of L. officials prohibiting the latter from boycotting the foregoing concern has been made permanent. Justice Gould issued the original order in the District of Columbia, and Justice Clabaugh, in the same jurisdiction, has now issued the permanent decree. The case will now go to the United States Supreme Court and the fmal decision is not difficult to predict. Outlawing the boycott makes the strike ineffective in many instances and probably the strike will next be declared illegal.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO CHARLES DOBBS.

Effecient Brains versus Bastard Culture.

New Canaan, Conn., March 14, 1908.

Mr. Charles Dobbs, Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Friend and Comrade: — Permit me to thank you most heartily for your article on "BRAINS" in the March REVIEW. It has brought sorely needed solace to my troubled spirit. I had of late been getting "cold feet" lest that sinister villain, La Monte the "literary demagogue," should drive out of the Party La Monte, the "Intellectual." But, glory be, you, like a modern Saint George (or, shall I say Don Quixote?) have entered the lists and at the first shock of conflict your good lance has unhorsed the malicious "demagogue" with his "spirit of bigotry and proscription, if not contemptible envy," and La Monte, the Intellectual, can once more breathe freely, and look confidently forward to years of usefulness in the Movement.

When Comrade Kerr told me, my dear Comrade, that you were coming to the succor of the sorely beset Intellectualettes, the news rejoiced me, for I felt assured that from you we would have an intelligent presentation of the case free from those felicitous epithets, "chumps," "yawpers," and "literary demagogues," which the talented Secretary of the Rand School showers so freely upon those Comrades who have the temerity to differ from him. But I confess I have been somewhat disappointed and surprised to find that you take so seriously your duty to "sternly rebuke." Was your keen sense of humor napping for once?

The fact is, my dear Comrade, that you and I and Comrade Ghent are far more nearly agreed than you and Ghent appear to realize. We are all agreed that the great need of the Socialist Party is for efficient brains and that we ought to utilize to the utmost for the common service such brains wherever we find them—whether in the skull of a Professor or a coal-heaver. But, in spite of your undoubtedly acute brains and your distinguished culture you and Comrade Ghent both make what appears to me the highly fallacious assumption that the possession of a conventional bourgeois education is a guarantee of the sort of mental efficiency the Socialist Party needs in its chief servants, otherwise y-clept "Leaders." So far am I from having a bigoted prejudice against Intellectuals, that I have for many weary years been scanning the horizon for any

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sign of the rising of the star of a real American INTELLECTUAL. I have often in thought likened myself to Diogenes searching with his lantern for an honest man, and I have had no better luck than Diogenes. Who is there in the American movement whose name is to be written on the same page with those of Liebknecht, Bebel, Morris, Guesde, Vaillant or Jaures? So pitiful is our lack of men who rise to the real stature of leadership, that for months now we have been most pathetically trying to hypnotize ourselves into believing that a clever guerilla captain in that peculiar phase of the Class War that has raged in the mining industry of the Rocky Mountains for the past decade is really the timber out of which to make a Presidential Candidate — and that at the very first time in our history, when we have been so prominently in the lime-light that it has become a matter of the utmost moment that our Candidate should be a man capable of presenting our case creditably anywhere and everywhere, and especially that he should have a sufficient knowledge of Socialist Economics to explain in every utterance the significance of the recent panic and the present unemployment! While, when it comes to literary lights, I am sure, my dear Dobbs, you will agree with me that the best we can show are in Comrade Steere's happy phrase but "tallow candles."

But you have done us all a signal service in emphasizing the importance of efficiency. I would be the last to cavil at your insistence that we must have the "intelligence — the old-fashioned quality known as 'gumption' — to call, to the service of all, the most efficient individuals for the performance of any certain duty." I endorse quite as heartily the following sentences: — "Of course it is not always a simple matter to determine what comrade can discharge a given task most efficiently and we can rely upon only one rule: Efficiency produces order and results; inefficiency produces disorder and lack of results. Efficiency spells success; inefficiency spells failure." But I am unable to follow you when you appear to assume that the possession of a college sheepskin is *prima facie* evidence of the kind of efficiency you so well describe. So far as this certificate of bourgeois education tends to raise a presumption as to efficiency one way or the other in my mind, I confess the presumption is of inefficiency.

To show you that we "labor fanatics," "yawpers" and "literary demagogues" hold no patent upon this idea that the ordinary bourgeois education is no proof of efficiency, permit me to quote you a few extracts from the just published book on "The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche" by my very good friend, Henry L. Mencken, who is certainly one of the most efficient and successful newspaper men of his age in America, and I can assure you most positively that at the time he wrote these passages he was one of the most extreme individualists and convinced opponents of Socialism in this country. In his chapter on "Education," he says: —

"..... school teachers, taking them by and large, are probably the most ignorant and stupid class of men in the whole group of mental workers. Imitativeness being the dominant impulse in youth, their pupils acquire some measure of their stupidity, and the result is that the influence of the whole teaching tribe is against everything included in genuine education and culture." Further on in the same chapter, he says: —

"A further purpose of education is that of affording individuals a means of lifting themselves out of the slave class and into the master class. That this purpose is accomplished — except accident-

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ally — by the brand of education ladled out in the colleges of today is far from true. To transform a slave into a master we must make him intelligent, self-reliant, resourceful, independent and courageous. It is evident enough, I take it, that a college directed by an ecclesiastic and manned by a faculty of asses — a very fair, and even charitable, picture of the average small college in the United States — is not apt to accomplish this transformation very often. Indeed, it is a commonplace observation that a truly intelligent youth is aided but little by the average college education, and that a truly stupid one is made, not less, but more stupid. The fact that many graduates of such institutions exhibit dionysian qualities in later life merely proves that they are strong enough to weather the blight they have suffered. *Every sane man knows that, after a youth leaves college, he must devote most of his energies during three or four years, to ridding himself of the fallacies, delusions and imbecilities inflicted upon him by messieurs, his professors.*

"The intelligent man, in the course of his life, nearly always acquires a vast store of learning, because his mind is constantly active and receptive, but *intelligence and mere learning are by no means synonymous,* despite the popular notion that they are."

Frankly, my dear Dobbs, does not your experience in the Socialist movement show you that this "popular notion" that "intelligence and mere learning are synonymous," that education and social position are proofs of efficiency, is almost as powerful and widespread within the Movement as without it? Is it not a simple fact that so far from showing an ungracious suspicion of Intellectuals and Parlor Socialists, our proletarian comrades have in practice been too prone to place in positions of prominence and power in the Movement all those from the upper classes who have been seized by the caprice to uplift the down-trodden workers? I have in the past too often illustrated my arguments by specific personal instances, and I wish to avoid in this letter any personalities that might give rise to bitter feelings; but surely I am within the mark when I ask you if you have forgotten when our comrades in New York State precipitately nominated for Attorney-General a lawyer of prominence and wealth who had only declared himself a Socialist a few weeks before the Convention? If you recall this, you undoubtedly also recall how within a few weeks the State Committee was compelled to remove his name from the ticket, because they found he was giving aid and comfort to the political enemies of the working-class.

In view of such experiences (and any old Socialist will think of many others of a similar character) I, for my part, look on a reasonable degree of suspicion of Intellectuals and Parlor Socialists, as it is now being manifested here and there, as a most reassuring sign that the Proletariat are approaching maturity as a class, that they are showing the capacity to profit by experience, that their class consciousness is growing richer and deeper and thus coming to include class-self-respect, and that the Dawn of the Social Revolution is growing measurably nearer.

There is room in the Socialist Party for all of us; we are no longer a sect, but a Party with its doors wide open to the mental and the manual worker alike, to the Parlor Socialist as well as to the factory worker. But no one by reason of his past industrial or social position must be allowed to assume the *right* to leadership.

Again, my dear Dobbs, I want to thank you for impressing upon us all the fact that efficiency — the power to serve well the

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working-class — is the only valid criterion by which we should select our chief servants, whether they come from the College or the Shop.

Fraternally,

ROBERT RIVES LAMONTE.

The Nature of Utopianism. — Your discussion, in the March number, of the question of Utopianism, in connection with Comrade Hannemann's letter upon the tactics of the Industrial Workers of the World, prompts me to remark that the great mass of our comrades in the Socialist Party do not understand the meaning of the word in the Marxian vocabulary. I am inclined, also, as a result of a somewhat extensive association with them, to agree with Comrade Untermann that the members of the Socialist Labor Party are, as a whole, even more ignorant of its meaning. For the majority of American Socialists, it seems, Engels and Plechanoff — and the publication of the latter's "Anarchism and Socialism" is a welcome event! — have written in vain. They are enslaved to abstract ideas! Funny, isn't it, that the most radical comrades, those who are fondest of appealing to Marxian authority, should be of this very class? Take, as an illustration, the demand for party ownership of the press and the suppression of private Socialist papers. The argument used is that as we believe in public ownership, as it is a necessary feature of Socialism, we ought to apply the principle now, within the party. Poor Utopians! Do they really believe that under Socialism all newspapers and journals will be published by the government, and that private enterprise in that field will be forbidden? If so, I prefer Russia under Czar Nicholas! The fact seems to be that our friends miss the substance while they grasp the form. Socialism is not mainly a movement to bring about public ownership. It is that only incidentally. Its main principle is to stop the exploitation of workers by shirkers, bees by drones, useful members of society by parasites. Public ownership is only in our programme as a means to that end. If we bear this in mind, it seems to me, as a very humble student, we shall get rid of many of these notions which make factions in the party ranks.

A. B. BEE.

Opportunism in France. — In spite of formal unity the Socialist movement in France is still divided by sharply contending factions. Three of these are well defined and energetically represented by propagandists: they may be called the Opportunists, Guesdists, or strict Marxians, and the Internationalists, or anti-militarists. The opposing contentions of these three groups are interestingly mirrored in a significant article which appeared in *La Revue Socialiste* for December. The article is entitled The Crisis of Socialism and its Causes, and was written by M. Louis Oustry. In general M. Oustry's contention is that the extreme form of Marxist doctrine represented by the orthodox French Socialists does not appeal to a large section of the French proletariat. This statement he endeavors to explain by a hasty comparision between Marxist theory and present economic conditions. In France, he maintains, centralization has its limits. In certain trades the laborer is still capitalist; and in agriculture there has of late been more division than combination. Therefore a large number of proletarians are not economically driven into the revolutionary camp. To these, naturally enough, the extreme form of the Marxist doctrine is repulsive. The doctrine of internationalism, in particular, makes no appeal to the agricultural population. M. Oustry seems to favor a sort of idealistic propaganda. Show the agriculturalist,

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he would say, the advantages of combined production; neither economic necessity nor talk of internationalism will bring them into the Socialist camp.

In general this article, filled as it is with the spirit of Fourier, may be said to represent the point of view of the French Opportunists. An American reader may be led to excuse the author's apparent blindness to facts by remembering that in France economic evolution has been much slower than in America. But he cannot help wondering which are the trades in which there is no sign of consolidation; and he can hardly forget that here, where so lately every farm was tilled by its owner, nearly one half are now occupied by tenants.

Avenarius, Mach and Dietzgen. In a personal letter accompanying his translation of Dr. Adler's article with which this issue of the Review opens, Ernest Untermann writes: "You will note the similarity between the views of Avenarius, Mach, and Dietzgen. In fact, Mach has endorsed the views of Josef Dietzgen, and Avenarius is regarded by scientists like Adler as a counterpart of the proletarian philosopher. To what extent this view is borne out by their works, will have to be ascertained by mutual discussion between Adler and ourselves. If such a discussion is ever carried on in public, you may be sure, that it will be a fraternal one and a thorough comparison of actual experience, not a personal controversy concerning individual speculations. There are some passages in this article of Adler's, which seem to me to require a little further elucidation, for instance, on place, where he says (6. The Laws of the Transformation of Bodies), that two bodies, which are equal as combinations of elements, are really not equal sometimes, when you subject them to a test, such as a chemical transformation. If he had said here that two bodies, which *appear* equal as combinations of elements, turn out to be unequal in some tests, I would have had no further reservation to make. For it seems to me that bodies, which are actually equal as combinations of elements, must also turn out equally when subjected to the same scientific test. If they do not so turn out, there must have been some element in one that was not contained in the other, that is, they must really have been unequal. I don't know what comrade Adler had in mind, when he wrote that. Perhaps he was thinking of some chemical formulae, which are the same so far as human tests can ascertain, and which yet are represented by different chemical reactions. Perhaps comrade Adler can find time to elucidate this point a little more. While this does not in any way invalidate his fundamental statements concerning the new conception of world elements, still it leaves a doubt in the mind of the reader about some point, and even this doubt should be removed. We are all interested in clear thinking, and this we must get by fraternal discussion. It is in this spirit that I make these remarks."

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. VIII MAY, 1908 No. 11

Criticism of the Program submitted to the Gotha Congress of 1875.

From the posthumous papers of Karl Marx.



HIS CRITICISM of the draft of the program was sent to Bracke with the accompanying letter shortly before the Gotha Congress of unity in 1875, to be forwarded to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht and then to be returned to Marx.

As the convention at Halle has placed the discussion of the Gotha program upon the order of the day for the party, I should believe myself guilty of suppression, were I any longer to defer making public this important, perhaps the most important, document bearing upon this discussion.

But the manuscript has yet another and a more far-reaching significance. The position of Marx toward the course taken by Lassalle after his entrance into the agitation, is for the first time laid down clearly and positively not only as regards the economic principles but the tactics of Lassalle as well.

The ruthless sharpness with which the draft of the program is here dissected, the inexorableness with which the results attained are expressed, the nakedness of the draft exposed, all this can no longer wound to-day as fifteen years

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have passed. Specific Lassallians exist now only as isolated ruins in foreign lands and the Gotha program has been abandoned in Halle even by its originators, as entirely inadequate.

Nevertheless, I have omitted some severe personal expressions and opinions where these were indifferent to the subject matter and replaced them with stars. Marx himself would do this, were he to make the manuscript public today. His vehement language in places was provoked by two circumstances. Firstly, Marx and I were more intimately united with the German movement than with any other; therefore the decided retrogression announced in this draft of the program, of necessity excited us especially violently. And secondly, at that time, barely two years after the Hague Congress of the International, we were in the midst of the most violent conflict with Bakunin and his anarchists who made us responsible for everything which took place in the labor movement in Germany. We therefore had to expect that the secret paternity of this program also would be shoved upon us. These considerations exist no longer, hence the necessity for the passages in question ceases.

There are also some sentences merely hinted at by stars, because of the laws governing the press. Where I was compelled to select a milder expression, it is shown by brackets. Otherwise the text is literal.

London, Jan. 6, 1891.

FR. ENGELS.

London, May 5, 1875.

Dear Bracke:—

Will you, after reading the following critical annotations to the program of coalition, kindly forward them to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht for inspection? I am overoccupied and must work away beyond the limit that my physician has prescribed to me. Therefore it has been by no means, a "pleasure" to me to write so much waste-paper. Yet it was necessary, in order that, later on, the steps which I must take, may not be misconstrued by the party friends for whom this communication is determined. * * * * * * This is indispensable, since in foreign lands the opinion carefully nourished by party enemies, the thorougly erroneous opinion, is harboured that we here are secretly leading the movement of the so-called Eisenach party. In an article that recently appeared in Russian, Bakunin makes me for example * * * * responsible * * * * for all programs, etc., of that party. Aside from this, it is my duty not to recognize, by a diplomatic

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silence, a program that according to my conviction is utterly condemnable and demoralizing to the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs. Therefore if it was impossible to go beyond the Eisenach program — and the circumstances of the times did not permit of it — a simple agreement for action against the common enemy should have been concluded. But when a program of principles is prepared (instead of postponing it to a time when a matter of that kind would be the result of longer common activity) boundary stones are erected before the whole world, upon which the height of the party movement is measured by the world. The Lassallian leaders came because conditions compelled them to. If, at the very outset, the declaration had been made to them that no chaffering in principles would be entertained, they would have had to content themselves with a program of action or a plan of organization for common action.

Instead of that, they were permitted to appear armed with mandates which were recognized as binding; the Eisenachers therefore, have submitted to the favor or disfavor of the needy. To crown the thing, they again hold a congress before the compromise congress, while the party itself holds its congress post festum. (Note) * * * * * * It is known that the mere fact of the union satisfies the workers but it is an error to believe that this momentary result is not bought too dearly.

Moreover, the program is good-for-nothing, even apart from the canonization of the Lassallian articles of faith * * *.

The Volksstaats bookstore has peculiar manners. Up to this moment for example, not a single copy of the reprint of the Cologne Communist Trial has been sent to me.

With best greeting, your

KARL MARX.

Annotations to the Program of the German Labor Party.

1. "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all culture and since useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society, the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

First part of the sentence: "Labor is the source all wealth and of all culture."

Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use-values (and of such, to be sure, is material wealth composed) as is labor, which itself is but the expression of a natural force, of human labor power. That

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phrase is found in all children's A. B. C. books and is right in so far as it supposes that labor makes use of the objects and means belonging to it. But a socialist program should not permit such bourgeois expressions which suppress the qualifications that alone give them sense. And in so far as man from the outset conducts himself as the owner of nature, the first source of all means and subjects of labor, and treats nature as belonging to him, will his labor be the source of use-values, therefore of wealth. The bourgeois have very good grounds for attributing to labor supernatural creative force; for it is just because of the limitation of labor by natural conditions that it follows that the man who possesses no other property than his labor power, must in all conditions of society and civilization be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the objective conditions of labor. He can work only by their permission, consequently can live only by their permission.

Let us leave this proposition as it goes or rather as it limps. What conclusion would be expected? Clearly this:

Since labor is the source of all wealth, no one in society can "appropriate wealth to himself except as the result of labor. If therefore he does not work himself, he lives upon the work of another and he also acquires his culture at the cost of the work of another." Instead of that, a second proposition is annexed by the ambiguity "and since," in order to draw a conclusion from it and not from the first proposition.

Second part of the sentence: "useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society."

According to the first proposition, labor was the source of all wealth and of all culture, therefore also no society possible without labor. Now we learn the contrary, no "useful" labor possible without society.

It might just as well have been said that only in society, can useless and even harmful labor become a branch of industry, that only in society is it possible to live upon leisure etc., etc., — in short, to be able to transcribe the whole of Rousseau. And what is "useful" labor, Surely, only that labor which brings forth the use-effect intended. A savage — and man is a savage after he has ceased being a monkey — who fells an animal with a stone, who gathers fruits etc., performs "useful" labor.

Third: The Conclusion: "and since useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society — the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

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A beautiful conclusion! If useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society, the returns of labor belong to society and the individual worker gets only so much of it as is not required for the preservation of the "condition" of labor, viz: society.

In fact, this phrase has been made the most of in all epochs, by the upholders of the social form prevailing in each of these epochs. First come the claims of the government with everything that is glued to it, for it is the social organ for the preservation of the social order. Then come the claims of the various kinds of private property, the foundations of society etc. It is easy to see that such hollow phrases can be twisted and turned according to desire.

Any reasonable connection whatsoever that there may be between the first and second part of the sentence lies only in this interpretation:

"Labor becomes the source of wealth and culture only when it is social labor" or what is the same thing, "in and by means of society."

This phrase is unquestionably right for even though isolated labor (its objective conditions presupposed) can produce use-values, it can produce neither riches nor culture.

But equally unquestionable is the other sentence:

"To that degree in which labor develops socially and thereby becomes the source of wealth and culture, do poverty and destitution develop upon the side of the workers, wealth and culture upon the side of the non-workers."

This is the law in all history up to the present time.

Therefore this was the time and place, instead of employing general, empty phrases about "labor" and "society," to show definitely how finally, in the present capitalist society, the material and other conditions are created which qualify and force the workers to break that social curse.

But in fact, the whole sentence is a failure in point of style and substance, is there only for the purpose of inscribing the Lassallian catch-word "uncurtailed returns of labor" upon the peak of the party flag as a watch-word. I shall come back later to the "returns of labor," "equal rights" etc. as the same matter comes up again in a somewhat different form.

2. "In society of today, the means of labor are monopolized by the capitalist class. The consequent dependence of the working class is the cause of every form of misery and servitude."

The phrase borrowed from the international statutes is in this "improved edition" false. In the society of today, the

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means of labor are monopolized by the landed proprietors (monopoly of landed property is even the basis of monopoly of capital and by the capitalists. In the passage in question, the international statute names neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. It speaks of "Monopoly of the means of labor," i. e. of the sources of life. The addition: "sources of life" shows sufficiently that the land and soil is included in the means of labor.

The improvement was brought forward because Lassalle for grounds now generally known, attacked only the capitalist class, not the landed proprietors. In England, the capitalist for the most part is not even owner of the land and soil upon which his factory stands.

3. "The emancipation of labor demands the elevation of the means of labor to common property of society and the confederated regulation of the whole labor with just distribution of the returns of labor."

"Elevation of the means of labor to common property" probably means their "transformation to common property," but this is merely a side remark.

What are the "returns of labor?" The product of labor or its value? And in the latter case, is it the total value of the product or only that portion of value that labor has newly added to the value of the consumed means of production?

"Returns of labor" is a loose notion that Lassalle has set in the place of definite economic conceptions. What is "just distribution?" Do not the bourgeois maintain that the distribution of today is "just?" And is it not actually the only "just distribution", upon the basis of the present method of production? Are economic relations regulated by conceptions of right or on the contrary, do not relations of right take their origin in economic relations? Have not also the socialistic sectarians the most varied ideas in regard to "just distribution?"

In order to know what to conceive in this particular instance by the phrase "just distribution," we must connect the first sentence with this one. The last supposes a society in which the "means of labor are common property and the whole labor is regulated confederately" and in the first sentence, we see that "the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

To "all members of society?" To the non-workers also? Where then is the "uncurtailed return of labor?" Only to the working members of society? Where then is "the equal right" of all members of society?

After all, "all members of society" and "the equal right"

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are obviously but empty phrases. The kernel of it is, that in this communistic society every worker must receive an "uncurtailed" Lassallian "return of labor."

In the first place, regarding that phrase "return of labor" in the sense of product of labor, the confederated return of labor is the whole social product. To be subtracted from it are:—

First: provision for the replacement of the means of production consumed,

Second: a supplementary portion for the extension of production,

Third: a reserve or insurance fund for protection against accidents, disturbances resulting from natural causes etc.

These deductions from the "uncurtailed return of labor" are an economic necessity and their magnitude is to be determined according to existing means and forces, in part by the calculation of probabilities but in no manner can they be calculated by justice.

There remains the other portion of the whole product, destined to serve as means of consumption. Before it reaches individual division, there is again subtracted:

First: the general cost of administration, not belonging to production. This portion, at the very outset, will be reduced most considerably in comparison with the administrative costs of the present society and will be decreased in the same degree as the new society develops.

Second: whatever is designed for the common satisfaction of needs, as schools, sanitary provisions etc. This portion from the outset will grow considerably in comparison with the outlay of present society and will increase in the same degree as the new society develops.

Third: a fund for those incapable of work, etc., in short, for what to-day belongs to the so-called official care of the poor.

Only now do we arrive at the "distribution" which alone is recognized by that program, so subtly influenced by the Lassallians, namely, that portion of the means of consumption which will be distributed among the individual producers.

The "uncurtailed return of labor" has already transformed itself under our very eyes into the "curtailed," although what is lost to the producer in his capacity as private individual, benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society.

As the phrase "uncurtailed return of labor" has vanished, so now the phrase "return of labor," in general, vanishes.

The producers do not exchange their products within the

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confederate society based upon the common property of the means of production; just as little does the labor employed upon the products here appear as value of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now in contrast to capitalist society, the individual work no longer exists in a round about way, but directly as component of the whole work. That phrase, "return of labor," even today condemnable because of its double meaning, thus loses all sense.

What we have here before us, is a communist society, not as it has developed up from its own foundation but the reverse, just as it issues from capitalist society; which therefore, is in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually still encumbered with the mother marks of the old society out of whose lap it has come.

Accordingly, the single producer (after the deduction) receives back exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it, is his individual amount of work. For example, the social workday consists of the sum of individual working hours; the individual working time of the single producer is that part of the social workday furnished by him, his share of it. He receives from society a receipt that he has furnished so and so much work (after deduction of his work for the common funds) and with this receipt he draws out of the social supply of the means of consumption as much as costs an equal amount of work. The same amount of work which he has given society in one form, he receives back in another form.

Obviously the same principle governs here that regulates the exchange of commodities, in so far as it is the exchange of equal values. Substance and form are changed because under the altered condition no one can give anything except his work and because on the other hand, nothing can become the property of the individual except individual means of consumption.

But in so far as the distribution of the last amongst the single producers is concerned, the same principle governs as in the exchange of equivalent commodities, a certain amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another form.

The "equal right" then is here still according to the principle—the bourgeois right, although principle and practice are no longer at strife, while the exchange of equivalents in the exchange of commodities exists only for the average, not for the individual case.

Despite this progress, this "equal right" is still always encumbered with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the pro-

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ducers is proportional to the amount of work they furnish: the equality consists in that the labor is measured by an equal standard.

But one is superior to another physically or mentally, consequently furnishes more work in the same time or can work during a longer time; and the work, in order to serve as a standard, must be determined according to the extent or the intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard. This "equal right" is unequal right for unequal work. It recognizes no class differences because each is but a worker like the other; but it quietly recognizes the unequal individual endowment and therefore capability of performance, as natural privileges. It is therefore, a right to inequality, according to its substance, as is all right. According to its nature, right can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but the unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals, were they not unequal) are only measurable by an equal standard, in so far as they are considered from a like point of view, conceived only from a definite side, for instance, in the given case, considered only as workers; and nothing more seen in them, abstracted from everything else. Further: one worker is married, the other not; one has more children than the other, etc., etc. By furnishing an equal amount of work and thereby an equal share of the social fund for consumption, the one therefore actually receives more than the other, the one is richer than the other, etc.

In order to avoid all these faulty conditions, right must be unequal, not equal.

But these faulty conditions are unavoidable in the first phrase of communist society, just as it has been born of capitalist society after long travail. Right can never be higher than the economic form of society and the development of culture thereby conditioned.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the servile subordination of individuals to the division of labor and therewith the contrast between intellectual and corporeal labor has disappeared, after labor has become not only means of life but itself the first necessity of life, after with the all round development of the individuals, the forces of production also have grown and all fountains of confederate wealth flow more fully — only then can the narrow bourgeois horizon of right be wholly crossed and society inscribe upon its flags: Each according to his capabilities; to each according to his needs!

I have entered more at length into the "uncurtailed return of labor" upon the one hand, the "equal right," the "just distribution" upon the other hand, in order to point out how

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very frivolous it is upon the one hand to force upon our party again as dogmas, representations which at a certain time had a meaning but now have become antiquated phraseologic trash, and upon the other hand to pervert the realistic conception which has been so laboriously inculcated in the party and has now taken root in it, by means of ideologic pretences of right and other evasions so current with Democrats and French Socialists.

Apart from my elucidation up to this point, it was, upon the whole a mistake to lay so much stress upon distribution and to place the chief emphasis upon it.

Under any and all circumstances, the distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the conditions of production, itself. But this last distribution is a characteristic of the method of distribution itself.

For example, — the capitalist method of production is based upon the fact that the material conditions of production are apportioned to non-workers under the form of capitalized property and landed property, while the masses are owners only of the personal condition of production, of labor power. With the elements of production thus distributed, there results spontaneously the present distribution of the means of consumption. If the material conditions of production are the confederate property of the workers themselves, just so will there result a distribution of the means of consumption, different from that of the present day. Vulgar socialists (and from them again, a part of the democrats) have copied the bourgeois economists in considering and treating of distribution as independent of the method of production and therefore portraying socialism as centering chiefly upon distribution.

After the actual relation was made clear long ago, why go backward again?

4. "The emancipation of labor must be the work of the working class opposed to which, all other classes are but a reactionary mass."

The first proposition is taken from the introductory words of the international statutes but "improved upon." There it reads: — "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves" here, on the contrary, the working class has to emancipate — what? "Labor." Let him understand who can.

To make amends for the mischief, the counter-phrase of Lassalle's citation, is on the other hand, of the purest water: "opposed to which (the working class) all other classes form but a reactionary mass."

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In the Communist Manifesto, it reads: "Of all classes which today stand confronting the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes perish and are swallowed up by the great industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The bourgeoisie is here conceived of as a revolutionary class — as the carrier of great industry — confronting feudal and middle classes which wish to maintain all social positions which are the work of antiquated methods of production. Consequently, they do not, together with the bourgeoisie form but one reactionary mass.

Upon the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary as confronting the bourgeoisie because itself growing out of the soil of great industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the Manifesto adds: "that the middle classes become revolutionary in view of their impending transition into the proletariat."

From this standpoint it is therefore again nonsense that they together with the bourgeoisie and above all with the feudals "form but one reactionary mass," opposed to the working class.

At the last election, were the hand workers, petty shopmen etc., and peasants appealed to thus: "as opposed to us, you form with the bourgeois and feudals but one reactionary mass?"

Lassalle knew the Communist Manifesto by heart, just as his faithful knew the Holy Writings emanating from his pen. When he then so grossly falsified it, it was only because he wished to palliate his alliance with the absolutist and feudal opponents of the bourgeoisie.

In addition to this, his words of wisdom are dragged into the above sentence by the hair, without any connection with the debased quotation from the statutes of the International. Here therefore, it is simply an impertinence and in truth, in no wise such as is displeasing to Mr. Bismarck, one of those cheap ill-manners in which the Berlin gentleman imitates Marat.

"The working class works for its emancipation firstly within the bounds of the national state of today, conscious that the necessary result of its striving which is common to the workers of all civilized countries, will be the international fraternity of nations."

In contrast to the Communist Manifesto and to all earlier Socialism, Lassalle conceived the labor movement from

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the narrowest national standpoint. In this he is followed; and this, after the labors of the International!

It is a matter of course that, in order to be able to fight at all, the working class must organize at home by itself as a class and that the immediate theatre of the battle must be domestic.

In so far is its class struggle national, not according to its substance but as the Communist Manifesto says — "according to its form."

But the boundary of the national state of today, for instance of the German empire, itself corresponds economically to the boundary of the world market, politically to the boundary of the system of state. Any merchant knows that German commerce is at the same time foreign commerce and the greatness of Mr. Bismarck consists indeed in exactly a kind of international politics.

And to what does the German Labor Party reduce its internationalism? To the consciousness that the result of its striving "will be the international fraternity of nations,— a phrase borrowed from the bourgeois liberty and peace band, which shall pass as the equivalent of the international fraternity of the working classes in common struggle against the ruling classes and their governments.

Of the international functions of the German working class, therefore not a word! And thus shall it offer the parole to its own bourgeoisie already fraternized with the bourgeois of all other countries against it, and to Mr. Bismarck's international conspiracy politics!

Actually the international creed of the program stands infinitely below that of the Free Trade party. It too, maintains that the result of its striving is "the international fraternity of nations."

But it also does something to make trade international and in no way contents itself with the consciousness — that all nations carry on trade at home by themselves.

The international activity of the working classes depends in no wise, upon the existence of the "International Workingmen's Association." The association was the first attempt to create a central organ for that activity; an attempt that through the impulse which it gave, was of lasting effect, but after the fall of the Paris Commune, it could no longer be carried through in its first historic form.

Bismarck's "North German" was perfectly right when it announced to the satisfaction of its master that the German Labor Party had forsworn Internationalism in the new program.

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II.

"Proceeding upon these principles, the German Labor Party strives by all legal means for the free state ..... and ..... the socialist society, the abolition of the wage-system with the iron law of wages ..... and ..... exploitation in every form; the removal of all social and political inequality."

The "free" state, I shall refer to later on. So in the future, the German Labor Party has to believe in Lassalle's "iron law of wages." That it may not be lost, the nonsense is perpetrated of speaking of "abolition of the wage-system" (it should be called, — system of wage-labor) with the "iron law of wages." If I abolish wage-labor, I of course also abolish its laws be they iron or spongy. But Lassalle's contention with wage-labor turns almost wholly upon this so-called law. In order then, to prove the Lassallian sect has been victorious, it is necessary to abolish the "Wage-system with the iron law of wages" and not without it.

It is well known that of the "iron law of wages," nothing belongs to Lassalle except the word "iron," borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, great iron laws!" The word iron is a sign by which the orthodox believers recognize one another. But if I take the law with Lassalle's seal and therefore in his sense, I must also take it with his proof. And what is that? As Lange already showed soon after Lassalle's death: the Malthusian theory of population, preached by Lange himself. But if this is correct, I can not abolish the law though I abolish wage-labor a hundred times, because the law then governs not alone the system of wage-labor but every social system. Upon just this base, the economists have proven for over fifty years that Socialism can not abolish misery which is grounded in nature, but can only generalize it and at the same time, distribute it over the whole surface of society.

But all this is not the chief point. Entirely apart from the false Lassallian conception of the law, the truly enraging step backward consists in this: since Lassalle's death, the scientific insight has broken its way into our party that wages are not what they appear to be, namely, the value, respectively the price, of labor, but only a masked form for the value, respectively the price, of labor-power. Thereby the whole hitherto bourgeois conception of wages as well as the whole criticism hitherto directed against it, were once and for all thrown overboard and it was made clear that the wage-worker has only the permission to work for his own life, i. e. to live, only in so far as he works a certain time for

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nothing for the capitalist, therefore also for the latter's co-consumer of surplus value; that the whole system of capitalist production, therefore, turns upon the prolonging of this gratis work, by extension of the workday or by development of the productivity, respectively the greater tension of the labor-power etc.; that consequently, the system of wage-labor is a system of slavery and indeed of a slavery that becomes harder in the same degree as the productive forces of labor develop, whether the workers receive larger or smaller payment. And after this insight has more and more broken its way in our party, they turn back to Lassalle's dogmas although they must now know that Lassalle did not know what wages were, but following the bourgeois economists, took the appearance for the substance of the matter.

It is just as if among slaves who at last have discovered the secret of slavery and have broken out in rebellion, some slave prejudiced by obsolete ideas, were to inscribe in the program of the rebellion: slavery must be abolished because under the system of slavery, the cost of feeding the slaves can not exceed a certain low maximum.

The mere fact that the representatives of our party were capable of committing such a monstrous attack upon the insight spread among the mass of the party, proves not only with what ..... frivolity ..... they went to work in the drafting of the compromise program!

Instead of the uncertain concluding phrase of the sentence, "the removal of all social and political inequality," it should read: that with the abolition of the class differences, all social and political inequality originating in them, would disappear of itself.

III.

"In order to usher in the solution of the social question, the German Labor Party demands the establishment of productive federations with state aid, under democratic control by the working people. The productive federations are to be called into life for manufacture and agriculture upon such a scale that the socialist organization of the whole of labor shall arise out of them."

According to the Lassallian "iron law of wages," the remedy of a prophet! It is "ushered in," in worthy manner. In place of the existing class-struggle there appears the phrase of a newspaper writer: the "social question" whose "solution" will be ushered in. The "Socialist organization of the whole of labor" "arises," instead of from the revolutionary transformative process of society, from the "state

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aid" which the state gives to productive federations which it and not the worker "calls into life."

This is worthy of the imagination of Lassalle, that with state loans, a new society can be built as easily as a new railroad!

Out of * * * * shame the "state aid" — is placed under the democratic control of the "working people."

First: the majority of the "working people" in Germany consists of peasants and not of proletarians.

Second: "democratic" means in German, governing by the people. What does "the governing by the people, control by the working people" mean? And this above all, from working people who by these demands which they made upon the state, express their full consciousness that they neither govern nor are ripe for governing.

It is superfluous to enter here upon a criticism of the recipes written in contradiction of the French socialists by Buchez under Louis Philippe and subscribed to by the reactionary workers of the "Atelier." The main offense does not consist in that these specific wonder-cures have been put into the program, but in general, that there is a retrogression from the standpoint of a class movement to that of a sect movement.

That the workers wish to establish the conditions of confederate production upon a social and firstly by themselves, upon a national standard, only means that they work for the overthrow of the present conditions of production and has nothing in common with the founding of co-operative colonies with state aid. As far as the present co-operative colonies are concerned, they are of value **only** in so far as they are independent creations of the workers, protected neither by the governments nor by the bourgeois.

IV.

I come now to the democratic portion.

A. "*Free foundation of the state.*"

First, according to II, the German Labor Party strives for "the free state!" Free state — what is that? By no means is it the object of those workers who have got rid of the narrow reasoning peculiar to the ruled, to make the state free. In the German empire, the state is almost as "free" as in Russia. The freedom consists in transforming the state from an organ having authority over society into one entirely subordinate to it, and today also, the political forms are freer or less free according to the degree in which they limit the "freedom of the state."

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The German Labor Party, — at least, if it adopts the program — shows that its socialist ideas are not even skin-deep; for instead of treating existing society (and this holds good for every future society) as the foundation of the existing state (or future for future society), it treats the state rather as an independent existence which possesses its own intellectual, moral, free foundation.

And then the base misuse that the program makes of the phrase "present state", "present society," and the still baser misunderstanding which it causes in regard to the state upon which its demands are directed.

"Present society" is capitalist society, that exists in all civilized countries more or less free from mediaeval addition, more or less modified by the special historic development of each country, more or less developed. On the other hand, the "present state" changes with the boundary of the country. It is different in the Prussian-German empire than in Switzerland, different in England than in the United States. The "present state" therefore, is a fiction.

But after all, the various states of the various civilized countries despite their motley difference in form, all have that in common, that they rest upon the ground of modern bourgeois society, only one more, one less capitalistically developed. Therefore they also have certain important characteristics in common. In this sense, is it possible to speak of the "present state" in contrast to the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, is dead.

Then the question arises: what transformation will the character of the state undergo in becoming a communist society? In other words, what social functions will be left there, which are analogous to the present functions of the state? This question is to be answered only scientifically and it is impossible by combining the word people with the word state a thousand times, to reach even the length of a flea's jump, nearer to the solution of the problem.

Between the capitalist and the communist society, lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. To this there corresponds also a political transition period, in which the state can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the program has to do with neither the last nor with the future character of the state of the communist society.

Its political demands contain nothing more than the old democratic litany, known to all the world: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular law, popular defence etc. They are

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merely an echo of the bourgeois people's party, of the peace and liberty band. They are simply demands which, in so far as they are not exaggerated into fantastic notions, are already realized. Only the state to which they belong, lies not within the boundary of the German empire but in Switzerland, the United States etc. This kind of a "Future state" is the state of to-day, although existing outside of "the frame" of the German empire.

But one thing is forgotten. Since the German Labor Party expressly declares that it moves within the "present national state", consequently its state, the Prussian-German empire,—its demands would otherwise be also for the greatest part senseless, as a person demands only that which he has not—it must not forget the chief thing, namely that all those beautiful little matters depend upon the recognition of the socalled sovereignty of the people; that therefore they are in place, only in a democratic republic.

As one is not in position—and wisely, for the conditions command caution—to demand the democratic republic, as the French labor program did under Louis Phillippe and under Louis Napoleon—so too, one ought not to flee to the * * * * pretense of demanding things which have sense only in a democratic republic, from a state that is nothing else than a military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms, mixed with feudal additions, already influenced by the bourgeoisie, bureaucratically constructed, guarded by the police, * * *

Even the vulgar democracy that sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no suspicion that it is in just this last form of state of bourgeois society that the class-struggle has to be definitely fought out—even it stands mountain high above such a kind of democracy, within the boundaries of what is permitted by the police and what is logically forbidden.

The very words: "the German Labor Party demands as economical foundation of the state: a single progressive income tax etc.", show that in fact, by "state" is understood the machine of government or the state, in so far as by division of labor, it forms an economic foundation of the governmental machinery and of nothing else. In the "future state" existing in Switzerland, this demand is tolerably fulfilled. Income tax presupposes the different sources of income of the different social classes, consequently capitalist society. It is therefore not strange that the financial-reformers of Liverpool—bourgeois with Gladstone's brother at their head —put forth the same demand as does the program.

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B. "The German Labor Party demands as intellectual and moral foundation of the state:

1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. General compulsory education, gratuitous instruction."

"Equal education of the people?" What is to be imagined by these words? Does any one believe that in the present society, and we have only with that to do, the education can be equal for all classes? Or is it demanded that the high classes too, shall be reduced to the small degree of education —the public school—, that alone is compatible with the economic conditions, not only of the wage-worker but also of the peasant?

"General compulsory education. Gratuitous instruction." The first exists even in Germany, the second in Switzerland and in the United States for the public schools. If in a few states of the last named, the higher institutions of learning also are gratuitous," it only means in fact that the upper classes have their cost of education defrayed out of the general taxbag. This, by the by, also holds good for the "gratuitous administration of justice" demanded in A. 5. Criminal justice can be had everywhere gratuitously; civil justice turns almost only upon conflicts in regard to property, therefore affects almost exclusively the propertied classes. Shall they carry on their lawsuits at the expense of the public purse?

The paragraph pertaining to the schools ought to have demanded at least technical schools, theoretical and practical, in conjunction with the public school.

Wholly condemnable is an "education of the people by the state" to determine the financial means of the public schools, the qualifications of the corps of teachers, the branches of instruction etc. by a general law and as happens in the United States, to watch over the execution of these statutory regulations by state inspectors is something entirely different from naming the state, the educator of the people. Much rather should the government and the church be excluded from any influence upon the school. Especially in the Prussian-German empire (and let not any one extricate himself by the corrupt subterfuge that a "future state" is spoken of; we have seen what kind of a case that is) the state, on the other hand is in need of a very harsh education by the people!

Indeed, the whole program, despite all democratic jingling, is poisoned through and through with the belief of a subject in the state, characteristic of the Lassallian sect, or what is no better, democratic belief in miracles, equally distant from socialism. "Freedom of Conscience"! If at this period

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of the struggle for civilization, one wished to impress upon liberalism its old catch words, it could be only in this form: Every one must be able to perform his religious * * * * needs without the police sticking his nose in. But still upon this occasion, the Labor Party had to express its consciousness that the bourgeois "Freedom of Conscience" is nothing more than the sufferance of all possible sorts of religious freedom of conscience and that it rather aims to free the consciences from religious ghosts. But one chooses not to step beyond the "bourgeois" level.

I have now reached the end, for the appendix, that follows in the program, does not form a characteristic part of it. Therefore, I shall be short.

2. "Normal Workday."

The Labor Party of no other country has limited itself to such an indefinite demand, but has always fixed the length of the workday that it considers normal under the given conditions.

3. "Limitation of Women's Labor and Prohibition of Child Labor."

The making of the workday normal must of itself include the limitation of woman's labor, in so far as it relates to the length, respites etc.; otherwise it can only signify exclusion of woman's labor from branches of labor that are especially unsanitary for the feminine physique or are immoral for the female sex. If that is meant, it ought to be said.

Prohibition of Child Labor! It was absolutely necessary to state here the limit of age. General prohibition of child labor is incompatible with the existence of great industry and is therefore an empty, pious wish. To carry this out—even if possible—would be reactionary, since with strict regulation of the labor time according to the different ages and other precautionary measures for the protection of children, the premature union of productive labor with instruction is one of the most powerful means of the transformation of the society of to-day.

4. "State inspection of the Factory, Workshop and House Industry."

In contrast to the Prussian-German state, it should have been distinctly demanded that the inspectors can be removed only judicially; that any worker can bring them before the courts for violation of duty; that they must belong to the medical profession.

5. "Regulation of Prison Labor."

Petty demand in a general labor program! At any rate, it ought to be clearly expressed that it is not because of envy

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induced by competition that it is desired to treat common criminals like cattle and in particular to cut off from them their sole means of improvement,—productive work. That indeed was the very least that would be expected from socialists.

6. "An effective law of imprisonment."

It should have been stated what is to be understood by "effective" law of imprisonment. Incidentally remarked, in the paragraph concerning the normal workday, that part of factory legislation pertaining to sanitary regulations and means of protection from danger etc. was overlooked. The law of imprisonment becomes effective when these regulations have been violated * * * *.

Translated by Harriet E. Lothrop.

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Asiatic Exclusion.



THE PROBLEM of the influx of Asiatic labor into the United States seems to present itself to the Socialist Party in a somewhat different light than it does to other working class organizations. We are, or at least if we ever expect to be a power, we should be a party representative of the working class. Furthermore while we hold fraternal relations with the Socialist Parties of other countries, it is our particular and especial business to develope our own home organization. As scientific Socialists we know the only force which can ever effect the social revolution we hope and work for is the working-class. And we know further that the working class can accomplish that revolution only by a powerful and efficient organization. It cannot be achieved in the face of the skilfully organized forces of Capital by a mere mob. It is to the organized working-class, therefore, that we must look for our strength and support, for the means of our final victory.

The materialist conception of history teaches that it is folly to expect men in the mass to accept beautiful ideals and work for those ideals as against their present material interests. Marx has clearly shown that it is the material interests and economic necessities of men as individuals and classes that dictates their social conduct and political action. Accepting Marx we are driven inexorably to the position that an organization becomes stronger the more accurately it meets the material interests and economic necessities of the people. Indeed it was for this purpose that the materialist conception of history was made a part of the socialist propaganda — to be a lamp unto our feet, a guide in the darkness, that we would not fall into the morass of impractical schemes while pursuing the beautiful but illusory ideals of altruistic utopianism. So the Communist Manifesto says "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working-class."

We have then the organized working-class as the means, and its material interests and economic necessities as the force by which alone can be achieved the social revolution. We are further limited that this revolution is to be effected, so

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far as our efforts extend, within the United States, a definite political and geographical territory.

Viewed merely as a matter of political expediency it is evident that the way to gain the good-will and support of the working man is to aid him to a better condition of life. The sure way to gain his ill-will and hatred is to participate in or advocate the degradation of his standard of life, or to remain neutral while he is sore-pressed by his capitalist enemies. If we are to build up a class-conscious workingman's political party then we must appeal to the material interests of the organized workingmen and encourage the betterment of their conditions as far as we are able. Shall we not say "We, the Socialist Party, as workingmen are resolved to use the ballot for our own benefit; we have organized the Socialist party to advance politically our material interests?" Thus we take the scientific socialist position and face the question of Asiatic exclusion from the standpoint of how it will affect *us as workingmen.*

It is idle for the idealists in the Socialist Party to prate about our duty to the Japanese workingmen or to preach of "internationalism" and fraternity. My personal experience is that it is the professional and small business men who are animated by these noble ideals, and who can cherish them with some safety as Japanese immigration has not yet seriously threatened their livelihood. With the organized workingmen and the unorganized, unskilled laborers, however, it is a different matter. For them to welcome the intense competition of Asiatic immigration with its low standard of living is to immolate themselves on the altar of international ideals and leave their wives and children go more hungry and ragged than ever. The reply of the workingmen to such a proposition is plain and emphatic. Unanimously in every organization the workingmen of America have declared for the exclusion of Asiatic labor.

In California the exclusion sentiment is so unanimous that all the political parties, depending for power as they all do on popular suffrage, were compelled to subscribe to this demand of Labor for the exclusion of Asiatics. But some Socialists who believe they cannot be truly revolutionary unless they are on the opposite side of the question from everyone else, whose only method of distinguishing the socialist position is to find out what organized labor wants and then take the antagonistic position — these Socialists (save the mark) are bitterly opposing the action of the National Executive Committee. They feel encouraged by the action of the Stuttgart Congress which adopted a long and contradictory

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resolution expressing the muddled idealism of that body to whom the question was necessarily academic and unrelated to their material interests. Had it been subjected to the touchstone of the economic welfare of the German and French proletarians, there can be little doubt as to the attitude of Bebel and Jaures. Bebel would have declared as he declared in regard to disarmament. "The culture,, education, art, and literature of Germany were the heritage of the race, the property of the proletariat and that to defend them was no false patriotism, no treason to the workingclass." He would have declared that to permit the influx of millions from Asia would be "to put the more advanced nations at the mercy of the more backward ones" and to "adopt such tactics would be fatal to the German Social Democracy." See International Socialist Review, Sept., 1907, p. 133-4. So too would Jaures have spoken defending at all hazards the standard of life of the French workingman. Neither of these men could maintain their position as leaders of the proletarian party, did they not always fight for the betterment of the conditions of their constituents. But the American workers were represented by not a man from the West who knows what Asiatic immigration means, and were misrepresented by delegates better acquainted with Europe than with that portion of the United States lying west of New York City.. It is significant that the three countries that have Asiatic immigration are opposed to it, viz., South Africa, Australia, and America. The people that are not opposed to it are just those who have none of it. And of course those socialist residents of the United States who import their opinions ready made from Europe and are incapable of applying the fundamental principles of Socialism to the local facts cannot be independent in this matter from the dictum of our well-meaning European Comrades who did not know what they were talking about.

Three reasons all false are adduced for favoring an open shop, for that is the practical meaning of the anti-exclusionist's argument.

First:—It is asserted that the Japanese standard of living is as high as that of the European immigrants or of the native workingman, hence there can be no competition disastrous to the workers already here.

Let us appeal to the facts!

Hawaii has been open to the unrestricted immigration of the Japanese and may therefor be taken as an illustration of what would happen on the mainland of America were the Asiatic given perfect freedom to come. Bulletin No. 66 of the Bureau of Labor deals with the question statistically. The

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Capitalist planters had declared that "the success of the plantations is conditioned, not only by cheap labor but also by law-abiding and docile labor. White labor is either too expensive or too unreliable for profitable operation." And on this demand the importation of Asiatics began. In 1884 there were some 116 Japanese in the island, the plantations were being operated by whites, Hawaiians, and Chinese. In 1900 there were 56.000 and now there are probably 60.000 Japanese. The percentage of the total population was 0.14% in 1884 and 36.50% in 1900. In 1905 the Japanese constituted 65% of the employees on the sugar plantations. Most of these were contract laborers, whose condition was little removed from serfdom. The testimony of wage-schedules and of capitalists combines to show that though strikes have occurred the Japanese are far more law-abiding and docile than any other labor.

The results to the wage schedule are seen in the following figures reported by the U. S. Bureau of Labor.

Table of Daily Wages.

Blacksmiths		Carpenters		Brakemen	
Americans	$4.13	Americans	$4.00	Hawaiians	$1.01
Scotch	4.25	Portugese	2.41	Portugese	.96
Portugese	2.97	Hawaiians	1.60	Japanese	.86
Hawaiian	1.83	Chinamen	1.49		
Japanese	1.54	Japanese	1.37		
Cane Weighers		**Engineers**		**Clerks**	
Americans	$2.34	Americans	$3.06	Americans	$2.47
Portugese	1.13	Portugese	1.88	Portugese	1.17
Hawaiians	1.07	Hawaiians	1.76	Japanese	1.09
Japanese	.78	Japanese	1.21		
Laborers		**Cane Cutters**		**Field hands**	
Americans	$1.12	Chinese	$ .84	Hawaiians	$ .74
Chinamen	.81	Japanese	.70	Japanese	.65
Japanese	.78				

Similar figures can be produced for Pumpmen, Overseers, Teamsters, Painters, Wharfhands, Sugar Boilers and helpers, and other occupations in the Island. These figures taken from occupations where white and Japanese laborers are in competition show conclusively that the Japanese are absolutely the worst paid of the whole population, worse even than the Chinese. Not only are their wages worse but their hours of labor are longer. While in some trades a slight advance in wages has been gained in the past decade, in those occupations peculiarly liable to Japanese competition wages have declined. For instance, Field hands received 73c a day in

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1900, 64c in 1902, and 63c in 1905. (This is the average including female labor).

First the unskilled laborers, then the skilled labor, then the petty merchants, the little storekeepers feel the disastrous competition of the Japanese. Hawaii is suffering to-day from excessive Orientalization. It is dominated by Japanese standards of living. Take the Building trades. In 1881 one establishment employed 41 white carpenters and 7 helpers; 17 more than the seven largest establishments employed in 1905. One establishment employed 6 bricklayers in 1881. and only three were employed by the 7 biggest concerns in 1905. It is not because building has ceased but because the Japanese with their lower wages and longer hours have displaced the whites. The effect on the merchants is evident. They have fewer customers, and these have slenderer purses; and as the Japanese enter business they become rivals.

The standard of living would be debased were the whites compelled to stay on the islands. Fortunately for them California is not as yet inunated by the flood of Asiatic immigration and still offers good wages and fair employment as things go. It costs a white man $40 month to live in Hawaii. The Portugese however manage to exist on $15 to $20. But the Japanese saves money on $10 a month.

But Hawaii is only a half-way station. They are coming into the mainland at the rate of more than 2500 a month and in increasing numbers. Unskilled labor has felt this competition for some time being compelled to relinquish job after job to the low standard of living it could not endure. The unskilled laborers are largely unorganized and voiceless. But as the tide rises it is reaching the skilled laborers and the small merchants. These are neither unorganized nor voiceless, and viewing the menace to their livelihood they loudly demand protection of their material interests. This menace is not due to the superior skill of the Japanese but entirely to their inferior standard of subsistence. It was very good of the International Congress to declare that it was the "duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life which frequently results from the massimport of unorganized workers." But Necessity had already taught us that duty. When "the Congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite races from immigration" we are obliged to inquire what is meant by "proper." We of the Pacific Coast certainly know that exclusion is an effective solution. In the seventh decade of the nineteenth century the problem arose of the immigration of Chinese laborers. The Republican and

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Democratic parties failed to give heed to the necessities of the situation and the Workingman's party arose and swept the state with the campaign cry of "The Chinese must go." Then the two old parties woke up and have since realized that to hold the labor vote they must stand for Asiatic exclusion. It is due to this that we are not now inundated by Chinese coolies in California and faced by a social race and labor problem like that of the South.

The second point urged by those who oppose exclusion perhaps had some weight with the Congress in distinguishing between "proper" and improper solutions. It is said by some of our wise economists that the American workingmen might as well meet the competition of imported Japanese labor as the competition of imported Japanese goods or face their competition in the world market. What reasoning arrives at this conclusion it is hard to discover. It involves the theory of the mutual interest of Capitalists and laborers, that wages depends on the price the manufacturer gets for goods produced. But is it really the same to the American workingman to have his wages (the price he sells his labor for) ground down and his job taken from him by a horde of competing Japanese laborers, as it is to have the price of the goods the capitalists put upon the market ground down by the competition of Japanese goods? In the first place the home markets are saved to the American capitalist by protection, and such employment as that may afford is kept to the American laborer. If the reply be made that the influx of Japanese-made goods into the world-market will cause the shutting down of our factories and the disemployment of labor, we can agree. But will the admission of Japanese laborers into America prevent the Japanese capitalists from flooding the world-market with their cheap-labor products? And as workingmen which do we prefer to see, the competition of American and Japanese capitalists in the world's commodity market, or the competition of American and Japanese laborers in the United States labor market? While low wages, unemployment and hard times may come from either source, we are bound to protect our own interests first. Let us as workingmen stop as much competition in the home labor market as we can and it will be up to the Capitalist to stop competition in what he has to sell in the world market.

Consider the attitude of the workingman in this matter. He looks naturally to the nearest and last-acting cause of his discharge for the key to a remedy. Though he may dimly perceive remoter causes it is the one right at hand that most powerfully impresses him. We can depend on a great deal

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of discontent from the man who is thrown out of a job. When the cause of his discharge is a wage-worker cheaper in price, different in color, peculiar in manners and alien in speech all the resentment of the discharged workingman will be directed against this "foreign labor," race prejudice will flare up and the bitter hate of a "scab race" will crush out the last semblance of "brotherly love" and "international solidarity." Protestant Yankee against Catholic Irish, Catholic Irish against the "dagoes" all of them against the "sheeny," and on the Pacific Coast the fierce hoodlumism of a Denis Kearny, group-consciousness in the group-struggle to survive! You can not do away with this by preaching Class-consciousness and international solidarity. The material conditions are fatal to those ideals dealing with the question in that way.

On the other hand, what is the result when the proximate cause of the workman's discharge is the closing down of the factory? He sees then not that there is a job there but that a "foreigner" has it; he sees that the job is gone. The capitalists who have been taking exorbitant profits out of his labor and justifying themselves on the ground that they were providing the workers with a job, have broken this arrangement. They no longer provide the worker with a job. Their ability to dispose of the workman's product and get him his wages out of it for which they have been charging their profit — this ability suddenly vanishes. The capitalists are up against it. Their system of doing business has failed. And when the capitalist business system fails to provide him with the means of life all the revolutionary impulse of the discharged workman's sense of injury is turned, not against a fellow-worker, nor used to fan the flames of race hatred, but becomes the power and energy that drives him into an attack on the capitalist system.

We have now an immense amount of unemployment and the discontent is powerfully felt in the increase of the socialist strength. Shall we turn to the workingman who is now taking refuge with us, because the capitalist system has failed to give him the means of life, and say, "We propose to let the Japanese laborers come here in unrestricted numbers, though they work for half or a third of what you do and will undoubtedly displace you in the small amount of work that hard times has left to the toilers of America." If we do say that we should be locked up alongside of Harry Thaw in the Asylum for the Criminally Insane. It seems almost too preposterous to argue!

However it is not to be supposed that Comrade Boudin will be daunted. Japanese cannot become citizens and prac-

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tise law, attorneys' fees are in no danger. And well may he "laugh at scars who never felt a wound." I mean simply that Comrade Boudin cannot appreciate the gravity of the situation any more than the European Socialists. His material interests being unaffected he can indulge that natural propensity for idealism which flourishes in academic speculation. I will grant him more. Earnestly and sincerely, coming from a country and being of a race that has suffered persecution and race hatred, his nature revolts at the idea of race exclusion. But that does not qualify him to formulate the policy of a political party in America. Nor does he reason logically nor does the International have good grounds for declaring that exclusion is "in conflict with the principles of proletarian solidarity."

International solidarity does not mean international competition. What monstrous twisting of "Workingmen of the World, Unite!" gives us the slogan "Workingmen of the World, Compete!" Is it our duty to invite the Japanese here to take our jobs at half the wage we get? Or in addition to the great task of organizing the polyglot mass of workers already here are we to have thrust upon us the task of amalgamating the Japanese? And for what and by whom? For a mere phrase! By people necessarily unappreciative of the immensity of the task!

I say a "mere phrase" for absolutly no substantial gain can be pointed out from unrestricted immigration. For Japan it would mean the loss of the boldest and most enterprising of her proletariat. These men kept at home would turn their strength to upbuilding the unions and the Socialist party there, economic pressure would so compel them. But by immigration they encounter better conditions and the revolutionary impulse is lost in the opportunities for advancement. As for us our first duty is to ourselves; to make ourselves strong enough to achieve the social revolution here in the United States. The best service we can do the Japanese is just that. And let them settle their own fight at home. The gain in wages of the Japanese immigrants would not mean a gain to the Japanese proletarians who have the work of the Japanese fight for Socialism upon them. To the American worker it would mean the loss of a standard of living gained at great cost. It would mean the diversion of revolutionary energy into race riots.

Internationalism means that we do not believe in the wars of aggression and invasion that have marked the world's history heretofore. If we do not believe in military invasion can we consent any more readily to an economic invasion?

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Herve's impassioned declarations that the French workers have nothing to lose by a German invasion and German domination indicates that were there a loss his anti-militarism would be modified. His hold on the French workers is conditioned by their belief that they would be as well off under German capitalists as under the French. But if the Germans came into France with nothing in learning, nothing in culture, nothing in aid of art or science, if they brought only a grievous menace to the standard of life of the French workers, would Herve still say they should not be opposed or would he be listened to if he did?

In conclusion we may say that the time has come for the Socialist Party to decide what its relation shall be to the working-class. Are we going to bend the knee in worship of the idealistic phrase "The Brotherhood of Man" or are we going to affirm our solidarity with American labor and struggle to prevent the destruction of its hard won standard of life? In short are we to remain idealists out of touch with red-blooded, self-assertive life or are we to take our place in the workingman's struggle for existence, organizing his forces and always fighting for an advance in his means of life. Our feelings of brotherhood toward the Japanese must wait until we have no longer reason to look upon them as an inflowing horde of alien scabs. So long as the fact remains the enmity born of those facts will abide with us.

CAMERON H. KING, JR.

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Out of the Dump.

A Story of Organized Charity.



NE MORNING, ten years ago, when I was a little snip of a girl, Dad kissed us all goodbye, from mother down to the baby, and went off to work as usual. He never came back. It was this way. The third floor chute from the Can to the Canning Rooms down at the yards, had begun to give way and father was the first man sent over with a load, after one of the braces had been knocked out. He told the foreman how shaky the beams were, but that's as far as it went. Two of the men working near him told mother about it afterwards. But mother says one reason Dad held his job with the company so long was because he never backed away from risky jobs; nor kicked for safety appliances; nor harped on unsanitary conditions. I suppose that's why he didn't balk when it came to wheeling a great load over that broken chute.

He was always game, Dad was. Not at fighting the boss but game in the face of flying belts and broken machinery and death and disease and doing what the other men were afraid to do. He had been at Carton's for fifteen years, so perhaps that's why he didn't pit his staying qualities against the packing company. Fifteen years is long enough to make most anybody knuckle, especially when it's to the man who hands out the life-saving pay envelope every Saturday night.

Well, father was game once too often, for the beams supporting the old chute gave way and threw him head first into the yard. His spine was injured and the packing house doctor hustled him off in a delivery wagon to a hospital where the company (philanthropically?) supported a private ward. The House Attorney did what he was there for and kept his stenographer busy writing out affidavits which the canning floor workers were required to sign, showing how the accident had occurred through Daddy's own carelessness and the company wasn't to blame at all.

The same men that signed these papers came over to tell mother about the accident. You couldn't blame them for signing. It doesn't help much for two or three men to line up

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against the boss. They'd only be "laid off". It takes numbers to gain anything that way.

They wouldn't let mother see father when she applied for admission at the hospital. She cried and begged but they told her he would get along nicely if he was not disturbed. But the packing house lawyer was admitted at once. You see, it paid the hospital authorities to stand in with the packers. And it paid the Carton Packing Company to keep their attorney at father's side to get a statement from Daddy that would free them from liability. Nobody can accuse them of not looking after their own interests.

Perhaps, if his friends had been able to reach father's bedside, mother might have gotten a few thousand dollars damages from the packing company, and we children could been sent to school, which would have equipped us to bring better returns when we were put on the labor market later on. But if is a big word. Nobody saw father during his last moments but the callous packing house lawyer who brought away a paper which he claimed father signed, releasing the company from liability.

Life was very different for us all after that. Before the accident we had been tolerably sure of the two rooms over Mike's saloon which we called Home. And there was always bread and potatoes and sometimes soup and a stew for dinner. Mother had managed to send Bob and me and Katie and Tim to school a part of the time at least.

But after Dad went, life was a regular Lottery and a good many days were blanks. Mother took in so many washings for awhile that the walls of the basement room turned green with mold. But the Undertaker with his bill camped on her trail.

Bob was only eleven but he said clever things even in those days. We were twins—the eldest—Bob and I. But everybody guessed him to be fourteen when they heard him talk. He always had a way of breaking through shams and hitting the weak spots.

'Mother," he would say whenever the Undertaker appeared, "the Wolf is at the Door." I am sure old Shepard must have heard him.

Its a barbarous custom that saddles the already fainting poor with further burdens for the Dead, and mother almost washed herself into the grave paying father's funeral bills.

One day the Undertaker offered to let Bob work out the balance of the bill. He said he'd put up for Bob's bed and meals and mother was too tired to refuse. I remember he made her sign a paper saying Bobbie was over fourteen, and

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they both told Bob he'd have to say the same thing or the Inspector wouldn't let him work.

It seems to me these Child-Labor-Laws are the craziest jests in the Big Joke Book. "You mustn't work if you are under fourteen", they say; but nobody cares whether we eat or not! A law that says "mustn't" ought to make it possible for a person not to. But there never was a law, so far as I know, that contained that much common sense.

Well, Bobbie went away with the Undertaker and for a time mother cried as if none of us other children was worth thinking about. The first young Piper had been forced out of the "home" nest that was already fast falling apart and the pain of it brought a stony look into mother's eyes; but when Sammie and the baby grew hungry, she forgot about everything but taking care of the rest of us. She didn't even have a day off to be miserable in when father died.

And I have heard folks say working women have no feelings! Would their own sensibilities remain fine, I wonder, with Cold and Hunger pressing ever at their heels ready to seize them if they stopped to think, or weep, or fall ill! Bob would put it, "Poor folks are too busy chasing the elusive Flop and the evasive Meal Ticket to have time for Fancy Feelings!"

At last ,of course ,the little mother gave up. She had worked several days in the steam filled room with a pain in her chest that kept her face white and drawn, but when the fever came on, she was forced to lie down on the old bed. When she found she was unable to rise, she said over and over again to herself.

"The babies, the babies! O my poor little babies! What can I do!" I made her a cup of tea; fed the younger children and put them to bed.

In the night mother was delirious. She woke me calling for somebody to look after Sammie and screaming for them not to take us away from her. She said she "would soon be able to work again." I ran up stairs and woke Mrs. Nome. Mrs. Nome was a lame old woman who sold shoe strings at the "L'" Station. Often she'd send Bobbie to "Mike's" for a can of beer and the Flynns said she got tipsy and went to sleep on the stairs. I don't know about that. But she was very good to us.

When I told her mother was sick, she hopped down stairs and took charge. It was time somebody did. She was kind to mother for a long time. She didn't wash often; that's true, and she didn't believe in manicurists of any kind. She'd have 'lifted" a watch from a rich man with her right hand, and

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spent the proceeds on us kiddies with her left, and been proud of it. That's the kind of a woman she was.

Mrs. Nome was almost as poor as we were. She couldn't feed five hungry waifs, nurse the mother and sell shoe strings. But she stuck to the little mother and assumed command. The wood was nearly gone; the rent was due and we had nothing to eat in the room, but Mrs. Nome was a woman of resources. Since she couldn't feed and warm us herself, she used the materials at hand. She just wrapped me up in a shawl and put one of Bob's old coats on little Sammie and hustled us up to a corner on the boulevard to beg.

We were hungry, Sammie and I, and all the other children were hungry too. Mrs. Nome chose to send Sammie because he was such a pale, wee little imp she thought nobody could turn him down. She said nobody but a "Charity woman" would do it. I know now that she meant the "Scientific Charity Worker" who is hired to nose around the shacks of the poor, hunting for evidence that will enable the charity officials to pronounce the verdict unworthy, from which there is no Appeal, upon the miserable ones. But I'll tell about them later on.

Mrs. Nome knew I'd take care of the kid. I suppose Sammie and I made a pretty pair, as we stood on the corner of a fashionable quarter, huddling as close together as we could and muffling our hands beneath the coat and shawl to keep warm. It was snowing and blowing the typical Chicago January gale and Sammie wept like a leaky drain, audibly and in a way that Mrs. Nome would have said was worth a bank account. His toes stuck from the holes in his shoes, and my stockings were a match for them. We were purple with the cold in ten minutes.

The first well-dressed man that passed, stopped and asked me what Sammie was crying for.

"He's hungry," I said. And my lips quivered and the tears started to my eyes. "So am I." I was very much frightened. Mrs. Nome had cautioned me to look out for the "muggs" and I knew that meant dangerous ground. But the man gave us half a dollar and made us promise to go home. Then he hurried on his way. Sammie brightened up when he saw the money, but when he found it didn't mean dinner, he resumed his wails and would not be comforted.

A stream of well-clad men began to flow steadily from the station toward the great apartment houses on the boulevard, and nearly everybody tossed us a quarter or a dime. Sammie kept up his accompaniment of woe. Mrs. Nome said he was great "Beggars' Capital."

The wind blew the sleet and snow down our necks and

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it cut our faces like glass. The men passing were too eager to gain shelter in the big houses to pause and question us in the storm. They tossed us the first coins they found in their pockets and hurried on.

Nobody asked where we lived and I had no need of the story Mrs. Nome had invented.

"Don't never let them Charity people know where ye live," she said, "Er they'll be down en takin' all you kiddies away from yer maw en sendin' ye to the 'Friendless'. Tell 'em yer name's Jones, Mary Jones, en thet ye live in the Alley. Don't never say nothin' about the Dump."

But nobody asked and by and by I sat down in the snow by Sammie and cried too, till Mrs. Nome came to the rescue and took us home.

My pocket was half filled with quarters and dimes. Old "Granny" took us into a saloon where she counted them. We had $4.75 altogether and she said Sammie was "sure a winner." Her breath smelled strongly of whiskey but she was very kind. And when we got home she made us a supper of stewed rabbit fit for the President. She put the money away for us carefully in her old bag and never spent one penny on herself.

That night she sat up taking care of the little mother.

It is apparent that Old Granny Nome believed in making hay while the sun shone. The day after Sammie and I were initiated into the ways of the beggar fraternity and landed $4.75, the snow continued. Again she conducted us to a fashionable quarter during the dinner hour and again Sammie's tears affected the well-to-dos to the tune of handsome returns. My fears were in abeyance this time and I grew bolder with the happy result of putting the Piper family $5.25 ahead in the game. We began to eat regularly once more.

Mrs. Nome was always worried with fear of the Charity Organization Society. It seems they'd have shoved her into the poor house long before had it not been for the inevitable shoe strings which she hawked. They could never catch her asleep. Always she patently vended her small wares. As there was nobody to prove she didn't earn her own living it was impossible to chuck her away on the County and she remained a lasting eyesore to "Scientific Charity."

Every outcast on the Dump was her ally and she served us all unaccountable good turns. Equally true were the Rich her bane and her abomination. And unbelievable too were the many small ways she found to beat them.

The days passed and she stuck to the helm of the Piper household, nursing the little mother through long nights of pain and feeding us children like a hen-mother come into her

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own. The rent was paid; we children were clothed and mother was supplied with medicine. Sammie continued to wail disconsolately every time we went out on business and I had advanced to the point where I did not try to comfort him.

We were never out long; we always worked on a new corner and invariably at the dinner hour when everybody was in a hurry to get home. By this time we lived riotously and ate three meals a day. And there were eight round silver dollars tucked away for the Piper family in an old pasteboard box in the cupboard. No wonder we all learned to love Granny!

But all good things come to an end. Sammie and I met our finish when we ran into Charles K. Copperthwaite, Superintendent of the Board of Organized Charities. A smug Board of Trade man had just given us a quarter and was hurrying away when up comes Old Copperthwaite. It was the very end. I had six dollars in my pocket when he started out to take us home and "investigate." He counted them.

I'll tell about Copperthwaite later on. Just here he turned on the flashligths and wrote us up in the papers. He roasted the people who had given us money instead of paying it to the Charity Organizations for "investigating" us, and he boosted his own particular organization way up and over. He proved that we had eight dollars in cash in the basement when Sammie and I went out to "impose on a noble-hearted but careless-minded Public."

And then he sent Katie and Tim to the Home for the Friendless and persuaded Mrs. Chauncey Van Kleeck to take me into "her beautiful home" as a watch-dog for her baby, for my board, clothes and schooling. You can go into the Office of the Bureau to this day and read how "charitable" Mrs. Van. was; and see the notes she sent in to the officers every month reporting the moral progress and ability to work shown by the little "beggar."

Copperthwaite got all the philanthropically inclined society ladies to "take such an interest" in mother that before she could raise her head off her pillow, she was nearly smothered with family washings — which the dear ladies sent her out of the kindness of their hearts — at **half** the rates usually paid for such work. "It will enable her," said Copperthwaithe in the papers, "to maintain an honest living and keep the two younger children at home." Then he painted a halo around the heads of the financially elect, and I suppose the society ladies glowed with virtue when they read the papers, thinking they saw themselves as others see them.

MARY E. MARCY.

(To be continued).

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The Alcohol Question.

Addres Delivered by Comrade E. Wurm at The National Convention of The Social Democratic Party of Germany.



N DEFINING our position in regard to the alcohol question it will not suffice to assert the one point upon which we all agree,—that the excessive consumption of alcohol is a vice which must be eradicated,—but it will also be necessary to consider the question of total abstinence. For total abstinence may be commendable if what Professor Bunge has asserted be true: that "we human beings cannot be moderate."

Modern hygiene and the modern social sciences are devoting much attention to the alcohol question, as may be seen from the fact that an index of publications on the alcohol question, just issued by the Academy of Sciences, covers no less than 500 pages. Whether all consumption of alcohol is harmful or whether it becomes harmful only where consumed in larger quantities, whether total abstinence is necessary or whether moderation, temperance, are sufficient, those are problems which can, of course, not be solved by a party convention. The investigation of such problems is not the task of laymen but the task of science. But unfortunately our decision is greatly hampered by the fact that some men of science proclaim total abstinence to be necessary, while others do not consider it necessary to refrain from alcoholic drinks entirely. In order to be able to appreciate the opinions of the physiologists, it will be necessary to acquaint ourselves with the properties of alcohol.

What is alcohol? Alcohol is produced of sugar through a process of fermentation. The sugar becomes dissolved in a liquid solution into alcohol and carbonic acid. What we buy, is never pure alcohol but is always diluted with water. Even the strongest kind of whiskey must contain at least 40 per cent of water; without water alcohol becomes undrinkable. But no matter to what extent the alcohol is diluted, its effect upon the human organism is always the same, an effect that is usually misunderstood by laymen. The effect is an enfeebling one, and what seems to us a stimulating influence, is merely a deception of the senses. The alcohol, in circulating through the system, paralyzes the nerves. The blood-vessels become expanded; the skin becomes reddened. The flow of the blood is quickened and is brought into greater

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contact with the surface of the skin and with the lower external atmosphere. Therefore alcoholic beverages really make the body colder instead of warming it. In the first instant they give us a pleasant sensation of warmth, but soon we feel the cold more keenly than before, and it is a fact that death by freezing is hastened by them. It is also due to deceptive appearances if we believe ourselves to be strengthened by the consumption of alcohol. The sudden warmth simply creates a feeling of well-being, similar to what we feel after having appeased our hunger, and this feeling makes us believe that we have been satiated by the alcohol, though it really contributes almost nothing to our sustenance. The influence of alcohol on the mental faculties is also of a paralyzing nature, although, in our consciousness, it takes the form of an animating influence. The drinker becomes careless, courageous; he no longer realizes danger. It is not a matter of chance, that the whiskey habit expanded in Germany during the terrible wars of the middle ages. Alcohol was employed to lash the battling hordes to greater venturesomeness, just as it is used in Russia to-day when man is driven against man. The sensation of weariness is not relieved by alcohol; we merely become oblivious of it. Alcohol does not produce strength, as many still unfortunately believe, it only acts like the lash, driving without strengthening. This is equally true of both physicial and mental exertions. This effect is still heightened by heating the drinks or mixing them with carbonic acid which acts upon the mucous membrane of the stomach in such a manner that the alcohol becomes more rapidly assimilated. But the most determing factor in regard to the effect of alcohol is the condition of the stomach itself. The effect is far less serious upon a full stomach than upon an empty one.

The dangerous results of excessive consumption of alcohol are well known to all of you. The effects are firstly, of a personal, and secondly, of a social nature. Various diseases are the immediate result of intemperance. Hoarseness and coughs are early symptoms; the inner organs fail to perform their functions normally; debility of the digestive organs is especially frequent. Drinkers, as a rule, do not enjoy their food and in consequence thereof drink still more. Through improper action of the stomach the danger of poisoning by metals, for instance lead poisoning, is increased. The drinking of beer in large quantities is apt to bring about an expansion of the heart, and this again may lead to various other diseases. Kidney and liver troubles are frequent, and the nervous system invariably suffers. The consumption of alcohol lowers the vitality and labor power, and diminishes the laborer's chance to escape injury.

That the effects of alcohol are harmful cannot be doubted by any reasonable person. The question but remains whether these

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effects only result in some cases, or whether every drop of alcohol that passes our lips is really equivalent to poison. Professors Hueppe and Binz emphatically declare that their thorough investigations and experiments convinced them, that the consumption of alcohol becomes harmful only at a certain stage, but that this stage varies with different individuals. Just as with contagious diseases the danger of their extension depends on the one hand upon the presence of germs while, on the other hand it depends upon the disposition of the individual, so also the effect of alcohol depends both on the quantity consumed and on the physical and mental condition of the consumer. According to scientific investigations the limit for the consumption of alochol in a normal adult must be drawn at ½ to 1 ounce in 24 hours. Below this limit there will be no poisonous effects but,—let it be asserted again,—this limit applies only to the healthy well nourished adult person who is not suffering from either physical or mental over exertion. But even such a person should not venture to risk the limit day by day. The above figures refer to pure alcohol only. We must therefore briefly consider the percentage of alcohol contained in various alcoholic beverages:

The oldest drink, as old as the history of man, is wine; wine, which has often been enthusiastically praised as the dispeller of care and sorrow. Semitic tribes first introduced wine among other peoples, and gradually it has triumphantly invaded every land. Most kinds of wine contain 9 to 12 percent of alcohol, while the sweet Hungarian and Spanish wines contain 20 percent of alcohol and 6 percent of sugar.

Beer might be called the younger brother of wine. Since two thousand years it has been prepared from grain that by germinating, malting, transformed its starch into sugar. Even the ancient Egyptians brewed a kind of beer called Pelusium. From Egypt beer was introduced into Europe. Early in the twelfth century the monasteries introduced it in every quarter of Germany, and in the sixteenth century we find Luther raging against the curse of beer. That seemed like a contradiction to his well known saying: "Who loves not woman, wine and song, remains a fool his whole life long"; and therefore some people assert that Luther just condemned beer because he preferred wine. But other historians have tried to prove that Luther only condemned intemperance. At one time beer was considered a nourishing article of food, but this assumption must be emphatically contradicted. Beer contains hardly any albumen. The only nourishing property it does contain is the sugar; but we pay far too high a price for that. As an article of food beer is entirely too expensive, for one quart of beer only contains as much sugar as there is starch contained in two small rolls of bread, and it only contains as much albumen as one roll.

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The third brother, the wicked brother among alcoholic drinks, is whiskey. Originally whiskey was the product of a distillation of wine, that was prepared by alchemists during the early part of the middle age. It was believed that whiskey could animate all the spirits of life, and therefore it had been called "aqua vitae," (water of life). This water of life, that has destroyed so many lives, has, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also been producd in such countries as possessed no wine. It has been distilled from fermented grain, mainly rye, as we see from the term rye-whiskey. The production of rye-whiskey was originally carried on upon a small scale, but since the last century it has tremendously increased. But this increase was not entirely due to the capitalistic mode of production. It was the result of an increased demand, brought about by that awful devastation which the wars wrought in Germany. Poverty and misery have from the first accompanied the production of whiskey, and poverty and misery have accompanied it until the present day. The production of alcoholic drinks has not created a demand for them, but economic conditions created this demand and the increased production strove to meet it. After potatoes had been introduced as an article of food, it was found that a fermenting beverage could be destilled from potatoes also, and so potato whiskey was produced which has played such a destructive part. It is not a mere matter of chance that the whiskey-curse greatly increased after the Napoleonic wars. Germany, and especially Prussia, enjoys the lamentable reputation of having poisoned the whole world with its potato whiskey. Moreover the great land-owners in Prussia were given ample opportunity, due to their reactionary laws,—of obtaining the funds for operating their distilleries from the poorest of the poor, the toiling peasants.

Whiskey has been shown to contain 40 to 50 percent of alcohol.

What then is the limit for the temperate consumption of alcohol of which I have spoken before? Expressed in practical terms we might say that a normal, adult person may drink daily, without harm to himself, 1 to 2 pints of beer, ½ pint to 1 pint of wine, and two to three ounces of whiskey.

But it must always be remembered that this limit is applicable only to an absolutely normal and healthy person. There are people whose constitution is able to withstand such an amount of alcohol. But just those strata of society that chiefly resort to alcoholic stimulants to animate their failing forces, are the very ones which are not healthy and normal. They are underfed, over tired, weakened in body and crushed in spirits, and therefore have less power of resistance. So the choice between temperance and total abstinence becomes an individual question. To determine the proper course for himself each individual must study his own

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nature to assure himself of his proper limit, and besides he must study his social environment; he must examine whether outward influences do not affect him in such a manner, that his power of resistance is weakened. Nourishment, occupation, age and sex must be taken into consideration. There are masses of people who owing to their unfavorable economic position and social environment, ought to avoid alcohol altogether. It is unfortunately true that just those classes who, by outward influences, are driven to the consumption of alcohol, are the very ones who ought to avoid it, because it has a most destructive influence upon them. One of the greatest crimes that parents can commit is to give alcohol in any form to their children. Nevertheless we are not justified in condemning such parents. Why is it that so many babes are soothed by a rubber nipple that has been dipped in whiskey? If we investigate the causes we will find that such unreasonable means of keeping the babies quiet are employed mainly by mothers who are obliged to go out working or to take work home, and who therefore have no time to care for their children. Moreover most parents are ignorant of the great danger that lurks in alcoholic drinks. What is true in regard to children, is also true in regard to very young people. .

Now you may ask whether, in view of the dangers described above, it would not be wiser to declare for total abstinence. The reason why I and many others who share my point of view do not join the movement against alcoholism, is because we know that the causes which drive people to alcoholism to-day can most effectively be combated and eventually exterminated by the politicl activity of the Socialist Party. Our activity is far more beneficent than all well meant sermons and exhortations. The assertion that "we human beings cannot be moderate" is not true. Of course there are many people who cannot control their passion for drink otherwise than by adhering to total abstinence, and who then compensate for that self denial by some other bad habit, for instance by incessant smoking. Others again become total abstainers for the expressed purpose of setting a worthy example to others. But they are mistaken if they believe their good intention to be an effective method; for the economic conditions by which people are impelled to drink are more powerful than the most brilliant example. We are told: "How can you claim that intemperance is a result of economic conditions? Are you not aware that among the class in possession the evil of drink exists to the same, nay, even to a greater extent than among the laboring class?" They who bring forth this argument forget that economic conditions produce not only physical but also intellectual want, and that even those in possession suffer by the extremes of modern conditions. Mental emptiness has taken possession of the ruling class also, and they too feel the want of deceiving themselves and

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of seeking oblivion in drink. Those "respectable gentlemen" who destroy their brains by the means of costly wines are not a bit better than they who are driven to alcoholism by material want, but neither are they less pardonable.

But we, as a political party, need not study the idle portion of the populace but its working portion. We must seek the causes which during the present manner of toil create that increasing degree of physical and mental want. We must investigate the reasons which incite the masses of toilers to alcoholism. One of the main causes may be laid to exaustion by overwork. We all agree on that point. Even people who do not pay much attention to social factors admit that overwork causes a craving for alcoholic stimulants. Another cause is that extreme mental fatigue which is produced by the fact that in modern industry "the laborer is but an appendage to the machine", as Marx has expressed it. A third and very vital cause may be found in the numerous unfavorable conditions surrounding the worker during the performance of his work, conditions for which the employers of labor and the government are to be blamed. Firstly, there are those industries in which thirst is systematically created by the prevailing dust. We frequently hear the employers in such industries boldly declare: you must not consume alcoholic drinks. But they do not make any endeavors to provide their laborers with cooling drinks that are free from alcohol, or to improve the conditions in such a manner that they do not suffer from constant thirst. Such was the case in regard to the manufacture of cement. For tens of years we demanded proper ventilation of cement factories, but to no avail, until an engineer made the discovery that the dust which filled the air could, when drawn out by proper ventilation, be manufactured into a well paying product. At that time I questioned in the Reichstag, whether the laborers in the cement factories were now going to be fined for the dust which they had inhaled free of charge all these years. Some time ago there was an exhibition for the welfare of labor in Charlottenburg. There we were shown coal lungs, lead-lungs, stone-lungs,—all of them lungs which had at one time belonged to sturdy laborers but which had been systematically destroyed by mine and factory dust because employers will spend no money for so unremunerative a thing as the welfare of their employees, and because the state does not give suffiicient protection. Therefore we demand not only that the laborers in all the dust creating industries should be furnished with nonintoxicating drinks, but we also demand such improvements as will diminish the dust. In various other industries the laborers are greatly troubled by thirst on account of the high temperature in which they are obliged to toil. Glass blowers, for instance, must drink about five quarts of water daily. But this large quantity of water does not agree with them, interferes

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with their digestion and causes them to perspire to an unusual degree. So they take to alcoholic drinks. In their case too then it will be necessary not only to furnish them with soft drinks, but also to improve the ventilation and to shorten the hours of labor. Still more causes leading to the drink habit are found in those industries that produce nauseating odors and poisonous gases, and cause the laborer to suffer from chronic poisoning such as lead poisoning, mercury poisoning, etc. Although alcohol is the very worst thing for a person suffering from lead poisoning, those so afflicted still resort to it to deaden the excruciating pains from which they suffer. The extremes of heat and cold to which the laborers in many trades are exposed, is yet another cause that leads to intemperance. Miners, laborers in quarries, masons, builders, steel laborers, truckmen, motor-men etc., they all are ruthlessly exposed to all kinds of weather. In all these cases shorter hours of labor and improvement of hygienic conditions would long since have done more than thousands of speeches against alcoholism could accomplish.

I have already said that alcohol has a worse effect upon an empty stomach than a full one and that an empty stomach increases the craving for alcohol. But underfeeding is the immediate result of low wages and of the rise in cost of all articles of food. As far back as 1860, a pioneer in the science of physiology, the great Justus von Liebig, wrote: "The whiskey habit is not the cause of poverty but its result. Only in exceptional cases a well nourished man becomes a victim of this habit. But the man who by his toil cannot earn sufficient to buy food of such quality and in such quantity that his labor power can be maintained, he will be forced by an inexorable law of nature to resort to the whiskey bottle."—The laborer's daily fare is not only of poor quality due to the high price of wholesome food, it is also usually poorly prepared and so he is doubly tempted to take alcoholic drinks with his meals. The inadequate preparation of food is of course accounted for by the overworked condition of the laborer's wife and by the fact that in numerous cases she too is employed as a bread-winner. It is also due to the omission on the part of our schools to give some instruction in the science of proper nourishment. Professor Bunge has rightly said: "most people are obliged to eat unpalatable food. This absence of satisfaction to our organs of taste and smell by which the whole nervous system is affected, creates a craving for unnatural stimulants. Our food ought to be a pleasant stimulant in itself. Partaking of one's daily food should be a pleasure: each meal a feast!" If such could be the case then we might be able to banish the demon of alcohol entirely; but until then, preaching against it will be of little avail. Many laborers are practically forced to drink alcoholic bever-

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ages, by being obliged to take their meals in a saloon. Therefore we demand in connection with factories and workshops resting-rooms for the working-men, where they may take their noon-day meal in peace. We also demand the establishment of pleasure resorts for the working classes where they will not be required to partake of intoxicating drinks. For if after a long, exhausting day's work a worn out laborer can find no other place of recreation but a saloon, he will eventually become incapable of all mental activity, of reading a book or a newspaper or attending a lecture, and will merely stagger from one day of toil to another through the oblivion afforded by alcohol.

Total abstainers lay special stress on the power of self education and on the effectiveness of exhortations and good examples But the actual effectiveness of these methods has not been proven. One case frequently pointed to is that of the Irish priest, Father Mathew, who is credited for having gained such a powerful influence by his passionate exhortations, that the consumption of alcohol in Ireland greatly diminished, and that during the three years, 1838-1842, the number of crimes was reduced from 12,096 to 773. But the true cause of this improvement was not an ethical but an economic cause. Ireland had at that time suffered a great famine due to the failure of the potato crops, and this famine called forth a number of crimes, most of the "crimes" being that the starving peasants became desperate and stole the potatoes from their landlords. When the British government then came to the support of the famine stricken people and the terrible want gradually diminished, drunkenness and crime also diminished accordingly. But the effect was of course not a permanent one as even those who favor total abstinence sadly admit. New want called forth new drunkenness and crime. For want and drunkenness are closely,—we might say inseparably,—connected.

There is also an undeniable connection between alcoholism and accidents. But this connection is greatly exaggerated by those who claim that most accidents occur on Monday, because many laborers are still under the pernicious influence of alcoholic drinks consumed on Sunday. Actual statistics show not Monday but Saturday to be that day of the week upon which most accidents occur, because the toiler's weariness is greatest at the end of a week's work. Nevertheless it must be asserted that alcohol heightens the danger to life and limb to which the workingman is frequently exposed, and it is a misfortune to the worker if he has accustomed himself to taking alcoholic drinks while at work. We would therefore not oppose a measure that would forbid the consumption of whiskey and limit the consumption of all alcoholic beverage during labor hours; but only under the condition that employers would be compelled to furnish their employees with suitable soft drinks. In some national and municipal employments

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the custom has already been introduced to furnish the employees with coffee, tea, milk, seltzerwater and lemonade at low rates, and among such employees the consumption of beer and liquor has greatly diminished. Alcohol should never be used as a lash to stimulate a weakened, overworked body. But it may be used with moderation, as one of the pleasures of life, by people who are normally healthy and well nourished.

Statistics are sometimes abused in an attempt to hold alcoholism accountable for all evils. This is being done by those who try to prove the connection between alcoholism and crime. Not every criminal who is at the same time a drunkard has been driven to crime by drunkenness. Frequently a man possessing criminal tendencies is also afflicted with a craving for alcoholic drinks, just as he may be afflicted with various other vices. People that possess abnormal qualities, degenerates, are inclined to become both drunkards and criminals, and even normal, healthy human beings are sometimes driven to drunkenness and crime by the social conditions that surround them. The diminishing capability of mothers to nurse their babes, has also been accounted for by the evil influence of alcohol upon the physical condition of the mothers. But here too we may point out that alcoholic drinks are not as much to be blamed as social conditions, which leave laboring women unaided during pregnancy and child-birth. Many mothers and their babies might be rescued by providing adequate support for laboring women some time before and after the birth of a child, so that the mother might be rested and well nourished and accordingly able to give sufficient nourishment to their children.

Let us briefly consider the relation of the alcohol question to legislation. As a political party we must take special care to show our colors clearly in regard to all questions of legislation. Therefore we must rigorously oppose the foolish, dangerous assertion that the consumption of alcohol is diminished by raising the tax on whiskey and all alcoholic drinks. As the alcohol becomes more expensive, those laboring classes that are driven to its use only become obliged to lower their standard of living. Thereby the effect of the alcohol only becomes more dreadful, as long as the causes that favor alcoholism remain unchanged. To increase the cost of liquor means to injure the poorest of the poor. It must be considered an improvement in the standard of living when workingmen abandon whiskey for beer. If, therefore, the tax levied on beer is high, if the beer becomes expensive and poor in quality, the only result obtained is an increase in the consumption of whiskey. To abolish the tax on beer and wine would help to combat alcoholism. We cannot approve of the system existing in Russia where whiskey is produced by private manufacture but is sold by the government only. Neither has the

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government monopoly for the production of liquor as held by Switzerland had the desired effect, although it contains the provision that one tenth of the resulting income is to be used to combat the excessive consumption of alcohol. It is a wrong system which first levies a tax upon the poor and unfortunate, and then takes a portion of the money drawn from them to combat alcoholism. The system prevalent in some American states forbidding the sale of alcohol, does not meet with our approval either. Smuggling and drinking in concealment are hereby favored. England's dry Sundays have shown us what results are obtained by forbidding the open sale of alcoholic drinks, people simply drink at home, and drink even more than they would at the saloons. Equally unreasonable is the suggestion not to permit the saloons to be opened before 8 A. M. In that event the laborer would simply carry away a bottle in his pocket every evening. We must even condemn the principle of local option for which the English Labor Party stands. Local option means that each municipality is to decide for itself whether the sale of intoxicating drinks should be permitted or not. That would only lead to an unnecessary struggle within the municipalities, and would increase secret intemperance. Our comrades in Finland are endeavoring to bring about a law that will simply forbid both production and sale of all alcoholic drinks. If it be considered advisable to combat alcohol in itself, as a thing apart from social conditions, then this radical suggestion seems the only efficacious one. We only hope our Finnish friends may not learn from experience that smuggling will maintain alcohol among them anyhow.

What we demand in the war waged upon alcohol, is that we should employ all our power of political and industrial organization to abolish the causes that produce alcoholism. We must use our influence in the municipal administrations to bring about model institutions: rest rooms for laborers, pleasure resorts where they will not be obliged to partake of intoxicating drinks, ample opportunity for obtaining cheap and wholesome non-alcoholic beverages; and so forth. Furthermore we must see to it that our schools instruct and enlighten the children on these matters as well as the parents of the school-children. I especially welcome the fact that our young people's Socialistic organization has adopted a strong resolution against alcoholism. The young workers must foster the power within themselves to resist the temptations of alcohol. I also welcome the fact that our labor unions have commenced a rigorous campaign against the abuses of alcoholism, and are laying stress upon the instruction and enlightenment of their members. The masons and carpenters were the first to forbid the serving of intoxicating drinks at their meetings, and at a conference of bricklayers it was resolved to

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favor total abstinence. Other labor unions have expressed themselves in a similar manner. We see from this that much good is being accomplished in Germany by means of industrial organization, and we feel convinced that our labor unions will continue this struggle against alcoholism, the only reasonable one, which is founded upon an improvement of the conditions of labor and instruction of the masses.

Before closing I wish to add a word concerning the attitude taken by our comrades in other countries in regard to the alcohol question: Our Swiss comrades have adopted the following plank in their platform: We resolve to combat alcoholism; we demand such employment of the tenth of the alcohol tax set aside for this purpose as will give the best support to workingmen and their organizations in making them independent of the saloon, i. e., the construction of public pleasure resorts, assembly halls and reading-rooms. In Sweden our comrades have organized the Verdandi Society which has a membership of 20,000 and has declared for total abstinence. In their national convention the Swedish Socialists demanded that their public schools should furnish instruction in regard to the dangers of alcohol. The Norwegian national Socialist convention of 1906 resolved to demand a tax to be levied on beer, wine and whiskey, the amount of the tax on each to be determined by the amount of alcohol contained therein; it resolved furthermore to demand a strong limitation of the sale of all alcoholic beverages. The party in Finland,—as already mentioned,—stands for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks. In Belgium our "maisons du peuple" (co-operative establishments) have received orders from party headquarters to discontinue the sale of liquor. That has been carried out effectively. In England the Labor Party stands for local option. In Holland our comrades, at their convention of 1897, have declared themselves in full sympathy with the endeavors to combat alcoholism, and our Austrian comrades in 1903 likewise adopted a resolution against alcoholism.

We then can do no better than to continue along the path we have taken, and by combatting all the evils of modern society, we can also combat this one specific outward symptom of diseased conditions. But we do not admit that the alcohol question can be treated by itself, without taking into consideration social conditions of which it is a part. To combat this one symptom alone would be as absurd as if we should combat tuberculosis without endeavoring to remove its social causes. They who believe that the danger of tuberculosis can be eliminated by merely keeping the work-shops well supplied with cuspidors are simply to be pitied for their blindness in not being able to see the connection between social conditions and tuberculosis; and the same is true

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of alcoholism. Good examples and well meant exhortations may influence some individuals here and there; but the great mass of people can only be raised by improving their economic conditions. Give the people enough to eat, give them sanitary dwellings, give them freedom! Then they will be prepared to drive hence the demon of alcohol.

(*Translated from the German by Hebe.*)

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The National Convention and the Woman's Movement.



E ARE DRAWING near to a national convention of the Socialist Party when we are to nominate our candidates for president and vice-president, and draw up the national platform. However, this is not all that will be done in this meeting. Resolutions will be introduced pertaining to practically every question of economic interest to the working class. Among these will be resolutions on the attitude of the party toward trade-unions, the negro problem, child labor, and a great many other important subjects.

The problem I wish to discuss in this article is the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the woman's movement. It makes very little difference whether we approve of a separate organization of Socialist women or not. We have one — a real, live, revolutionary movement, writing its own literature, managing its own newspapers, planning its own campaign.

It does not have the same name in every state or even in every city. In Philadelphia it is the Socialist Woman's Educational Club, in California, the Woman's Socialist Club; in New York City, Socialist Women of Greater New York. This city is the home also of the Woman's National Progressive League. In Chicago there is the Woman's Socialist League; in St. Louis the Wowan's Socialist Club, while in Kansas City we have the Woman's Progressive League. And so I might go on through all of the states and territories of the nation, naming the cities and towns with their respective clubs.

It is one movement with one mind, one spirit, one thought, one object: "the purpose of stimulating and crystallizing interest among women in economic questions with the view of creating adherents to the principles of Socialism."

How are we men and women of the Socialist Party organization going to act toward this movement? What will our delegates in the National Convention do if they receive a resolution similar to the one presented by the Social Democratic Woman's Society of N. Y., at a meeting at which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson delivered a lecture on "Socialism and Wo-

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man?" The part of this resolution that is of special interest to us reads as follows:

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class in the United States, be it

"Resolved, By this mass meeting of men and women of New York, that we call upon the National Committee of the Socialist Party to start an energetic fight for equal suffrage for men and women 21 years of age; to put women organizers in the field with same end in view, and to distribute leaflets and literature dealing with this subject."

First, we must realize that this movement is a separate organization composed largely of women who are not members of the Socialist Party. This will prevent us from falling into, what I believe to be, the error that the Missouri State Convention did in 1906. To give the reader a clearer idea of what I mean, I will quote from the report of the proceedings of this meeting as printed in the St. Louis "Labor," Saturday, June 9, 1906.

"The report of Committee on Propaganda was received and taken up seriatim.....

"We recommend that special efforts be made to place propaganda literature in all Women's Clubs, Equal Suffrage Socities and conventions in order that these earnest, enthusiastic and intelligent women may know and understand that the eight short words embodied in the Socialist National Platform — 'For the equal suffrage of men and women' cover the whole ground, and express in plain language what the old parties have evaded and juggled with ever since women have demanded equal suffrage." On motion it was adopted.

"We recommend that special attention be given to youths and children, as in a few years the duties of citizenship will fall upon their shoulders. The propaganda work can be interesting, instructive and also a source of income by means of entertainments, literary and debating societies; always selecting subjects pertaining directly toward a better education in the principles of Socialism. To this end we favor the formation of Junior Socialist Leagues to take charge of this work in connection with the regular organization.

"The motion to adopt this recommendation was amended that it be received and, together with the Woman Suffrage recommendation previously adopted, be referred to the Women's Socialist Clubs in the state. Motion was adopted as amended." Just how the Socialist Party organization can refer any of its business to other organizations not under its jurisdiction, I have never been quite able to understand.

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Second, we must realize that these Woman's Clubs cannot do our work. Their work is to sow the seeds of Socialism. They are the "St. John" "crying in the wilderness." In answer to Mrs. Wilshire's "Appeal to Women" in Wilshire's, January, 1907, I closed my letter which was published in the March number of that magazine with the following: "I am very much opposed to forming a separate organization for women. I would be just as much opposed to forming a separate organization for men. Every Socialist should be in the organization. We must work together. To divide our ranks would mean an opening for the enemy. We should always keep in mind the one object, the building up of the Socialist organization.". However, I see no danger in this woman's movement. The women who are leading it belong to the Socialist Party and well understand the meaning of the words, "Workers of the world unite." They are sowing the seeds and all ready "The harvest truly is great." Will the Socialist Party furnish the "laborers" so "that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together?" As a member of both organizations, this question is of the greatest interest to me. I am not asking it of the men or the women but of the party as a whole. We need workers and they should be women with the ability not only of teaching the women what the word Socialism means but also of bringing into the party those who already know its meaning, but who, for one reason or another, stay out. This is a work that the Woman's Movement cannot do.

In conclusion, I suggest that the National Party in its convention take up this matter, and "establish in connection with the party a National Committee of Women to be charged with this special work," as Comrade Spargo suggested in his article in the February number of this magazine. I believe the Woman's Movement will gladly co-operate with it in **furnishing the funds to carry on this movement.**

JESSIE M. MOLLE.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN A REPUBLIC.

(Continued.)



THE NEW SCHOOL of writers, thinkers and statesmen which arose under these conditions, vastly differed from the school of Jefferson and Henry. It did not try to excuse slavery by considerations of economic necessity. It would not even permit the expression of the faint hope, that sometimes in the dim future the institution of slavery might be abolished.

"Let me not be understood", says the famous Calhoun, "as admitting even by implication that the existing relation between the two races in the slaveholding states is an evil; far otherwise, I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to both, and will contiue to prove so if not disturbed by the spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts: Never has the black race of the Central Africa..... attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came among us in a low, degraded and savage condition, and in the course of a few generations it has grown under the fostering care of our institutions." Here the slaveowners are made to appear in the strange role of what the Germans have called "Kulturtraeger", carrying the white man's burden. That slavery could have a harmful effect upon the slaveowner, which was almost universally admitted by the foremost statesmen of the end of the Eighteenth Century, Calhoun violently denied. "I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, in intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom in framing and sustaining this political fabric."

No less interesting is Calhoun's opinion in regard to the problem of proximity of the races and its effects, interesting mainly because of the very different opinions which are held in the South at present.

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"I hold", says Calhoun, "that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intelectual, are brought together, the relations now existing in the slaveholding south between the two is, instead of an evil, a good, a positive good."

Further on Calhoun becomes quite radical: "I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not in point of fact, live on the labor of the other..... I may say with truth that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer and so little is exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poorhouses in the more civilized portions of Europe,—look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse..... The existing relations between the two races in the South form a most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. .....There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization a conflict between capital and labor. The conditions of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from the conflict; and which explains why it is that the political conditions of the slaveholding states has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North."

But Calhoun knew that the fathers thought and spoke differently, and therefore he boldly proceeded to destroy the old gods: "Many in the South once believed, that it was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone." And again pointing at the struggle of capital and labor, he continued: "The southern states are an aggregate in fact of communities, not of individuals. Every plantation is a little community, with the master at his head, who concentrates in himself, the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative. These small communities aggregated make the South, in all whose actions labor and capital is equally represented and perfectly harmonized. Hence the harmony, the unity, the stability of that section—the blessings of this state of things extends beyond the limits of the south."

From the preceding pages some conception might have been formed of the southern society on the eve of the emancipation of the slaves. But the first seventy years of the exist-

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ence of the republic did not fail to leave a great impression upon the negro race as well. Notwithstanding the efforts to supress all intellectual growth of the negro, such growth was taking place nevertheless. It is true, that it was very unequally distributed, being mainly limited to the domestic slaves. Unconsciously the civilization of the masters, such as it was, permeated the surrounding negroes. Notwithstanding all the restrictions, some negroes learned to read. The intense religious feeling, which was brought over from Africa, helped the development of high moral virtues in some individuals, and the cases of deep affection towards the owner were not exceptional. But on the other hand, neither were the cases of deep hatred, and the consciousness of the injustices of the slavery system. The preachings of the christian ministers about the justice of slavery, about the lower race and so forth, undoubtedly had a deep effect upon the crude mass of the field negro, and a great many of the negroes probably did not even dream of freedom. But it would be a mistake to suppose that that was the attitude of the entire negro population. Mr. Booker Washington tells us in his autobiography, that even the most ignorant of the negroes watched with deep concern the fortunes of the war and dreamed of freedom. Annually thousands of negroes escaped from the plantation, and the cases were especially frequent among the slaves of the cruel masters. This longing for freedom in the fifties was stronger among the younger generation, than among the old men, was stronger among the educated than among the illiterate. and it was the general observation, that it was stronger with the increased admixture of white blood. For one thing, that admixture decreased the physical difference between master and slaves. And to convince a pretty octorroon, perhaps favored by the caresses of her master, that she was a lower creature intended for a life of slavery, was not an easy task even for a clergyman.

Small wonder, then, that a "literate nigger" became the equivalent of a "bad nigger", a point of view that has survived until the present day in a considerable part of the southern population. The "free nigger" was another disturbing factor in the idyllic relations of the plantation. In the treatment of the latter may be discovered the first traces of the modern phase of the negro problem in distinction to the slavery problem of earlier days.

For many reasons, the number of freed negroes rapidly grew in face of the opposition of the law and public opinion. For notwithstanding all the talk of the natural condition of slavery for the black man, as well as the advantages derived by him from the system, the good southern slaveowner,

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whether at death, or at other solemn occasions, knew no better reward for the good and faithful negro than to grant him his liberty. In 1790 there were 37,357 free negroes in the south, and in 1860 261,918, while in the north the number grew from 22,109 to 226,152. This increase may be explained partly by the natural increase, as well as by the liberation of new slaves. Thus the free negroes in the south included in 1860 about 10 per cent of the total negro population and in some states a much greater share.

This freedman was always a sore in the eyes of the slave-owner. He stood there as a living contradiction of all formulas in regard to the natural state of slavery, was a living and dangerous example for each and every intelligent and thoughtful negro who was trying to solve the riddle of his peculiar position. The slaveowner hated the free negro, and he treated him, if possible, worse than he treated his slave. In these relations there was no room for the personal affections, which often softened the severity of the legal position of the negro slave.

"Laws are necessary... to *protect society from even the benevolence of slave owners,* in throwing upon the community a great number of stupid, ignorant, and vicious persons, to disturb its peace and endanger its permanency", was the opinion of a prominent southern jurist. Nevertheless, the effort to do away with this ignorance, stupidity and viciousness by means of education was strictly prohibited in some states and narrowly restricted in others. The social intercourse of slaves and free negroes could prove a source of temptation, and was greatly objected to by the slaveowners. And since a free negro was a harmful, dangerous or at least a suspicious man, it was natural for each southern state to make efforts to restrict the number of such negroes in its territory. With this purpose in view, most southern states prohibited the entrance of free negroes from other states under penalty of being sold into slavery again. Furthermore, in many states the right to set a slave free, was conditioned by the removal of a freedman into another state, so that many negroes were thus forced into the northern states. With the approaching crisis, when the relations between the races were becoming somewhat strained, several southern states passed laws requiring all free negroes to leave the state, under the penalty of being sold into slavery for disobedience.

Under the circumstances there could be no suggestion at actual equality of the freedman and the white man before the law. In most southern states they were, equally with the slaves, subject to the special black code until the very epoch of emancipation. A great many professions and occupations

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were closed to them, the right of free assembly and speach was denied to them.

F. L. Olmstead, in his Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, tells a very interesting story of the arrest of 24 negroes in Washington in 1855, (i. e., almost on the eve of the civil war), charged with having held a secret meeting. At the time of the arrest were found: a Bible, Seneca's Morals, and the constitution of the secret society, showing that the object of the society was assistance to the sick, and burial of the dead. For this awful crime, a slave member of the society was publicly whipped, four free negroes were committed to the workhouse, and the remaining offenders fined.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the free negroes did not enjoy the most important civil right, the right of voting. Now, the basic law of the English colonies which conferred the franchise upon the entire population, did not include any race discriminations. Therefore the colonies began to pass special laws restricting the voting rights of the negroes as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the fundamental constitutional changes, which were caused by the upheaval of the revolutionary era, some southern states as South Carolina, Tennessee, granted the right to vote to the free negroes. But in the twenties and the thirties of the past century there arose a violent opposition to any participation of the negroes in the political life. By the end of the thirties, this right of the free negro had been abolished throughout the south.

Still less could any social equality be expected for the freed negro. Whether a slave or free, he remained a pariah all the same. As Von Halle very appropriately remarks, the southern planter was bent upon convincing the slaves, that by regaining their personal liberty they could not in any way improve their actual condition. Therefore they took all measures to make the existence of the free negro a very unenviable one. And as a natural consequence thereto, the free negro seldom had those kind feelings towards his employer which often lived in the breast of the slave, no matter how unreasonable they seemed to a foreign observer.

On the other hand the southern planters loved to picture the condition of the free negroes in the north in very dark colors, so as to impeach the sincerity of the northern abolition sentiment. It must be admitted that notwithstanding all the agitation in favor of the black brother, the conditions of existence of the free negro even in the north was far from an enviable one.

One of the greatest American jurists of that period, Kent, has stated that only in the state of Maine where the number

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of the negroes was very small, were there a few of them, who de facto enjoyed the franchise and civil rights, although as far as the written law was concerned, all the New England states, with the exception of Connecticut, did not recognize any race distinction in the political rights. At various times between 1810 and 1838 the middle Atlantic states deprived the negroes of the rights to vote; and perhaps most significant is the fact that of eighteen western states and central states, which took the part of the north during the war of the rebellion there was not even one which had granted political rights to the negroes before 1861, while two states were even absolutely closed to negroes. Foreign travelers in United States could notice that even in the north the attitude towards the negro was one of mixed contempt and dislike, which did not interfere with the perfectly sincere feeling of pity. Thus Olmstead tells of a negro he had met in Louisiana, who had previously lived in the north, and preferred the South, since in the south he came into closer contact with the white man, since in the north the enforced distance between the races was greater, and insults because of his race more frequent.

What the law aimed at in the South, uncompromising public opinion accomplished just as successfully in the north, and many professions and occupations remained closed to the negroes. All this does not at all contradict the general impression of the sincerity of the Northerners in their demand for the abolition of slavery. But it must be clearly understood, that this demand was caused rather by the economic fear of the extension of the system of slavery, than by any consideration for the humane and civil rights of the negroes.

No doubt, there were many individuals in the north who sincerely treated the negroes as their equals. More than that, as a natural reaction against the unjust treatment of the negroes, the northern abolitionists showed a tendency towards idealizing the negro, and exaggerating his moral virtues. John Brown, Lovejoy, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and dozens of other earnest men and women who stood at the head of the small abolitionist party, with its few thousands of votes,—these were surely moved by the pure feelings of humanity, and learned to look upon the negro as a human being.

"To scorn, insult, brutalize and enslave human beings solely on account of the hue of the skin which it has pleased God to bestow on them; to pronounce them accursed, for no crime on their part, to treat them substantially alike, whether they are virtuous or vicious, refined or vulgar, rich or poor, aspiring or groveling; to be inflamed with madness against

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them in proportion as they rise in selfrespect,—this is an act so unnatural that it throws into the shade all other distinctions known among mankind", wrote W. L. Garrison. In the declaration of the sentiments of the "American Antislavery Convention," which he had written, he demanded not only the abolition of slavery, but also the full civic emancipation of the negro. "We further believe and affirm, that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others, and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion."

But then it must not be forgotten that Garrison began his violent struggle against slavery when he was scarcely twenty years old, and even his friends and supporters protested against his over-heated tirades. Senator Charles Sumner, who took Daniel Webster's place in the United States Senate, when the latter tired the state of Massachusetts with his vacillating attitude on the problem of slavery, was much more of a politician than most of his associates in the cause of abolition. His brilliant discourses were directed mainly against the institution of slavery, and he but seldom touched upon the broader problem of the relation between the two races. And he was not at all ready to preach, or even to admit, the legal and general equality of the races. The brilliant Wendell Phillips was a great deal more explicit on the subject. Thus in his lecutre devoted to the great founder of the Republic of St. Domingo, the full blood negro Toussaint L'Ouverture, Phillips spoke as follows: "I am engaged to-night in what you will think the absurd effort to convince you that the negro race, instead of being the object of pity or contempt with which we usually consider it, is entitled, judged by the facts of history, to a place close by the side of the Saxon. Now, races love to be judged in two ways, by the great men they produce, and by the average merit of the mass of the race..... In the hour you lend me to-night, I attempt the Quixotic effort to convince you that the negro blood, instead of standing at the bottom of the list, is entitled, if judged either by its great men or its masses, either by its courage, its purpose or its endurance, to a place as near ours, as any other blood known in history".

Horace Greeley, whose enthusiasm for the cause of abolition moved him to write a very big history of the Civil war, nevertheless admitted his hope, "that a day will ultimately dawn, wherein the rudely transplanted children of Africa might either be restored to her soil, or established, under a

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government and flag of their own, in some tropical region of our own continent," in other words, he admitted, unconsciously perhaps, that after a life of two centuries in the boundaries of the United States, the negroes had no essential right to remain in the new country. But the majority of the famous circle of writers, poets, philosophers of the forties, (the golden era of American literature,) men like Henry Ward Beecher, William Bryant, John Greenleaf Whittier, and many, many others stood for the equality of races.

All these manifestations of youthful enthusiasm and brotherly love are very interesting, and significant as far as they go. Yet too much importance should not be ascribed to the words and deeds of this small body of men. Their services to civilization and humanity should not be minimized; but they were the exceptional, not the typical representatives of their times and conditions. They were powerfully and eloquently expressing the ethical side of that demand for abolition of slavery, which undoubtedly had a material basis as well. Even in that demand for abolition the North did not too readily follow these leaders and even in the north the abolitionists did not receive too kind a treatment.

Garrison of Boston was subjected to the severest persecutions, Lovejoy was brutally killed by a mob in Illinois, for no greater crime than that he dared to express himself in favor of abolition. And when the historical meeting was taking place in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of protesting against the killing of Lovejoy, the majority of the speakers actually defended the mob for its deed, and it took the brilliant oratory of a Wendell Phillips to sway the audience in the opposite direction. This happened in 1837; but as late as 1853, Phillips stated, that whenever the question of slavery was touched on "The Press says 'It is all right,' and the pulpit cries'Amen'."

It is evident, that when such was the attitude towards slavery, it would be useless to look for any tendency for recognition of the equality of the negro's position in social life.

It is necessary to emphasize this attitude of the north towards the negro, for these historical facts are of great assistance in the effort to understand many conditions of the present time which would seem truly monstrous, were we to imagine,—as do many even of those who write on the negro problem,—that only thirty or forty years ago the negro did enjoy the full civil and political rights on a basis of equality with the white man.

With all that, the legal position of the free negro was unmeasurably better in the north than in the south, the main difference being that in the north the negro was given a

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chance to get an education. The schools were open to the negro no less than to the white child, and though during the period we are dealing with at present, the majority of the northern states insisted upon a separation of the races in schools, nevertheless that was much better, than the general illiteracy, in which even the free negroes of the south were anxiously kept by their masters.

Southern writers then as now, were anxious to prove not only that the free negroes were worse off in the North than in the south, but that they were also worse negroes. Even the German investigator Von Halle yielded to this view, in stating that the successes of the negro in liberty did not give much hope that they might improve much with the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, if one was to judge of the capacities of the negroes, a few examples were as strong evidence, as many. And the facts were that in the north, many negroes were working in various trades, owned farms, stores and so forth, that there were negroes with property to the amount of $500, $1000 and even $10,000, and what was much more important , the negroes of the north, began to produce great men, such as Phyllis Bentley, and the famous Frederick Douglas. It is very essential to remember, that on the eve of the Civil war the negroes were not any more the uniform mass, as they seemed to the fanatical defenders of the slavery system.

Out of that uniform mass, there began to develop the usual distinctions, between the rich and the poor, the industrious and the lazy, the virtuous and the vicious, educated and ignorant, talented and stupid individuals.

Until now, I have spoken mainly of the external changes in the conditions of the negro population of the States. In conclusion of this brief study of the psychology of slavery of America, it will be useful to indicate those more far reaching changes which the two and a half centuries of life in America have brought about in the psychology of the negro. For this purpose the recent work of a young southern scientist, J. A. Tillinghast, is of much use and of great interest. The work has been conceived in quite a novel way: for an effort is made in it to compare the psychology of the Negro as he is in Africa, as he was in slavery, and as he is now in America. The author is not only a southerner, but a son of an ex-slave owner, and therefore he is not to be suspected of idealizing the negro. Being a southerner and, in addition a faithful follower of the modern American school of sociology, he considers heredity to be a much stronger factor than the social millieu. But notwithstanding this point of view, and notwithstanding the certain fact that until the very eve of the civil war a fresh

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stream of African immigration greatly interfered with the action of American conditions upon the development of the negro in the new world, this investigator was forced to acknowledge a tremendous process of development and progress of the race during the 250 years. It is not necessary to enter here into an extensive criticism of his theory of the selection of the strongest and best during the capture of slaves in the African deserts. The fact is admitted that the interbreeding of the various African races in America, as well as the infusion of considerable quantities of white blood, produced a type of an American negro, who may be physically weaker but is mentally much stronger than the negro of Africa. In the United States the negroes were forced to lead a much more regular life, observe elementary rules of cleanliness, were getting used to services of medicine. The slaves were aquiring the habit of regular work, learned many forms of skilled labor, were instructed in the use of many tools, previously unfamiliar to them. A growing number of them was entering various branches of industrial labor. and often entire plantations, households and shops were entrusted to individual slaves. All this required a greater amount of intelligence than the south collectively was willing to concede to the Negro. While the influence of christianity was not as great as it might have been, nevertheless a material change took place in the religious views and customs of the negroes; many of the heathenish practices and superstitions had vanished and in their place there appeared simple but sincere ethical principles. In addition, many new social sentiments began to develop. In short, the negro was showing a strong capacity in moral, intellectual and social growth; all of which the south solemnly declared to be impossible, for this impossibility of spiritual growth was the stock argument in the defense of the justice of slavery as a permanent institution.

I. M. Robbins.

(To be continued.)

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The Work of the Convention. The national convention of the Socialist Party of America, which assembles May 10 at Brand's Hall, Chicago, will have plenty of work before it. And it will be important work, though not so important perhaps as some of us imagine. For no matter how wisely or how unwisely the convention may act, methods of production will go on evolving, and the changed methods will modify people's ideas and their politics. The one thing that our convention can help decide is whether the Socialist Party is to grow into what the working class needs ,or disappear to make room for something better. We are confident that the delegates will take a clear, comprehensive view of the complex situation, and act accordingly. The platform we need is one that voices the thought of the revolutionary wage-workers in the great industries. It is true that these wage-workers are as yet a minority of the voting population; it may even be true that only a minority of the Socialist Party are made up of them. All the same, it is to them that the future belongs. Forces stronger than any man or set of men are recruiting the numbers and clarifying the ideas of these wage-workers. They constitute a compact group with a definite aim,—the ownership and control of the tools they use but do not own. Their aim is scientific, —it is in line with social evolution. The logical place for small property owners who hope to maintain themselves as property owners is with Watson, Hearst or Bryan. Let them try to move evolution backward if they like. They can only fail, and when they have tried to their hearts' content, they will be ready for a working-class programme. The small property owners and the socalled brain workers who understand social evolution are as ready for an uncompromising platform as are the wage-workers. We trust that the American socialist platform of 1908 will be the rallying point for the great revolutionary movement that in some shape is bound to come.

The Party Constitution. All the various plans for altering the party constitution that have been proposed during the last two years have been referred to a special committee consisting of James Oneal of New York, Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin, and Charles H.

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Kerr of Illinois. Their report, which is to be submitted to the convention for action, will embody no very radical changes. Perhaps the most important of those likely to be recommended is a reform in the method of electing members of the National Executive Commitee, referred to in this department of the Review for February. It is now proposed to place no name on the official ballot unless endorsed by ten locals,—a change which, it is hoped, may prevent the scattering of a large part of the votes among candidates who have no chance of election. It is also proposed to establish definite rules for dealing with an alleged violation of the national constitution by a state organization, providing that a state charter may only be recalled by a majority vote of all qualified members of the National Committee, and that from their decision an appeal may be taken to a referendum vote of the party. A provision is also suggested for requiring a number of seconds before a vote of the entire National Committee is taken by correspondence, and for requiring a majority vote of all qualified members before a National Committee motion becomes effective. With these amendments the constitution should fit the needs of the party for some time to come.

The Anarchist Bugaboo. On the foundation of a few trifling incidents, which incidents can readily be interpreted in more than one way, the police departments of the principal American cities have assumed the existence of a gigantic Anarchist plot against the lives of the ruling class or their public servants. On this pretext they have undertaken to suppress any public speaking of a revolutionary sort. In so doing they are clearly violating the constitution they are legally bound to maintain. We are glad to see that Socialists are everywhere protesting energetically against this course. At the proper time we have plenty of arguments of our own against the Anarchists. In their philosophy they stand with the defenders of capitalism or with middle-class reformers against the Marxian theories which explain how society is really evolving. In their tactics, they play into the hands of the ruling class by diverting the attention of some few working people from political action. But when their right to free speech in questioned, we must recognize that their fight is our fight. Indeed, we as a party have more to lose than the anarchists from the success of the police in assuming the right to judge what shall and what shall not be said in pubilc. Our argument is that because free speech and free voting are allowed, the sane way to work for the social revolution is by public propaganda and the ballot-box. But if free speech is once suppressed, our argument falls to the ground, and we shall have no effective answer for those who claim that the working class must use brute strength against the brute strength that holds it down. On the other hand, in our fight for free speech we have powerful allies,—not only what is left of the middle class, as represented by Louis Post's weekly The Public, but

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also the saner and more far-seeing section of the capitalist class proper. Thus The Nation, the weekly edition of the New York Evening Post, in a recent editorial calls a halt on the police, and points out that England's immunity from revolutionary violence is largely due to the fact that the English authorities have permitted the fullest measure of free speech. A national campaign is on, and open air meetings are, apart from the circulation of literature, our most effective form of propaganda. Let us insist on the right to hold them.

Immigrants, Desirable and Undesirable. After all, does not the question of the desirability of an immigrant turn on the question of who it is that does the desiring? We are moved to this reflection by the contrast between the article by Comrade Boudin in the February Review and that by Comrade King in this issue. Boudin is a cosmopolitan living in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Socialist movement of New York City. King is a Californian, in close touch with the union laborers of San Francisco who have thus far maintained a pretty high standard of living by dint of hard fighting, and who fear that the next move of the capitalists may be to glut the labor market of the coast with Asiatic labor. Each writer voices the natural desires and feelings of a definite group, and the attitude of each is perfectly intelligible and rational. We in the convention must realize this and not become unduly indignant over each other's views. But when it comes to deciding the policy of the party, it is pretty certain that the Californian opinion will be overwhelmingly in the majority. The Socialist Party of America is the party of the working class, standing at all times for the interest of American wage-workers. If these wage-workers believe that the exclusion of Japanese laborers will enable them to maintain or raise their standard of living, even for a while, it is the function of the Socialist Party of America to back them in this fight with all the strength it has. As for universal brotherhood, that will come in the future as a result of the triumph of the working class, but we can not hasten its coming by acting in a way to divide the working class here and now. The capitalists are day by day giving the workers object lessons in the need of a political party of their own; it remains for us socialists to show that ours is the party that they want.

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Japan. — It is to be hoped that the Japanese enjoy their newly acquired occidentalism. They have surely taken on the most modern and acute form. In fact they are just now involved in the same difficulty which grips the governments of England, France and Germany. To make a showing against the Socialists these governments have felt obliged to institute paternalistic reforms — most of them very expensive. On the other hand the necessity of finding foreign markets has led to an unheard-of increase in armies and navies. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the principal governments of Europe are confronted by an entirely new situation. In the midst of prosperity bankruptcy stares them in the face. The novelty of the situation lies in the fact that our statesmen recognize this condition as permanent; they give not the least prospect of relief. In the nature of things expenses must steadily increase, and all sources of revenue which ingenuity can discover have been drained to the limit.

And now, with changes of names, the recent history of Japan might be substituted for that of England, France or Germany. Before the Russo-Japanese war her annual budget amounted to $130,000,000: now it is more than $300,000,000. The national debt has increased to about $700,000,000. The government is feverishly taking over and mismanaging one monopoly after another. It now controls the railroads and the salt, tobacco and camphor industries. At that the people, most of them miserably poor, are taxed at the rate of four dollars a head. "Under these circumstances," remarks the correspondent of the New York Evening Post, "it is small wonder that Socialism of the rabid sort is on the increase."

In colonial affairs, too, the Japanese are rapidly becoming civilized: no doubt some almond-eyed Kipling will soon be upon us with "The Yellow Man's Burden." The Coreans have seen their telegraph and post office systems taken over by their benevolent superiors. Thousands of them have been driven from their homes by Japanese officials or marauders. American missionaries, who naturally sympathize with the "backward" race, are afraid to say a word in protest. For with their other modern acquirements the Japanese have learned to smother public opinion. American papers furnish ample evidence of this. No sooner does a true report of the internal or colonial affairs of the Flower Kingdom see the light in our public prints than there follows an official denial. So do modern morals follow modern economics.

England. — The retirement of Sir Campbell-Bannerman and the reorganization of the government under Mr. Herbert Asquith is of

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small importance. Mr. Asquith has virtually been premier for weeks past. His personal character will merely tend to hasten the downfall of the — present Liberal combinations. Whereas Sir Campbell-Bannerman was an accomplished compromiser unembarrassed by principles the new Premier is a sharp lawyer of the rasping, grasping Puritan type. Less of a publicist than his predecessor, he may be said to represent "the interests" rather more directly. So he is hardly the man to hold the radicals in line for long. It is significant that the cabinet was reorganized so as to occasion the minimum number of bye-elections (there are to be but four). Nothing could show more clearly that the Liberals are afraid to take their record to the people for judgment. It is worth noting, moreover, that matters have been so arranged that the chief opponents of the House of Lords have been given seats in that august body. This probably indicates the end of the Liberal Anti-Lords campaign.

An American is struck by the evangelical energy which characterizes the Socialist propaganda in England: it would be hard to match it on the continent or in this country. ..... This is probably due to the fact that the English movement has reached a crucial point already past in most European countries and not yet attained on this side the water. All of a sudden it has been recognized as one of the great forces in the land: on the platform and in the press the challenge is flung down to it. And the manner in which the Socialists give account of themselves is an object-lesson to their comrades in other lands. The party papers have set themselves to raise 20,000 shillings for a campaign throughout the country. Already the red vans representing the cause are carrying speakers from town to town, and are received everywhere with enthusiasm. **The Clarion** has organized a chain of cycling clubs which make frequent runs to hold meetings or distribute literature. Various party locals have organized choirs which furnish music at public meetings. But the chief weapon of the English proletarian is argument. There was probably never before in the world such an epidemic of debating as rages now in the British Isles. Before clubs and into public gatherings the Socialist is sent by his organization to defend his faith; and the results are not far to seek. Meantime the party papers give a constant moving picture of English economic conditions. The horrors of unemployment, underfeeding, lack of housing and other atrocities are revealed in articles that leave little to desire in the way of detailed information and vigorous statement. There is disagreement within the ranks in England, even as here. But internal dissension is not allowed to turn the attack from the capitalist system.

France. — If the history of the world labor movement is ever written it will reveal some curious anomalies. At the present moment, for example, the French **Bourses du travail** are passing through a crisis that an American workingman might find it hard to understand. Since 1890, when these organizations were first formed, many of them have depended for their existence upon government support: radical municipal authorities have held the labor vote by furnishing headquarters for union activities and making annual contributions to union treasuries. In return the **Federation des Bourses du Travail** has helped the government out of more than one tight place—notably through the good offices of its employment bureau in times of industrial unrest.

But the moment the working-class became self-conscious and began the inevitable battle against its exploiters this beautiful arrangement came to an end. First the unions were required to give account

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of their expenditures; then many were driven from their quarters, and their official incomes soon reached the vanishing point. Now they face the problem of self-support. The **Federation** has an elaborate establishment at Paris, but most of the individual unions are poorly provided for. The acquisition of property is more difficult in France than in America, and French workingmen are much less able to tax themselves than their American comrades. So the problem is really a colossal one.

Germany. — More than ever attention is centered on electoral reform. The Prussian Landtag election has been set for June. The three-class system was especially designed to save the poor from the dangers of political power; so the Socialists have little to hope for—not more than the gaining of six or eight seats at most. Their papers are filled with discussions as to whether such slender possible representation is worth fighting for, whether even the heaviest proletarian vote would have any effect on the government. In a recent number of **Die Neue Zeit** Eugen Prager argues in favor of the use of extra-parliamentary measures. He insists upon the advantages of the general strike, passive resistance and concerted abstinence from consumption of articles of luxury like beer or brandy. In **Socialistische Monatshefte** Wolfgang Heine makes an elaborate reply. To him all extra-parliamentary weapons seem childishly inadequate; for, in his opinion, the poor would suffer from them more than the rich. The weight of public opinion seems to be with Heine rather than Prager. The great cry is to arouse public sentiment. Important elements in the population. it is argued, can be won over at least to the support of a secret-ballot measure. The professional classes and small tradespeople especially, are said to favor reform. Therefore most of the Socialists place their main reliance on vigorous agitation and a large vote.

For a long time the imperial government has felt the need of a uniform association law, and now it is in a fair way to get one. A commission constiuted by the Reichstag is now at work upon the first draft of such a measure. In addition to prescribing purposes and methods of forming organizations this law is to limit the right of holding public meetings. It is the latter feature that especially interests our German comrades. It is proposed, among other things, to limit the right of public meeting to German citizens and to prohibit discussion in any language but German. Even citizens using their mother-tongue, however, are not to hold public gatherings except under strict police regulation. Meetings or other demonstrations in the open air are to be held only with consent of the authorities. Other gatherings may be forbidden or dispersed if it appears that they are subversive of "public order." No person under eighteen years of age is to be allowed to take part in public discussion. The efforts of the Socialists are bent upon making the law as definite as possible. It is felt that any ambiguity will furnish the government a means of further shutting off free speech.

Russia. — The temporary defeat of the revolution in Russia is signalized by the reappearance of the Russian papers formerly printed at Geneva. The explanations and forecasts furnished by these journals are of deep interest to the outside world. As was to be expected, the views of the "Revolutionary" Socialists and the Social Democrats are diametrically opposed. The former, represented by the **Proletarij**, maintain that the present reaction includes only the great land-owners, the capitalists and the bureaucrats, less than five

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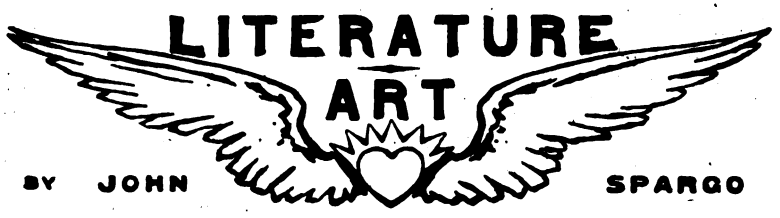
per cent of the population; while on the other side are lined up the great majority, the proletarians and farmers, merely waiting for the word to overturn the tyrannic hierarchy. Just how five per cent of the population is able to maintain itself against ninety-five per cent is left to our imagination. The **Golos Sozialdemokrata** represents the Social Democrats. With brutal frankness this journal acknowledges the defeat of the Socialist forces. The different classes, it reports, are rallying about separate centers; various unions and clubs are forming nuclei for renewed revolutionary organization; but the Socialist party, as a party, has well nigh ceased to function.

Fortunately enough the first volume of a thorough-going study of Russian economic conditions, **The Agrarian Question in Russia**, by M. Masslow, has just been translated into German, and thus a wide circle of readers has come into possession of the material necessary to an understanding of the situation. It is evident that Russian industry has not reached the point at which successful revolution is possible. It should be borne in mind that the recent disturbances were due as much to bourgeois as to proletarian initiative. In the greater part of Russia there is no industrial population and in most districts small farmers still predominate. Under such circumstances a proletarian revolution could come almost only in the imagination of the Utopian dreamer.

Italy. — The Italian railway employés have finally turned their backs on pure and simple tactics. They met in convention at Rome near the close of January and since then the Italian press has been boiling over with discussion of their action. Readers of the Review may remember an account in these columns of the unfortunate results of the great railway strike last October: a large faction of the railway workers felt they had not been supported by the Socialist party and so declared for independent action—with the strike as the only weapon. This faction has now been definitely defeated. By a vote of 32 to 12 the recent convention accepted a straight revolutionary program: the purpose of the union organization is, it declared, the preparation of the workers to take over the railways and operate them in the interest of society.

The most significant resolution proposed, however, was one which proclaimed that the workers would bind themselves to no one line of tactics. This form of statement, which represented the Socialist program, was accepted by a vote of 36 to 25. This means that the Socialist party and the railway workers will continue to act together. Since the Italian railways are owned and run by the state, the government is watching developments with a good deal of uneasiness: and the bourgeois papers have been plunged into a most undignified state of excitement.

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We were seated in the comfortable observation car of the California Limited, rushing away from Kansas City toward Chicago. The Stranger, sleek, well groomed and obviously at ease with the world, was reading an evening paper. Somehow—was it a lecturer's vanity?—I knew that he was reading the report of my own lecture. Suddenly, with a gesture which seemed to indicate a baffled mind, he threw down the paper. Then he spoke as one hungry for consolation and sympathy. "What's happening to America? The papers are full of Socialism, just as if no one cared for anything else. And as for books on the subject, why the shops and the public libraries seem to be full of them". And then, with simulated impartiality, I listened to an interesting discussion of the stranger's impressions of my own lecture as reported in the evening paper!

* * *

To the mighty torrent of Socialist books my friend Robert Hunter contributes a suggestive and interesting volume entitled "Socialists at Work", published by the Macmillan Company. By his former work, "Poverty", Hunter contributed to the indictment of capitalism a tremendous arsenal of facts which Socialist propagandists have found of immense value. In the present volume he contributes rather to the interpretation of the Socialist movement of the world, and every Socialist worker will be more able to understand the movement after reading it.

Some parts of the book have already appeared in the pages of **The International Review**, and my readers will, therefore, be familiar with at least a portion of the work. It is only fair, however, to add that the author's revisions have been so numerous and extensive as to preclude the possibility of these chapters being regarded as "twice told tales" by any reader. The serial publication bears to the work in its present form the relation an artist's rough sketch bears to his finished picture. I use the simile of the artist and his work advisedly, for the literary art of the book is unquestionable.

The author deals with theories hardly at all. His aim is to describe the actual movement as he found it in the principal countries of Europe. There are vivid descriptions of policies and excellent word portraits of the leading exponents of all such policies and tendencies. Concerning the actual movement in the various countries I am scarcely able to speak with any degree of authority; the greatest part of a decade has passed away since I was privileged to know it intimately, and in the interval stupendous changes have taken place.

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Upon the whole, however, I am inclined to accept Hunter's interpretation of the international Socialist movement as being singularly discriminating and wise.

Of his portraiture of the leading men—there are none of the women!—in the movement I can speak with greater confidence, and to the great mass of our comrades who will never have an opportunity of knowing such European comrades as Bebel, Ferri, Kautsky, Jaures, Guesde, Hardie, Hyndman, Turati, Vaillant, Anseele, Vandervelde, Labriola, and many others, I can cordially recommend the book as the best account of these men and their work in the movement ever published.

Of course in such a volume, dealing with many different nationalities, with lands of varying political and economic conditions, there must needs be room for much divergence of opinion concerning the conclusions reached. Take for example the English movement. Upon the whole, I find myself forced, at this distance, to agree with Hunter's view of the situation there. As an old member of the Social Democratic Federation, having taken a small part in the propaganda and organization work in the stirring days when "bricks were more plentiful than ha'pence", and having fought side by side with the brave men and women of the S. D. F. in many a forlorn fight, all my sympathies go out to the S. D. F. I shall never be able to adequately express my love and admiration for the men and women who have been in the very forefront of the fight for more than twenty years. Still, it must be admitted, I think, that the S. D. F. has failed, politically. Perhaps Engels was right when he predicted that the Independent Labor Party would become the real Socialist movement of England. Certainly, there has arisen a new working class movement which has left the S. D. F. far in the rear. But whether this Socialist Labor Party is, or is to be, the Socialist movement of England, is not yet very clear. I confess to a sense of disappointment, at times bordering upon impatient disgust, at its lack of aggressiveness, its constant truckling to the Liberals. A writer in the "New Age", which has never been friendly to the S. D. F., being in general more of an I. L. P. organ, recently described the Socialist Labor Party as "a refractory tail to a most tiresome dog"—the Liberal Party.

I am inclined, as I say, to accept Hunter's view of the situation, but not without grave doubts. In England, doubtless, I should see things more clearly than at this distance. I think of a memorable afternoon spent with Keir Hardie in a small "pub" at Porth, South Wales, years ago. Had that meeting come a few years earlier, I think I should have joined the Independent Labor Party. "Keir" then was dreaming of the great united party of the workingmen to-be. Now the dream of the party has been realized, but even "Keir", I imagine, must find its work very disappointing. And one thing I am sure of: whatever mistakes they may have made, the men of the Social Democratic Federation—Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Williams, and the rest—have done for Socialism in England a great and invaluable work. Not only did they pave the way for the I. L. P. and make it possible, but they have educated the I. L. P. itself to Socialism. I deplore their pin-pricking policy of these days, their constant assaults upon the I. L. P. and their withdrawal from the Labor Representation Committee, but I honor them none the less for the courage with which they have kept the torch of Socialism burning.

For this digression I must crave the reader's pardon. It remains only to be added that "Socialists At Work" is a book which every Socialist ought to read and re-read.

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In connection with the foregoing, I am prompted to add a brief notice of "The Socialist Movement in England", by Brougham Villiers, a handsomely printed volume of 330 pages, published by T. Fisher Unwin, London. Mr. Brougham Villiers—I suspect the name is a pseudonym—writes from the viewpoint of the newer English Socialist movement. His defense of Socialism is interesting and sincere and his observations concerning the present tendencies of British Socialism are often suggestive and illuminating. The great central fact in the author's mind is that while "there is an international aspiration in Socialism; there cannot be an international method"—a lesson which Liebknecht was wont to emphasize during his later years, but which we in America are only just beginning to learn. We have taken our methods as we took our theories from Germany and only lately have we begun to attain a consciousness of the fact that our methods must be born of our own experience. The present unsettled and perplexing condition of affairs in the English movement may be, after all, only incidental to the transition from an artificial to a natural and spontaneous Socialist movement.

Like most of the newer Socialists, the author fails to do justice to the pioneers of the movement, the men and women of the S. D. F. His "respectability" prejudices his view. He does not manifest the slightest sign of a recognition of the vast difficulties under which the little group of Marxists worked during the "eighties", nor of the work they did in laying the foundations of a great and virile working class Socialist movement. At times he is positively unjust, as,, for example, in his statement that the Federation has never "long retained the services of any original mind, or managed to incorporate any new creative conception into its work and policy". As a matter of fact, the surprising thing about the Federation is the steadfastness of the "Old Guard". Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Bax, Irving, Thorne, Hunter, Watts, Williams, Mrs. Despard, "Jimmy"Macdonald —the list could be indefinitely extended—are a few names which occur to one as refutations of this statement.

Whoever turns to this book with the expectation of finding accurate and reliable information will be disappointed; but as an interesting discussion of the development of Socialism from the viewpoint of the newer movement the book has considerable value. There is a bibliography at the end of the volume more remarkable for its omissions than for its contents.

* * *

Edmond Kelly's little book, "The Elimination of the Tramp", published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, is a type of the "intensive" sociological studies which Socialists are making and publishing, a sign of the growing tendency to apply Socialist principles to the study of American conditions. Here we have an army of half a million tramps in the United States, a large percentage of them being between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. The figures are a guess, not wholly justified, I think, by the author, but the number is probably not an over-statement of the problem. Thousands of these are killed or injured each year while stealing rides upon the railroads, and it is estimated that they annually cost the railroad companies twenty-five million dollars. Then there is the cost to society, to our cities, for police, prisons, courts and reformatory agencies. Such, very briefly stated, is the Tramp Problem.

Comrade Kelly's solution is one that all Socialists are, or should be, familiar with—Labor Colonies. The establishment of such

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colonies has long been advocated by Socialists and in various European countries our comrades have secured their establishment. An interesting account of these European experiments is given and modifications necessary for American conditions suggested.

* * *

No single issue, of our useful "Standard Socialist Series" published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, has given me greater pleasure and satisfaction than Marcus Hitch's little book, "Goethe's Faust", which the author modestly describes as a "fragment" of Socialist criticism. What Comrade Hitch sets out to demonstrate is that, just as the popular psychology is determined very largely by economic conditions, so is the psychology of the masters of literature; that, in a word, the ethical standards of such great writers as Goethe reflect the economic conditions of their time. A few years ago the late Ernest Crosby, who, it will be remembered, was bitterly opposed to the Marxian theory of the materialist conception of history, shocked the bourgeois world by an onslaught upon Shakespeare, exposing his utter contempt for the working classes and the influence of his environment upon his work. Tolstoy took the matter up and with some vigor carried Crosby's criticism a good deal further. In somewhat the same fashion, but more clearly, with a more fully developed consciousness of the relation of cause and effect, Comrade Hitch has done the same thing in this admirable criticism of "Faust". It is to be hoped that we shall have a good deal more of this kind of writing—especially with reference to the great writers of our own time.

The Liberators—by Isaac N. Stevens. Published by B. W. Dodge & Company, New York. $1.50.

Isaac N. Stevens belongs to the new school of young writers, among whom are Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens and Ray Stannard Baker, whose function it appears to be to reveal the skeletons that have long been carefully concealed in the political and industrial closets of America. We socialists may sometimes wonder that they do not sooner come over into our ranks, but they might well say the ground has not yet all been plowed and that if somebody had not worked before we appeared with our books and pamphlets, our seed would doubtless never have taken root.

Mr. Stevens has given us an excellent story of the struggles of a young lawyer, George Randolph, of New York, who seeks to inaugurate clean politics in the New York and national political quagmire. Incidentally he gives us one vivid sketch after another of the present methods of capitalistic control. Bribery, cheating and lobbying are revealed in all their insidious power, but young Randolph remains true to a promise made to his father and stands by what he believes to be the Right. At the risk of losing not only his reputation as an efficient and capable attorney but the young woman whom he loves, as well, George Randolph plunges into reform politics and finally succeeds in defeating the old and extremely rotten Machine and becoming state senator of New York. Ultimately he succeeds in winning over the people, and a majority of the stockholders, to Government Ownership of Railways, and other long-agitated reform measures.

We do not believe conventional thinkers can read Mr. Stevens' book without receiving a series of wholesome shocks. And if they lose a portion of their respect for those institutions that have come to exist for the sole purpose of enriching a few at the expense of the many, the ground will be the readier for us socialists. **M. E. M.**

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WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Contrary to general expectations the long threatened contest between the capitalistic interests and organized workers on and along the lakes has commenced. The open shop, or open ship, has been made the issue by the Lake Carriers' Association, who, during the past month, held a convention in Cleveland and made a demand that the marine engineers sign individual contracts and assist in establishing open shop conditions on board ship. Pending the submission of the proposition to a referendum vote about 300 engineers signed the death warrant of their organization, but after a poll of the locals was taken it was found that an overwhelming majority of the membership favored repudiating the open shop and union-wrecking system their employers sought to impose and declared their readiness to fight for the preservation of their association to the last ditch.

In discussing this crisis with the writer one of the prominent officials of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association said: "It is not improbable that if the carriers had merely asked us to sign individual contracts our men might have complied. But when they insisted that we aid them to establish the open shop on shipboard—when they virtually demanded that we become union-smashers and strike-breakers and betray our organized fellow-workers in other branches of marine transportation—we were forced to draw the line tight. Our members have been naturally conservative, a good deal like the railway engineers, but we are not quite reactionary enough to become traitors in the eyes of the laboring people of the country."

The scheme of the vessel owners is quite transparent. The old, old divide-and-conquer tactics are to be tried over again. They hope the split the M. E. B. A. and non-unionize the engine rooms with the aid of professional strike-breakers, then the seamen are to be wiped from the map as an organization, and finally the longshoremen, the most powerful of the marine unions, will be attacked and put out of business; for the demand also has been made of them to yield to open shop conditions.

If all the marine organizations were affiliated in a close federation they could withstand almost any onslaught from their organized employers, but unfortunately some of the alleged leaders have been afflicted with the big head and are classified as the most persistent of the craft autonomists. Naturally the vessel owners saw the opportunity this season, aided by dull industrial conditions, to deliver a smashing blow at "Bro. Labor." And it is worth noting that those interests in the forefront of the war upon the marine unions are represented in the National Civic Fakiration, the aggregation of eminently respectable hypocrites and pharisees who assemble in New

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York once a year to rid themselves of a lot of pietistic talk and pose for their pictures while at dinner.

The nation-wide agitation that has been caused by the United States Supreme Court decision annulling the employers' liability law, outlawing the boycott and legalizing the blacklist has brought consternation into the ranks of the politicians. The Socialist and labor press throughout the country has discussed the decisions from every standpoint and mass meetings of workers have been and are being held in hundreds of cities and towns to condemn the jug-handled justice that has been handed out to the working class by the smooth old gentlemen of the supreme bench who make or unmake laws to suit their sweet will.

The result of this widespread condemnation of the courts in general and the U. S. Supreme Court in particular is seen in a hint that has come from the department of justice in Washington to the effect that organized labor has nothing further to fear from the present administration, and that immunity from prosecution is promised the unions "until certain further matters in the courts have eventuated," whatever that may mean—probably it means until the polls are closed next November and Fat Man Taft, the pioneer in the judicial union-busting business, has been elected.

Meanwhile a new employers' liability law has been enacted by Congress, and the haste and unanimity with which it was railroaded by corporation lawyers and other representatives of "the interests," has created a suspicion that there is a "sleeper" in the new law or there may be a secret understanding that the courts will, in the fullness of time, smash it to flinders when a test case is made. Anyhow, the announcement was made when the bill passed (doubtless at the direction of the old fossil Cannon) that labor would get nothing more from the present Congress, which means that the anti-injunction bill and the eight-hour bill, first introduced somewhere back about the middle of the last century, will be permitted to sleep in their pigeonholes until the gang goes home to bamboozle the yaps once more.

Despite the decree that labor would not receive so much as a pleasant look before adjournment of Congress, A. F. of L. officials have been making strenuous efforts to secure consideration of the proposed amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act to prevent the application of the provisions of that law to labor organizations. But there is little hope that the bill will be reported out of committee, and so, despite the reported hint that the law department will cooperate in no more damage suits against unions, organized labor is very uncertain regarding the future—is "up in the air", so to speak.

Of course, the National Association of Manufacturers is claiming all the credit for jamming down the lid on all further labor legislation. The N. A. M. has established a literature bureau in Washington and the capitalists of the country are being deluged with circular letters asking for a piece of money and warning them that if the labor bills become laws their property will be confiscated and the end of the republic has been reached and "anarchy will reign." (curtain and red fire.)

President Tom Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, has gained his first notable victory. Although there has been no fear of a general strike at any time, Lewis inherited a discouraging situation when he assumed office. The mine owners were clamoring for a reduction of wages and insisted upon settling all questions by districts or individually. While the trade problems were being debated the

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old agreement expired and the men were compelled to suspend work. Lewis insisted that the interstate agreement be revived and had his way in a special conference which met in Toledo the latter part of the month. The old 90-cent wage rate will be continued for another two years and minor questions were satisfactorily arranged.

Typically capitalistic have been recent developments in the textile industry. Chapter 1.—The mill barons meet and decide that in the interest of their business a wage reduction of 10 per cent will be enforced. Chapter 2.—The mill barons meet again and decide that they will restrict production in defiance of the law of supply and demand of bourgeois economists in order to maintain prices. Chapter 3.—The mill barons meet once more and vote to enforce the prevailing prices for one year. Nothing is said about restoring the wage reduction. The curtain descends with the heroic mill barons 10 per cent ahead of the game and the villainous employes working short time and making side jumps for the soup-kitchens.

There is also a sequel to this latter-day industrial comedy. The weavers, the strongest branch of the United Textile Workers, are withdrawing from the confederation. They object to paying an additional nickel a month to the international union for the purpose of strengthening the organization—but they will pay an additional 10 per cent a day to the kind masters.

Really, to watch the antics of some alleged union people and listen to their ignorant talk one cannot be surprised to learn that the masters take advantage of them. The big strike of four years ago, when the soup-kitchens were running full blast, did not teach the textile workers anything. Only a few months ago I heard some of their officials express sentiments that would indicate that in the textile industry at least the miracle of uniting the capitalists and laborers as one had been sucessfully performed.

A fact that should not be overlooked is that in cities where efforts are being made to suppress free speech and public assemblage the police, as a rule, are not much better than irresponsible bands of crooks. In New York, where the unemployed demonstration was attacked in much the same manner as the minions of the Czar rode roughshod over the people of St. Petersburg on "Bloody Sunday," the World shows that $30,000 a month has been paid in bribes to the police in one district alone by keepers of gambling and crap joints and pool rooms. The World started a decoy gambling house and laid bare the whole rotten mess.

In Philadelphia, where an effort is being made to suppress Socialist meetings, the police are being shown up as river pirates, receivers of stolen goods, etc. In Chicago more than one cop has been caught in crooked work all the way from holding up and robbing pedestrians late at night to blackmailing keepers of disreputable resorts.

Just how these guardians of the peace and protectors of morals expect to convince the people that the Socialists are a bad lot while they are immaculate is not quite clear, although they may and doubtless do satisfy certain plutocrats that they ought to make liberal contributions to the police officials to break up meetings where citizens might gain some knowledge of their criminal methods. Socialist agitation may be checked here and there temporarily, but every act of coercion on the part of the police will only tend to more fully arouse the workers.

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Immigration. — I congratulate you upon your decision to discuss the Immigration problem in the columns of the Review. While it is reasonable to assume that had this question been previously discussed, our National Committee would not have accepted the resolution presented by the American delegation at the Stuttgart Congress, it is certain that it is never too late to right a wrong. I am convinced that this resolution was a serious mistake. Conclusions based upon false premises are bound to be wrong. The premise that races should be divided into "organizable" and "unorganizable" being erroneous, the conclusion that "unorganizable" races should be prohibited from immigration to this country is inevitably wrong also. Moreover, the fact that the "unorganizable" Japanese nation is almost as "civilized" as we, the "organizable" Europeans and Americans, proves beyond the possibility of doubt that historically, the authors of the resolution are totally wrong.

It may be argued by the upholders of the resolution that the unorganizability of, for example, the Japanese workingman, is due to their low standard of life, but those advancing this theory admit thereby that the Japanese workingman is not inherently unorganizable but that they are unorganized because of present economic conditions.

What, then is the thing to be done? Are we to favor the immigration of Japanese and similar peoples and change their standard of life by organizing them, thereby increasing the solidarity of the working class, or, are we on the contrary, to stand for the exclusion of the Japanese, thus intensifying race prejudices? In other words, are we to exclaim "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" adding "except workingmen of unorganizable races", or will we hold to our motto with no exceptions at all?

This is about the size of the Immigration problem, and considred in the light of both human experience and the animating spirit of the socialist movement, socialists can find but one answer in their efforts to solve this problem. The whole question is so completely covered by the Stuttgart resolution that socialists, as well as humanitarians of all sorts, must either approve of said resolution, or join the ranks of the reactionaries.

How can our National Committee's rejection of the Stuttgart resolution be otherwise explained than that in their efforts to please the conservative trade unions, some of our "leaders" have approved the false, reactionary view of the trade unions on the Immigration question. How can Comrade Berger simultaneously approve the socialist ideal of the Brotherhood of Man on one hand and the "superior" and "inferior"

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race theory on the other, a theory worthy of the ancient Roman patricians or of the American slave-holders of more recent date? Did Comrade Berger ask himself whither he was drifting when he wrote his aritcle on the "superior" and "inferior race" theory? Let us calmly and thoroughly consider this question, comrades, and I have no doubt as to our ultimate conclusion.

H. S. VICTORSEN.

On Nominations. I suggest that the plan of nominating members of the Executive Committee be changed rather than the plan of election. It seems to me the fault lies there. Why not require ten locals in three different states to make a nominee eligible? A candidate who is not sufficiently prominent to be thought of thus widely would have no show for election. This would also prevent a number of locals in one state from nominating one man who, perhaps, is well known in the state but not outside. You may know how that goes. Locals will nominate one man for everything that comes up regardless of his fitness to serve in such capacities. I would like to have at least one woman on the Executive Committee and I think most members would, judging from the way they vote. But when many women are nominated under the present plan their vote is scattered and no one is likely to be elected. Granted that we should have one woman on that committee then the most feasible plan suggesting itself to me is to provide, constitutionally, for this by calling for the nomination of women members and placing and counting votes for them separately.

Edward J. Rohrer, Sec'y. Treas. Soc. Party of Iowa.

Prohibition versus Brotherhood. "Smash the Saloon" is like the cry "Lynch Him". It is the mob-voice unguided by heart or brain.

Brother reformers in the big cities, deal gently with the saloon. Be sure you're right, then go ahead. But don't prohibit and don't raid. You double the graft, you develop a syndicate of secret dives, you harden the liquor dealer, and you make the local politician to laugh.

We are stumbling along drearily enough to-day, with a pack of unenforcible laws, that refer to "closed saloons for all day Sunday", and similar jocose items of the merry wags in the legislatures.

Add to our load with a little more about "No saloons at all", and our backbone will snap.

If you wish to cure certain evils in the saloon, right you are, and we are with you. But abolish the saloon, and you sow vice with a wide gesture.

Lean down from the height of your flashing car, respectable citizens all, who vote an upper-class ballot; and try to see these problems with a heart of pity, and with a neighborhood viewpoint.

The evils are more intense even than you think—more sickening and wide-spread. But the kindness and good fellowship of the poor, in which the saloon is a central factor, are greater than you dream. The comradeship of the underworld is stronger than the graft.

Is there a single function which by right the church should be fulfilling that the saloon has not acquired? It gives hospitality and welcome to the poor, warmth to those in rags. It feeds the hungry. It is always open, always bright, always warm.

All of living service to the community that some sacramental agency should perform is to-day left to the troubled liquor dealer.

Till the church unlocks its curiously carved doors, and warms its nave and humanizes and spiritualizes its clergy and worshipping well-

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to-do, the feet of the young men will lightly turn them to the little cafe around the corner.

It has been the saloon versus the church as channel for the great warm human currents of community life. And the saloon has won. Three times shame on the church that those tides have flowed elsewhere. Let her not talk of Prohibition in the great city till she manifests a desire and a capacity in herself to receive and direct and interpret that flow of the lonely and holy spirit of man, so wistful of a little joy.

The saloon is here to stay. The beneficent coffee house and the cosy little sideboard at home will not supplant it in our generation. Upper-class virtue wreaked on the head of the liquor dealer and the policeman will not cleanse the city. But if we can once release the immense unusual goodness of the race, we will make head against our worst problems. And we can only do this by knowing that the liquor dealen and the district leader and the policeman belong to the human family, and are already nearer the hearts, as well as the vices, of the neighborhood, than we that wish to do them good.

Arthur H. Gleason.

The Lewis Lectures. Thanks for sending me a copy of Lewis' "Evolution, Social and Organic". I heard most of the lectures in Chicago, and you know how much I appreciated them at the time. But they gain on re-reading. The information conveyed by them is not only accurate, but so happily divested of all academic ponderosity, that it may be assimilated by every novice and used as a basis for further study. Lewis may call out opposition here and there among intellectuals and close thinkers, but it will be only in narrowly contested points or on topics which are just evolving and taking on a definite form, and which have not yet been settled among scientific specialists. Such points cannot lead the reader astray, but can at the very worst place him on one or the other side of the coming controversies. This will not do him any harm, but rather draw him into the thick of the intellectual struggles of our days. All the lectures are highly stimulating, at least to me, and I can find untold delight in scanning them over again and again and enjoying the manifold suggestions for research which they contain on every page. I am very glad to hear that these lectures find an unprecedented sale. They will contribute to the clarification of minds inside and outside of our movement as few other books have done, and they will do it in a way that avoids the onesidedly political and economic point of view, which is such a marked feature of most of the socialist literature. Arthur Morrow Lewis is not only a Marxian, but also a dialectic monist, and this makes his work one of the most significant and valuable for the Socialist movement of America. I hope you will soon follow up this first volume by a second one. **Ernest Untermann.**

Hebrew Socialist Fellowship. Appreciating the success of our Christian comrades and believing that the ethics of Judaism and Socialism are identical, a number of Hebrew Socalists of New York City have decided to issue this call for a permanent organization of the disciples of Moses and Marx, the two Jewish intellectual giants. The H. S. F. will have for its objejct the propagation of the principles of Hebrew Socialism—as first expounded by Moses on Mount Sinai, and subsequently elaborated by his lineal descendant Karl Marx—among Rabbis. Talmudists and orthodox Hebrews in every synagogue and Mikwah in this broad land. For further particulars inquire of the secretary, Ben Lichtenberg, 1044 Forest Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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THIS MONTH'S REVIEW.

How do you like it? The eighty pages represent a heavy cash outlay from slender resources, besides an immense amount of unpaid labor. The Review has been published nearly eight years and it has been a steady drain on the publishing house all the time. A magazine of this size can not be run properly without an income of five thousand dollars. The income of the Review last year from all sources except donations was $2,533.26, nearly all of which came from subscriptions. Our receipts for the first three months of 1908 were $968.57 as compared with $702.68 in the corresponding months of 1907. This is a fair start, but we must do a great deal better to maintain the issue of eighty pages a month. What we are trying to do in connection with the increased size is to make a magazine that every active socialist and every studious investigator of socialism will **enjoy** reading. Do you think we have done it? If so, show your faith by sending at least one NEW subscription for a year with a dollar before the month is out.

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

On the first of April we received a cash contribution of $250.00, with a pledge of a like sum every three months for a year to come, from Eugene Dietzgen. The greater portion of this contribution is to be used for the special purpose of securing articles for the Review from leading European socialists; the remainder is to help out on the deficit. If the American comrades help as well in proportion to their ability as this comrade in Germany, the deficit will soon be a thing of the past, and the future of the Review will be assured.

VOLUME III OF CAPITAL.

Comrade Dietzgen's help to the publishing house does not stop with the contribution we have just acknowledged. Two years ago he paid for the translation, typesetting and electrotyping of the two large volumes "Philosophical Essays" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy", by his father, Joseph Dietzgen, whose works thus published in library style are second in importance only to those of Marx and Engels in the literature of socialism. A second edition of each of these volumes has just been published. A year ago Eugene Dietzgen paid for the translation of the second volume of Marx's

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Capital, already in its second thousand, and he has now presented the co-operative publishing house with the magnificent gift of a complete English translation by Ernest Untermann of the third and last volume of Marx's great work. The manuscript is now completed, but the typesetting, proof reading, electrotyping, press work and binding will take about four months. Moreover, this work will involve a cash outlay of about two thousand dollars.

The third volume will be larger than either of the other two. If a capitalist house were to bring out a book of this sort at all, the price would be fixed at not less than five dollars. Our retail price will be $2.00, and we shall mail the book to any stockholder in our publishing house for $1.20. Advance orders will be a help, but they must be sent with the understanding that the book can not be promised for delivery earlier than September.

But the advance orders will not pay the first cost of the book. Part of the money must be raised otherwise.

STOCK SUBSCRIPTIONS.

A share of stock in our publishing house costs ten dollars, and it carries with it the privilege of buying books at cost. Moreover for a short time longer we shall continue the offers published in our bulletins and cirulars of books free with a share. These offers will soon be withdrawn, and those who wish to take advantage of them should do so at once. Two hundred shares subscribed for this month would give us the working capital we need..

LOANS FROM STOCKHOLDERS.

As no dividends are paid on stock, we do not expect any one to subscribe for more than one share. But a number of comrades can spare larger amounts than this for a longer or shorter time. If you wish to leave money with us to be returned on a day's notice, you can count on having it when called for, but in that case we can not afford to pay interest on it. If you leave it with the agreement that it be returned on thirty days' notice, we will pay four per cent. If we can have six month's notice, we will pay five per cent. We do not offer a higher rate of interest, for two very good reasons. One is, that the commercial standing of our publishing house is such that we do not need to pay high interest rates; high rates go with extra risk. The other is that we are selling nearly all our books to stockholders at prices that simply cover the cost, including the general expenses of the business, so that we can better afford to grow more slowly than to pay high interest rates. If you want to put your money where it will be safe and where at the same time it will be used to circulate Socialist literature, let us hear from you. One way to help and at the same time save trouble and expense for yourself is to send from $5 to $20 at a time to apply on future orders for books. In this way you save the trouble and expense of sending a money order every time you want a single book, while a hundred such deposits will make an important addition to our working capital.

NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

The Common Sense of Socialism, by John Spargo, just issued in cloth at $1.00 and paper at 25 cents, is if we are not greatly mistaken destined to be the most popular book we have yet published. It is scientific and original enough to be acceptable to veteran party mem-

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bers, yet simple and readable enough to interest the man in the street. It is clear on the class struggle and historical materialism, yet does not state these theories in a way to upset the nerves of people to whom they are new. In short it is a book that will please both socialists and inquirers, in city and country alike, and it is in our opinion the only book yet published with such a wide range of usefulness.

Stories of the Struggle, by Morris Winchevsky, is a volume of short stories full of live people worth knowing, and nearly all revolutionists. This is a book that will be most popular in the cities where the struggle is warmest. It will appeal to the fighters in the movement, whether they care for literary style or not. On the other hand these stories simply as literature will appeal to thousands of readers who are not socialists but who recognize good craftsmanship in a book when they see it. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Russian Bastile, by Simon O. Pollock, announced some time ago, has been unavoidably delayed but will be ready for delivery by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers. It is not fiction but a recital of the most terrible facts concerning the reign of terror not yet ended in Russia. Illustrated, cloth, 50 cents.

Where We Stand, an address by John Spargo, which had a wide circulation when published by the Comrade Company, and has for some time been out of print, is the latest addition to the Pocket Library of Socialism. Other new numbers are "History and Economics", by J. E. Sinclair, "Industry and Democracy", an address before the Butte Miners' Union by Rev. Lewis J. Duncan, and "Socialism and the Home", by May Walden, a revised edition from new plates. Several more booklets in this series are in press and will soon be ready, among them "Forces that Make for Socialism in America", by John Spargo, formerly published at 10 cents and "Industrial Unionism", by William E. Trautmann. The Pocket Library of Socialism contains sixty booklets, and we mail a full set to any one for a dollar or to a stockholder for sixty cents.

NEW BOOKS IN PRESS.

Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx, is beyond question the most important of the few socialist classics not yet brought out by our publishing house. We shall have a beautifully printed edition ready for delivery before the end of May, price 50 cents. There is no book quite so urgently needed for those who call themselves socialists as this. It was written by Marx in English so that the strength of his style is not diminished by translation. It explains in the clearest possible fashion the process by which the capitalist now gets the greater part of what the laborer produces. Nothing will help a writer or speaker so much to appeal convincingly to wage-workers as a clear understanding of Marx's theory of surplus value. No one else has stated this theory so well as Marx, and he has nowhere else stated it so simply and clearly as in "Value, Price and Profit."

Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the (German) Social Democracy, translated by Winfield R. Gaylord, will be ready for delivery about the last of May. It will be a valuable help to the comrades who are beginning here and there to elect socialists to city councils and state legislatures. The author and translator of the book are opportunists, but the work includes many valuable quotations from Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht and other writers taking the view usually held by Marxian socialists. Cloth, 50 cents.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Socialist National Convention.



HE second National Convention of the Socialist Party of America met at Brand's Hall, Clark and Erie Streets, Chicago, on Sunday, May 10, 1908, at 12:30 P. M. Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected temporary chairman and Frederick Heath, of Wisconsin, temporary secretary. The Convention elected a Committee on Credentials and took a recess until 3:00 o'clock.

On reassembling it was found that the Committee on Credentials was not ready with its report and the Convention proceeded to a consideration of the report of the Committee on Rules, which had been previously appointed by the National Committee . This report called for the election of a considerable number of committees to consider different questions connected with the growth of the Socialist movement. A warm debate ensued as to whether some of these committees should not be dispensed with. The rules, as finally adopted, provided for the election of committees on Platform, Resolutions, Constitution, Women and Their Relation to the Socialist Party, Auditing, Ways and Means, Farmers' Program, Relations of Foreign Speaking Organizations, Trade Unions and Government by Commission.

The report of the Committee on Credentials showed that no very serious contests had been brought before the Convention. A Nebraska Socialist protested against the seating

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of Victor Berger and Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, and of John M. Work, of Iowa, on the grounds that they had violated the Constitution by interfering with the Nebraska organization. The committee advised the seating of these delegates and this portion of the report was adopted almost unanimously. Similar action was taken in the case of Delegates McDevitt, of California, and Goebel, of New Jersey, against whom protests were made. The cases of Nebraska and Washington were postponed for further consideration, but were later decided in favor of the delegates whose names appear in the list. The most important contest had to do with the Washington delegation. This was considered by the National Executive Committee at a special night session and its report was fully discussed at a session of the Convention at which Ray Hutchinson, representing the contestants, was allowed the floor and the Washington delegation was heard in reply. The conclusion reached by most of the delegates was that the Washington organization had for several years been weakened by internal dissension but that the trouble was nearly over and that only harm could be done by any interference in the affairs of the state on the part of the National Organization.

List of Delegates.

The delegates who took part in the Convention were as follows:

Alabama: Thos. W. Freeman, F. X. Waldhorst.

Arkansas: Dan Hogan, E. W. Perrin, Wm. Penrose, J. Sam Jones, Wells Le Fevre, W. R. Snow.

Arizona: Jos. D. Cannon, J. M. Morrison.

California: W. S. Bradford, Wm. McDevitt, F. I. Wheat, G. W. Woodbey, H. C. Tuck, Josephine R. Cole, Mary F. Merrill, J. B. Osborne, Cloudsley Johns, Harry M. McKee, Kasper Bauer, Bertha W. Starkweather.

Colorado: T. L. Buie, L. E. Floaten, Mila Tupper Maynard, Guy E. Miller.

Connecticut: William Scheildge, Alfred W. Smith.

Delaware: Frank Hauch.

Florida: A. J. Pettigrew.

Georgia: Max Wilke.

Idaho: Ernest Untermann, E. L. Rigg, John Chenoweth.

Illinois: John Collins, J. O. Bentall, B. Berlyn, Jas. H. Brower, G. T. Fraenkel, Gertrude B. Hunt, S. A. Knopfnagel, A. M. Lewis, Thos. J. Morgan, Charles H. Kerr, May Wood Simons, Seymour Stedman, E. E. Carr, A. M. Simons.

Indiana: F. W. Strickland, S. M. Reynolds, Robin Dunbar, Otto Kunath.

Iowa: Edw. J. Rohrer, Margret M. Brown, John M. Work, W. C. Hills, John E. Shank.

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Kansas: B. F. Wilson, J. E. Snyder, Erwin S. McAllister, Grace D. Brewer, Ludwig E. Katterfeld.

Kentucky: Frank E. Seeds.

Louisiana: Alex Hymes.

Maine: Willis E. Pelsey.

Maryland: H. Claude Lewis, Wm. A. Toole.

Massachusetts: James F. Carey, C. C. Hitchcock, Antoinette Konikow. Dan White. Eliot White, Patrick Mahoney, Squire E. Putney, Harriet D'Orsey, George G. Cutting, Alva E. Fenton.

Michigan: Guy H. Lockwood, Mrs. Etta Menton, Tom Hittunen, A. M. Stirton.

Minnesota: L. D. Rose, Thos. J. Peach, M. Kaplan, J. G. Maattala, Elias Thorsett, Ester Nieminen, Jas. S. Ingalls, Guy Williams, Jules J. Anderson, John Macke.

Missouri: William L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Wm. M. Brandt, Landers G. Pope, E. T. Behrens, P. H. Callery, Caleb Lipscomb.

Montana: Jas. D. Graham, Ida Crouch Hazlett, Florence Westleder, Geo. Ambrose, John Price, Arthur P. Harvey, John Powers.

Nebraska: G. C. Porter.

Nevada: Grant Miller.

New Hampshire: William H. Wilkins, Louis Arnstein.

New Jersey: G. H. Goebel, H. R. Kearnes, W. B. Killingeck, Fred Krafft, G. H. Stroebel, J. M. Reilly.

New Mexico: W. P. Metcalf.

New York: U. Solomon, Jos. Wanhope, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Thos. J. Lewis, Henry L. Slobodin, Fred Paulitsch, Sol Fieldman, Robert Hunter, Ben Hanford, Julius Gerber, C. L. Furman, C. H. Vander Porten, Mark Peiser, John Spargo, W. E. Cole, Gustave Strebel, W. Fuhrman, August Klenke.

North Carolina: J. J. Quantz.

North Dakota: F. S. Lampman, H. S. Anderson.

Ohio: Marguerite Prevey, Isaac Cowan, Robert Bandlow, Fred Vautrin, Ellis O. Jones, E. J. Zeigler, E. L. Rodgers, Max Hayes, Thos. Devine.

Oklahoma: John Hagel, O. F. Branstetter, C. C. Ross, G W. Davis, Winnie E. Branstetter, L. S. Edwards, C. H. Dome, Carrie C. Block, W. B. Reynolds, C. B. Boylan, J. G. Wills, F. P. O'Hare.

Oregon: F. C. Varner, R. R. Ryan, C. W. Barzee, Mrs. Mollie Crabtree, B. F. Ramp.

Pennsylvania: William Adams, Sam Clark, Joseph E. Cohen, George N. Cohen, Edwin W. Davis, Con F. Foley, James H. Maurer, Edward Moore, Robert B. Ringler, John W. Slayton, Fred L. Schwartz, Daniel Kissam Young, Louis Goagiou.

Rhode Island: Fred Hurst.

South Dakota: E. Francis Atwood, Freeman Knowles.

Tennesse: Dr. Jos. E. Voss.

Texas: Alice McFadin, H. L. A. Holman, W. J. Bell, Laura B. Payne, Stanley J. Clark, M. A. Smith, W. W. Buchanan, J. C. Rhodes, J. C. Thompson.

Utah: G. Syphers, Robert Leggett.

Vermont: Lawrence Albert Wilson.

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Virginia: A. H. Dennett.

Washington. Emil Herman, Emil Hendrickson, E. J. Brown, Alfred Wagenkneicht, Richard Kruger, John Downie, George E. Boomer E. E. Martin.

West Virginia: H. W. Houston.

Wisconsin: Winfield R. Gaylord, Frank J. Weber. E. H. Thomas, E. T. Melms, Victor L. Berger, Carl D. Thompson, Emil Seidel, Frederick Heath, C. Sandburg, W. A. Jacobs.

Wyoming: H. Grosbeck, W. L. O'Neill, J. H. Ryckman.

Monday Session.

Carey, of Massachusetts, was elected chairman, and Guy E. Miller, of Colorado, obtaining the floor on a question of personal privilege, proposed the sending of a telegram to the Western Federation of Miners. Hillquit, of New York, moved that this telegram and all other resolutions coming before the Convention be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. A warm debate ensued, Miller pleading for immediate action on the sending of the telegram, while most of the delegates taking part in the debate urged that the work of the Convention could be done far more satisfactorily by keeping to the regular order of business. The motion to refer the telegram to the Committee on Resolutions was finally carried by a vote of 93 to 92. The remainder of the day's session was taken up with a discussion of the report of the Committee on Rules, the election of the Platform Committee and the nomination of delegates to serve on the remaining committees. Tickets for the election of these committees were ordered printed to be placed in the hands of the delegates on the following day.

Tuesday Session.

The chairman for Tuesday was J. W. Slayton, The greater portion of the day's proceedings were taken up with the contest from the State of Washington, the result of which has already been given. The most important action of Tuesday was the election of the standing committees with the exception of the Platform Committee elected Monday. The membership of these committees was as follows:

Platform: A. M. Simons, Illinois; Morris Hillquit, New York; James F. Carey, Massachussetts; Ernest Untermann, Idaho; Stanley J. Clark, Texas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; John M. Work, Iowa; Guy E. Miller, Colorado; O. F. Branstetter, Oklahoma.

Resolutions: John Spargo, New York; J. C. Rhodes, Texas; M. Kaplan, Minnesota; Gustav Hoehn, Missouri; Benjamin Wilson, Kansas; Charles H. Kerr, Illinois; Edward

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Moore, Pennsylvania; H. A. Kearns, New Jersey; Alfred Wagenknecht, Washington; Elizabeth H. Thomas, Wisconsin.

Constitution: Winfield R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; Caleb Lipscomb, Missouri; J. E. Snyder, Kansas; Barnard Berlyn, Illinois; A. E. Fenton, Massachusetts; H. L. Slobodin, New York; Fred Krafft, New Jersey; W. J. Bell, Texas; R. Bauer, California.

Committee on Women and their Relationship to the Socialist Party: Gertrude B. Hunt, Illinois; Josephine R. Cole, California; Mila Tupper Maynard, Colorado; Antoinette Konikow, Massachusetts; Marguerite Prevey, Ohio; Solomon Fieldman, New York; Grace D. Brewer, Kansas; Laura B. Payne, Texas; Winnie Branstetter, Oklahoma.

Committee on Press: W. A. Jacobs, Wisconsin; Ellis O. Jones, Ohio; Ida Crouch-Hazlett, Montana; May Wood Simons, Illinois; J. W. Slayton, Pennsylvania.

Auditing: Mark Preiser, New York; W. L. Garver, Missouri; George E. Boomer, Washington; W. W. Buchanan, Texas; Daniel Kissam Young, Pennsylvania.

Ways and Means: Charles Sandburg, Wisconsin; G. W. Davis, Oklahoma; Fred L. Schwartz, Pennsylvania; M. A. Smith, Texas; Stephen M. Reynolds, Indiana; E. W. Perrin, Arkansas; Wm. H. Brandt, Missouri; T. L. Buie, Colorado; Julius Gerber, New York; Harriet D'Orsay, Massachusetts.

Farmers' Program: Carl D. Thompson, Wisconsin; C. W. Barzee, Oregon; J. G. Wills, Oklahoma; Seymour Stedman, Illinois; E. L. Rigg, Idaho; E. J. Rohrer, Iowa.

Relation to Foreign Speaking Organizations: Louis Goaziou, Pennsylvania; U. Solomon, New York; Thomas Hittunen, Michigan; Ester Nieminen, Minnesota; Samuel A. Knopfnagel, Illinois.

Labor Organizations: F. J. Weber, Wisconsin; Algernon Lee, New York; Robert Bandlow, Ohio; Grant Miller, Nevada; G. A. Hoehn, Missouri; Thomas J. Morgan, Illinois; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; James G. Graham, Montana.

Government by Commission: Isaac Cowan, Ohio; John Hagel, Oklahoma; H. Tuttle, Wisconsin; George H. Strobel, New Jersey; George H. Ambrose, Montana; W. C. Hills, Iowa; J. O. Bentall, Illinois.

Wednesday Session.

Seymour Stedman, of Illinois, was elected chairman. The day was devoted mainly to the report of the Committee on Resolutions. John Spargo, the chairman of the committee, offered a partial report which was acted on seriatim as read. The first recommendation of the Convention was that the

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telegram offered by Guy E. Miller at the Monday session be sent to the Western Federation of Miners.

The Convention thereupon decided to send the telegram, the full text of which is as follows:

"Ernest Mills, Secretary, Western Federation of Miners,
605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.

The Socialist Party in convention assembled sends greetings to the Western Federation of Miners. We congratulate you upon the splendid battle and final vindication of your organization. We condemn with you the use of federal troops to destroy a labor organization as in Alaska. We are with you until Adams and the last of the victims of the Pinkertons are out from the prison pens of poverty into the sunlight of economic freedom."

The Convention next recommended the adoption of the following resolution on

The Alcohol Question.

"We recognize the evils that arise from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and adulterated liquors and we declare that any excessive use of such liquors by the working class postpones the day of the final triumph of our cause. But we hold that these evils can not be cured by an extension of the police power of the capitalist state. Alcoholism is a disease and can best be remedied by doing away with the underfeeding, over-work and over-worry which result from the capitalist system." This resolution was received with loud applause and adopted unanimously.

A Letter to President Roosevelt.

At a previous session, Delegate Hoehn, of Missouri, had obtained the floor on a question of privilege and had proposed that the Convention send to President Roosevelt an open letter which he began reading to the Convention. He had been ruled out of order and the proposed letter had been referred to the Committee on Resolutions. It now came up for action. Delegate Spargo in his talk criticised the letter severely and stated that if it were sent to the President, it would make the Convention a laughing stock. He therefore recommended on behalf of the committee that the letter be laid on the table without reading. Delegate Hoehn protested against this action and insisted that the letter be read. This was done and a hot debate followed. Arthur M. Lewis, of Illinois, made some criticisms on the language of the letter,

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which were resented by Delegate Hoehn and also by Delegates Cowan, of Ohio, Laura Payne, of Texas, and Benjamin Hanford, of New York. These delegates spoke in a way to imply that a certain antagonism was developing between the "intellectuals" and the "proletarians" of the Convention. A motion was made to refer the letter to a special committee of three to be edited with a view to sending it to President Roosevelt. Delegate Spargo closed the debate in a five minute speech in which he made it clear that his objection to the letter was based not on its literary style but on the confused ideas of the letter which in more than one passage carried the implication that Roosevelt was on the side of the working class but was thwarted in his good intentions by Congress and the trusts. The motion to send the letter to a committee was lost by a vote of 80 to 101 and the motion to send the letter to the President was lost by a decided majority, no division being taken.

Thursday Session.

Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, was elected chairman, and the first order of business was the report of the Committee on Organized Labor. The committee recommended the adoption of the following address:

Socialism and Organized Labor.

"The movement of organized labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage-earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

"The Socialist party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience organized labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between organized labor and the Socialist party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist party stands with organized labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage-worker to be an active and loyal member of the organized labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

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"Organized labor is to-day confronted as a class by a great crisis. The capitalists intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class have undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations. In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska, and elsewhere, law and conviolent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been stitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other mans have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in peryerting the laws to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workingmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestrating their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in case of employes killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workingmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workingmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workingmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that captalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the Anti-Trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, organized labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

"At this critical moment the Socialist party calls upon all organized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen on election day.

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"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your class. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule.

Morris Kaplan, of Minnesota, criticised the resolutions on the ground that they did not definitely recognize the principles of Industrial Unionism, and in the midst of a discussion in which many delegates took part, McDevitt, of California, moved as an amendment the insertion of the third paragraph of the following:

"But we realize that it is the duty of the Socialist Party to point out to the workers that the industrial form of organization is the best suited to develop the working class solidarity necessary to the success of organized labor under the present methods of production."

The amendment was finally lost and the report of the committee adopted. The only vote on which a division was taken resulted in the committee being sustained by a vote of 143 to 43. The trend of the discussion showed clearly that the object of the committee was to uphold the traditional policy of the Socialist Party in co-operating with all labor organizations without antagonizing any of them. The delegates voting in the minority, (the editor of the Review among them), desired to put the Convention on record as recognizing the fact that industrial unionism is an economic necessity under the changed economic conditions, while the majority of the delegates took the view that any expression of this subject would be an invasion of the sphere of action belonging to the labor organizations rather than the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Unity Question.

On the question of unity with the Socialist Labor Party, Chairman Spargo presented a brief report agreed to by six out of nine members of the Committee on Resolutions, declaring it unwise to take any steps toward organic unity with the Socialist Labor Party at this time, but inviting members of that organization to join the Socialist Party as individuals. The chairman also presented two minority reports. One of these signed by Morris Kaplan and Charles H. Kerr, expressed gratification at the action of the Socialist Labor Party in proposing unity but stated that it would be inexpedient in

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the midst of the presidential campaign to expend the energy of our party members on the terms of unity and referred the matter to the several states for such action as they might see fit to take. The second minority report, signed by Alfred Wagenknecht, differed from the first in that it provided for the election of a committee of seven to confer with a similar committee from the Socialist Labor Party not earlier than January 1909. After considerable discussion both minority reports were rejected and the report of the majority was adopted.

An evening session was held. The first two hours were taken up with a discussion of the first part of the Preamble of the National Platform, the full text of which appears elsewhere in this issue of the Review. The Convention then voted to proceed with the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president, and Callery, of Missouri, in a stirring speech placed in nomination the name of Eugene V. Debs. This name was received with tremendous cheers from all parts of the crowded hall. Seymour Stedman nominated A. M. Simons, of Illinois, Victor Berger nominated Carl D. Thompson, of Wisconsin, and Ida Crouch-Hazlet nominated James F. Carey, of Massachusetts. The vote resulted as follows: Debs, 152; Thompson, 16; Carey, 17; Simons, 9. On motion of Victor Berger, the nomination was made unanimous amid great enthusiasm.

The Convention then proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for vice-president, and Guy E. Miller offered the name of Ben. Hanford, of New York, which was received with applause almost equal to that called out by the name of Debs. Several other names were offered to the Convention. The vote was as follows: Ben. Hanford, 106; Seymour Stedman, 43; May Wood Simons, 20; John W. Slayton, 12; Caleb Lipscomb, 1; G. W. Woodbey, 1. On the motion of Seymour Stedman the nomination of Hanford was made unanimous and the Convention adjourned at 2:00 A. M., weary but enthusiastic.

Friday Session.

Robert Bandlow, of Ohio, was elected chairman of the Convention, and John Spargo of the Committee on Resolutions took the floor. The first resolution presented by him was that on Immigration. It had been adopted by a unanimous vote of the Committee on Resolutions after giving a hearing to those favoring and those opposing a declaration for Asiatic exclusion. The resolution was as follows:

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"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the fundamental principle of Socialism is the struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes. The controlling principle of the political Socialist movement is the economic interest of the workers.

"In conformity with this principle the National Convention of the Socialist Party affirms that the working class must protect itself against whatever imperils its economic interests. The mass importation by the capitalist class of foreign workers with lower standards of living than those generally prevailing may in some instances become as serious to the working class of the nation as an armed invasion would be to the nation itself.

"To deny the right of the workers to protect themselves against injury to their interests caused by the competition of imported foreign laborers whose standard of living is materially lower than their own is to set a bourgeois Utopian ideal above the class struggle.

"This principle compels us to resolutely oppose all immigration which is subsidized or stimulated by the capitalist class, and all contract labor immigration, as well as to support all attempts of the workers to raise their standards of living. It does not, however, commit the Socialist Party to any attitude upon specific legislation, looking to the exclusion of any race or races as such.

"The question of racial differences involved in the agitation for the exclusion of Asiatic immigrants this convention does not feel itself competent to decide upon at this time in the absence of a scientific investigation of the matter.

"Therefore, we recommend that in view of the great importance of this subject to the life of the workers of the nation, a special committee of five members be elected at this convention to carefully study and investigate the whole subject of immigration, in all its aspects, racial no less than economic, to publish from time to time such data as they may gather, and to report to the next convention of the party.

After a long discussion a motion to amend the resolution so as to include an explicit declaration against any Asiatic immigration was voted down and the report of the committee was adopted.

Farmers' Program.

A majority and a minority report were offered by the Committee on a Farmers' Program and after a long discussion the minority report signed by Delegate Barzee, of Oregon, was adopted.

"We recognize the class struggle and the necessity of united action among the world's workers of every vocation as against the capitalist class exploitation.

"The Socialist Party stands for construction and not destruction, for advancement and not retrogression, and thereby pledges to the small farmer protection through the Socialization of the national industries, in the production for use and not for profit.

"We therefore recommend that the farmers study the economics of co-operative social system as agaist the individual competitive system, and ally his political power in the struggle for existence,

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with the party of his class. But we insist that any attempt to pledge to the farmers anything, but a complete socialization of the industries of the nation, would be unsocialistic."

The discussion turned mainly on the question of whether special measures should be advocated in the interest of the farm owner, and the view taken by the majority of the delegates was that we should rather aim to convince the farmer that his interests are bound up with the interests of the whole working class.

Debate on Platform.

The remaining hours of the afternoon and the evening sessions were taken up with a discussion of the immediate demands which make up the last section of the Platform. This as will be seen from the full text printed elsewhere in this issue of the Review, is divided into three principal parts. The first two were adopted with little discussion and almost unanimously. It was agreed by the Convention to take up the political program, with which the Platform closes, section by section. The first section as originally reported to the Convention read as follows:

First. National ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamships and all other means of transportation and communication.

Delegate Furman, of New York, moved that before the word "railroad" in this paragraph "all land" be inserted. An interesting discussion followed, in which Delegates Work, of Iowa, Thompson, of Wisconsin, Simons, of Illinois, and Hoehn, Missouri, opposed the amendment, which was advocated by Delegates Clark, of Texas, Slobodin, of New York, and Herman, of Washington. The amendment was defeated, but a subsequent amendment to substitute the words "collective ownership" for "national ownership" was carried.

Socialism and Religion.

The most exciting debate of the whole Convention occurred on Friday afternoon, when Arthur M. Lewis moved to strike out from the list of immediate demands the resolution that religion is a private matter. His reason for objecting to the paragraph was that if adopted, it might have been used as a plea for limiting freedom of discussion among Socialists on subjects connected with religion. Many of the delegates who took part in the discussion agreed with Lewis that the paragraph had no place in a Socialist program, but some feared that to strike out the paragraph might be interpreted as a declaration against religion. The question was finally settled

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by adopting a substitute offered by Hillquit, of New York, which substituted for the paragraph a clause to be added to the declaration of principles and to read as follows:

"The Socialist movement is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with religious beliefs."

The discussion on the question of religion extended into the evening session and the remainder of that session was mainly taken up with a discussion of the plank providing for the relief of the unemployed. Fieldman, of New York, and Hurst, of Rhode Island, advocated a resolution providing in considerable detail for public works to be carried on by the National Government and also for loans to states and municipalities to be expended in public works, the funds to be furnished by the issue of legal tender money. The decision of the Convention was that it would be unwise to go into elaborate details which if carried out would be under the supervision of the present capitalistic government.

Saturday Session.

Frank I. Wheat, of California, was elected chairman, and the report of the Committee on Platform was again taken up. Osborne, of California, moved that the entire list of immediate demands be stricken out and the following plank be substituted.

"The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct, viz: Will this legislation advance the interest of the working class, and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it is in the interest of the working class, the Socialist Party is in favor of it; if it is against the interests of the working class, the Socialist Party is opposed to it."

A full discussion ensued and the amendment was rejected by a vote of 45 to 128. The view held by the majority of the delegates was that it would be more democratic for the representatives of the Party to deliberate as to what measures are for and what are against the interests of the working class than to leave the decision to Socialists who might be elected to office.

The Platform was then adopted as a whole. A committee of three, Berger, Lee and Simons, were elected to revise its literary style before publication. Is is printed in this issue of the Review as revised.

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The Party Constitution.

The report of the Committee on Constitution was then taken up and acted on section by section. As the Constitution adopted was substantially the same as the present Constitution of the Party, we do not print it in full but merely comment on the most important amendments proposed by the Convention. A clause was added providing that every applicant for membership in the Socialist Party shall sign a pledge recognizing the class struggle and endorsing the Platform and Constitution of the Party, including political action. An amendment proposed by Ida Crouch-Hazlett of Montana was adopted by the Convention to read as follows:

"Any person who opposes political action as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from the Party."

It is worth while observing that this clause was adopted after a hot debate and represented the emotion of the delegates rather than their judgment. Other clauses were adopted giving the states exclusive jurisdiction over their members and a clause which had been prepared by the committee to provide a definite plan of action to be taken when a state violated the Constitution was voted down. It will thus be seen that this clause providing for the expulsion of any members opposed to political action has been made impossible of enforcement and could only be a dead letter if confirmed by a referendum vote.

A section was adopted requiring three years' consecutive membership in order to qualify for all National positions.

A section was adopted providing that no motion be submitted to a referendum of the National Committee by correspondence unless supported within thirty days by not less than five members of the National Committee from three different states.

A section was adopted providing that the National Executive Committee shall hereafter be elected by the National Committee from the membership of the Party. There was a warm debate over the adoption of this clause. Many of the newer members who argued from theory rather than from practice urged that the Executive Committee should be elected by referendum of the membership as at present. It was, however, pointed out that all acts of the National Executive Committee are subject to revision by the National Committee and that much greater efficiency could be secured by having the smaller committee under the direct control of the larger one.

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Sunday Session.

Carl D. Thompson of Wisconsin was elected chairman and after hearing a report from Comrade Mance, the fraternal delegate from Canada, the Convention resumed the consideration of the Constitution. A section was adopted providing that the National Secretary be elected by the National Committee. A provision was adopted for a National Congress to be held in each even numbered year when no presidential election occurs for the purpose of considering questions related to the organization and propaganda of the Party.

It was decided to continue the present arrangement of paying the travelling expenses of delegates to all National Conventions from the National treasury and to raise this money by a special assessment levied equally on all members. It was furthermore provided that no delegate hereafter shall be allowed voice or vote in the Convention until the assessments from his state shall have been paid in full.

The entire Constitution as adopted by the Convention is to be submitted section by section to a referendum by the membership of the Party and if adopted the new Constitution is to go into effect the first of January 1909.

The Woman Suffrage Question.

The Committee on the Relation of Women to the Socialist Movement then presented its report by Mila Tupper Maynard, the chairman. She explained that the plank on woman suffrage in the platform already adopted had been drafted by the Women's Committee and that this was the only official declaration thought desirable. She then read the text of the report as follows:

"The national committee of the Socialist party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist party.

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens up a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist party. That it has with it great possibilities and value for the party, our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tours for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the ranks of labor, in or out of labor unions, and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets, especialy adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with an absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions, and the problem arising therefrom.

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"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the Socialist women of the party in explaining and stimulating the growing interest in Socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of Socialism to the children of the proletariat, we recommend the following:

"1st, that a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"2d, that sufficient funds be supplied by the party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field as already voted.

"3d, that this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"4th, that this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"5th, that all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers, be raised by the committee.

"6th, that during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in states now possessing the franchise."

Minority Report.

This report was signed by all members of the committee except Laura Payne of Texas, who then presented her minority report as follows:

"The Socialist movement is the political expression of the working class regardless of sex, and its platform and program furnish ample opportunity for propaganda work both by and among men and women when we are ready to take advantage of it. The same blow necessary to strike the chains from the hands of the working man will also strike them from the hands of the working woman.

"Industrial development and the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution of wealth have forced women and children into the mills and factories, mines, workshops and fields along with the men, dependent for job and wage on the master class. Into that mart of trade they go to sell their labor power, and when for no reason whatever they cannot find a market for it they must seek other means of support. Driven to the last resort, men often become criminals or vagabonds, while women, for food, clothing and shelters, sell themselves and go to recruit the ranks of the fallen.

"Whether it be economic slavery to this extent—or whether it be within the bounds of the possibility of an honorable life—the cause is the same, namely, the private ownership of the means by which they must live.

"It is contended by some that women because of their disfranchisement and because of their economic dependence on men, bear a different relationship to the Socialist movement from that of the men. That is not so. The economic dependence of our men, women and children—whether to a greater or less extent—can be traced to the same cause, which Socialism will alone remove.

"In regard to the ballot in some of our states the men are disfranchised, or practically so, by property qualifications and other

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requirements for voting, and it seems to this committee that you would just as well waste time in trying to regulate those things as in waging a special suffrage campaign for women.

"There is only one thing, and one only, that will remove these evils and that is Socialism, and the nearest way to it is to concentrate all our efforts—men and women working together side by side in the different states and locals, with an eye single to the main issue, The Class Struggle!

"Therefore, my comrades of this convention, I respectfully submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, that there be a special effort on the part of the speakers and organizers in the Socialist party of America to interest the women and induce them to work in the locals of the respective states, side by side with the men as provided in our platform, and constitution; and be it further

"Resolved, that great care shall be taken not to discriminate between men and women or take any step which would result in a waste of energy and perhaps in a separate woman's movement."

In the discussion which ensued most of the speakers held that it was advisable to carry on a propaganda among women in which should be enlisted the support of those desiring suffrage. Delegate Payne said that most of the work on behalf of women suffrage in various places assumed very much the character of "parlor pink teas." The minority report was rejected by a vote of 35 to 70. The majority report was then adopted and a permanent committee was elected consisting of May Wood Simons, Antoinette Konikow, Marguerite Prevey, Winnie Branstetter and Meta Stein. The reports of the committees on Press, Auditing, Government by Commission and Foreign Speaking Organizations were adopted with little discussion. A permanent committee on a Farmers' Program consisting of Simons, Herman, Lee, Wheat and Thompson was elected. A committee to investigate the Immigration Question was elected consisting of Untermann, Berger, Wanhope, Spargo and Guy Miller.

Before the motion to adjourn sine die was made, Spargo of New York said: "I suppose we are all agreed that we want to go home. It is well that, having worked hard for eight days, we should end our convention in as good spirit as that with which we began. I am satisfied that when we get back home and have time to forget our tired nerves and have had time to think more calmly of our personal differences here, that each of us will look back to this convention as one of the greatest privileges in each of our lives.

"I believe sincerely, and I am not making the conventional statement usual to such occasions, that we shall admit ten years from now that the convention of 1908 practically marked the birth of the Socialist movement as a political party

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of the working class in this country. I am not going to ask you to listen to any sort of an address now, but I ask you, comrades to rise and join in three cheers for Socialism and the Socialist Party."

The convention then adjourned sine die, after three rousing cheers for Socialism. CHARLES H. KERR.

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Socialism and Mysticism.



THE PRESENT ESSAY is addressed to **thinking** Socialists.

The writer is fully conscious of touching upon dangerous ground. We know that mysticism has a strong hold on many a collectivist, that certain sentiments and ideals of religious origin are dear to the heart of many a true and sincere friend of the proletariat. We are aware that most of the Socialist leaders are convinced that it would be a fatal mistake to identify militant Socialism with militant Free-thought. We are likewise not unmindful of the fact, that many Socialists are of the opinion that the modern proletarian movement is but a bread and butter affair. And yet we do think, that the so-called "Christian Socialist", the Socialist tactician and even the extreme materialist in the Socialist Movement can well afford, and in fact are in duty bound, to tolerate a discussion of the relation between the great modern proletarian movement, and the cycle of ideas and ideals identified with mysticism in the pages of a magazine devoted to International Socialist Thought.

Socialists ought not to have any **Tabu,** any forbidden ground, as long as they are struggling for truth and knowledge and against ignorance and superstition.

Middle class Free-thought publications in the United States like the "Freidenker" and "Truthseeker" publish Socialist contributions constantly. Should we socialists be less broadminded and tolerant than the bourgeois?

We do not advocate the adoption of an anti-religious plank in our National Platform.

We do not even consider it necessary that *Socialists as such* should take a negative attitude toward religion in their propaganda work and agitation literature.

All we stand for is the elucidation of the organic relation between the philosophy of Socialism, and the cycle of ideas and ideals of mysticism, religion and especially **Christianity as revealed in History.**

We do not by any means claim to monopolize the truth on

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the subject and will welcome any honest and dispassionate expression of opinion diametrically opposed to our own.

Truth can only gain through discussion *sine irâ et studio.*

The International Socialist Review is a free forum for all honest Socialist thought and its Editorial Staff is not responsible for the opinions of outside contributions.

THE COMMON ENEMY.

Religion the foe alike of the Freethinker and of the Socialist.

The term religion admits of several interpretations. However vague and hazy the term religion may be in the popular mind, to the critical thinker religion appears as a psychological (a German would say "Voelker-psychologisch") growth of two principal aspects.

Religion comprises, on one hand, a theory of the universe at large, a cosmogony; and, on the other hand, a system of conduct in every day life, ethics.

The religious cosmogony is demolished to such an extent by natural sciences as to present in our distressingly sober age a rather pitiful, although somewhat quaint and picturesque, ruin. No amount of modernization by so-called "higher criticism" (whatever that term may mean) can restore the barbaric splendor of this ruin. To galvanize a corpse does not mean to restore it to life. The system of conduct identified in the popular mind with religion is vital, not on account of its connection with religion, but rather in spite of its religious appendage. It is morality by and for itself, ethics *per se,* that lends dignity and meaning to religion, and not religion to morality. Morality is an antecedent of religion. Ethics are as old as life on earth.

As soon as the germs of gregarious life in the animal kingdom developed to such an extent as to surpass excessive tendencies of individual variation (centrifugal, anarchic tendencies) in the interests of the survival of the species (centripetal, archic tendencies); as soon as the first rudiments of "consciousness of kind" triumphed over the primordial consciousness of self—a system of conduct of individuals composing the species (social aggregate) toward each other, started to evolve. Morality, ethics, is a sub-human institution, a purely biological phenomenon. Morality is the expression of the interests of the social aggregate, as opposed to the narrowly understood individual interests. All conduct tending toward the conservation and furthering of the interests of the social aggregate is considered as good and praiseworthy, heroic and noble by this aggregate; and vice versa, all conduct tending towards impairing the interests of the social aggregate, is

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considered by this unit as bad, blameworthy, cowardly, and mean. Hence the relativity and changeability of all moral conceptions in space and time.

The higher an animal species stands on the evolutionary ladder, the more developed and pronounced is its "consciousness of kind", the more strict is the subjection of the individual will to the will of the aggregate or social unit, the higher is its morality.

The human race is the most gregarious, the most social of all animal species, as it is physically one of the weakest and, individually, the most helpless of all animal species. It has reached the climax in the "consciousness of kind" or "race-consciousness", as we would prefer to term it. There was no choice about it. Nothing can be more natural than that the human code of conduct reached the highest degree of development. And this evolution of morals or ethics—itself an evolutionary biological phenomenon—can terminate only with the life of the race on earth. Religion could not and did not create morality or ethics. Morality or ethics existed long before religion was evolved in the crude mind of the human animal of bygone ages, and will survive religion in the enlightened ages of the future. Religion found morality deeply ingrained in the nature of the human being as an unconscious instinct of race-preservation. The primitive man was moral—to the extent of his mind-development—simply because he had to be moral in order to be able to exist as a member of his primitive social unit before he troubled himself with the mystical and metaphysical phantoms. The humanization of nature or anthropomorphism, forming the essence of all religions, belongs to a comparatively recent stage of the history of men on earth.

What was the effect of anthropomorphic religions on morals or ethics?

In the first instance religion falsified the motives of human conduct. Religion invented the purely anthropomorphic motives of fear of punishment by a humanized supernatural power and desire for reward by the same power in an imaginary mystical life following physical bodily annihilation. Religion invented the dualism of mind (spirit) and matter, of body and soul.

The anthropomorphic religious philosophy could not fail to produce material changes in the moral concepts of believers.

The motives of fear or rewards by a supernatural humanized power (deity) could not but debase the moral currency. These motives appeal to and tend to develop the lower, baser part of the human nature—its individual selfish side. Indeed the primitive man unconsciously acted from higher and nobler

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motives than those substituted by religion. The reward of his conduct was its beneficient effect directly on the welfare of the social aggregate he belonged to, indirectly on himself. The punishment of an evil deed or immoral act consists in the bad effect it produces on its author through the medium of his respective social unit. In other words, good conduct is dictated by (conscious or unconscious) enlightened selfishness; immorality by unenlightened crude animal selfishness. Consequently morality depends on the development of the human mind, it is a question of intelligence, an emotional refinement. Making human conduct depend on any other basis than broad self-interest identified with the interests of the social or racial aggregate is not only a perversion of actual facts, but amounts to undermining of the very foundation of social life, to poisoning the very fountain of morality.

However, especially pernicious is the introduction of the whims and fancies of a deity as criteria of good or bad conduct, the making of that deity an arbiter and judge in the realm of human conduct. The criterion of morality—the will of a deity! Can there be a more fruitful source of eternal confusion and flagrant abuse, confusion for the believers and abuse by the self-appointed representatives of the deity—the caste of priests! As a matter of fact, it was the caste of priests that, in the name of the deity, usurped and monopolized the function of moral legislation, which by nature and right belonged to the social aggregate as a whole. The deity, through the agency of priests, of course, can be propitiated by gifts and coaxed by prayers to pardon evil deeds, as if an evil deed may be undone. The curse of an evil deed is that it is an inexhaustible source of other evil deeds and the idea of pardon itself is not only irrational but highly immoral. Most religions teach that a repentant sinner is dearer to the heart of the deity (the stomachs of the priests) than an immaculate saint. Does not this put a premium on immorality?

However confusing and debasing the influence of religious anthropomorphism in the realm of human conduct may be in general, there is one aspect of the case especially fraught with moral confusion and debasement.

We refer now especially to the transference of the center of gravity of human morals, from its natural and only legitimate field—human relations and consociations—to the mystical domains of mythical relations between man and his deity.

Who created this idea? It is a time-honored legal rule: "fecit cui prodest". If a crime is committed and the culprit unknown, look for the person that would or could profit by the crime. The culprit in this crime against rational ethics was and is the priesthood, the self-appointed representatives

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of their own creature—the deity. This crime against humanity is eminently calculated to create and maintain in a comfortable if not luxurious life of idleness a parasitic class of priests at the expense of the community. "Fecit cui prodest": The priests invented theocracy in order to establish their class-rule over the unreasoning masses of humanity, scared by hell and damnation, and coaxed by paradisiacal bliss into submission and obedience.

In short, religion and the institutional church are the creations of class-interests, and are maintained by class-interests and in direct violation of the interests of the human race as a whole. The class of priests produce nothing useful to the community, they are an essentially parasitic class. And as such the priests as a rule naturally sympathize with other parasitic classes, the military and capitalistic class. This is the reason why the institutional church always was and always is on the side of the strong and against the weak, on the side of might against right. In spite of all the sickly mysticism and maudlin sentimentalism of the so-called "religion of love" (*lux a non lucendo*;) the institutional church never seriously attacked any anti-social institutions and frequently defended them against attacks on the part of Rationalists. The church never seriously attacked the wholesale murder of men called war, and frequently glorified and sanctioned it. The anti-war movements were started and are kept up by Freethinkers and Socialists. The so-called peace conference of Hague is correctly termed by Blatchford a "thieves' supper".

The institutional church never seriously attacked pauperism and frequently glorified it.

It never seriously attacked the social evil, but at times engaged in white slavery for the filthy lucre (as some Roman popes did).

The institutional church never seriously attacked injustice in any shape or form, but frequently covered it up by turning and twisting the Bible. It defended slavery, serfdom and modern exploitation of men by men. The institutional church always had two weights and two measures, two codes of morals. One rule of conduct for the toiling masses and another for the parasite classes. *Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi.* It preaches the virtues of slavery to the masses—humility, submission to the powers that be, contentment with a life of drudgery and want. To the powerful the church respectfully recommends the social lubricant of charity, equally demoralizing to the giver and the receiver.

The institutional church is not conservative—it is reactionary. Its dial always moves backward, its ideals and aspirations are in the past. It believes in human degeneration (fall of

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men) instead of evolution. It preaches the inherent baseness of human nature, and is pessimistic to the core as to the future of the human race.

Any attempts on the part of public-spirited men to arouse the lethargic masses from their torpor by preaching to them the virile gospel of discontent and self-help, must naturally meet with the open or clandestine opposition of the institutional church.

All those who have the interests of the toiling masses of the people at heart, all those who scorn charity and demand justice, all those who struggle for economic as well as political democracy must earlier or later meet the "non possumus" of the church. The abolitionists of the United States found this out to their chagrin. The great French Revolution found itself incompatible with the revelation of the church. The communards of Paris, the first proletarian uprising, treated the church as its bitterest enemy. The present French republic convinced itself that the church is the worst enemy of popular freedom and enlightenment.

These lessons of history do not seem convincing to some American Radicals in general, and Socialists in particular. The overwhelming majority of Socialists are Freethinkers. They only do not believe in the wisdom of arousing religious antagonism, having to contend with a great deal of antagonism of all imaginable and unimaginable kinds. The fact is, that there is no need in arousing religious antagonism against Socialism, or against any other movement toward the improvement of the condition of the masses. This antagonism exists, it is apparent and real to the same extent that there is an apparent and real antagonism between the exploiting classes and exploited masses everywhere and at all times. This antagonism is irrepressible. Only those who willfully close their eyes do not see it; only those who willfully plug their ears with the cotton of self-complacency do not hear the rumbling of struggle between the classes and masses in some form or another. The struggle is on between Materialists, Freethinkers, and Socialists on one side and the church and the exploiting classes on the other. That there are Freethinkers who are not logical enough to be Socialists, and that there are Socialists who are inconsistent enough to imagine themselves to be Christians proves only that men are not always logical and consistent—a fact, alas; that is commonplace enough to need no proof.

If all Freethinkers would have the courage to discard their middle-class prejudices and take the trouble of studying up Socialism *sine ira,* they would soon find out that free-thinking means scientific thinking, not

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only on religions, but likewise on social-economic matters, and that Socialism is nothing else but the result of such thinking. If the so-called Christian-Socialists would have the courage to discard their religious bias and study up Christianity or religion in general in the same spirit as they approach social-economic life, in the spirit of scientific truth-seeking, they would soon arrive at the conclusion that Chistianity is, if anything, anarchistic and that Socialism is not and cannot be Christian. Then all Freethinkers would profess Socialism, and all Socialists be militant Freethinkers, and Freethinkers and Socialists would have the courage of their convictions, and struggle together against the common foe. But what is the use indulging in day dreams? We ought to be satisfied with convincing the small, but elect circle of those who are always open to conviction. They will lead and the rest eventually follow or drop out by the wayside as the case may be, and the truth will march on. ISADOR LADOFF.

(A reply to this article by Dr. Thomas C. Hall of New York City will appear in the July Review.)

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Out of the Dump.

CHAPTER II



WAS ELEVEN when I went to live with the Van Kleeks nine years ago, and for several months I felt that I was in a fairy land. Growing flowers I had never seen before and only to look at them filled me with joy. At first the army of servants awed me, and I was never weary of watching the splendid horses, the luxurious carriages and the wonderful automobiles.

I had never imagined dresses of such exquisite texture, nor china so rare, nor real gold plate anywhere outside of Grimm's Fairy Tales. In the great house, surrounded by the grounds filled with stately trees, I was happy for a time to be an unmarked observer of the life of the Leisure Class. Mrs. Van Kleeck was usually so overwhelmed with receptions, musicals, balls or dinners that she forgot all about me until she was called upon for her quarterly report from the Home Finding Department of the Charity Organization Society.

In all my life I had never known people who could afford to satisfy their desires, and the Van Kleecks had only to want and be filled. It was to me a new order of things to hear little Holly Van Kleeck, aged six, demand a new pony and English cart, ANOTHER miniature automobile or a small duplicate of his father's Swiss watch set with diamonds, or some other inconceivable extravagance, and everybody running around to satisfy his demands. I pinched myself when I saw him bang the same watch over his tutor's head and break it. The whole world seemed turned upside down.

But money was nothing at all to the Van Kleecks. Holly had a dog harness for his bull terrier, pegged with knobs of beaten brass, that cost more than a year's rent down at the Dump. And his father roared with laughter when Holly threw it into the blazing fire during an evening romp.

It struck me with continual wonder, that first year, to see lap robes, the price of which would have fed the Higgenses royally for a whole year. I was dumb before a homely red vase that was worth money enough to have saved Pete Miller's leg when it was crushed by the street car, and amput-

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ated a few days later on account of unskillful treatment. It was unbelievable that any woman should spend enough money on a single gown to have bought a house and lot in the Alley.

The maid in the left wing enjoyed telling me about these things for I sat mouth agape drinking in the new wonders like a young gourmand, or sat stunned trying to understand that there really was as much money in the world as the Van Kleecks seemed to possess. I had always had grave doubts upon the matter before. Indeed, I was too amazed trying to assimilate these new standards to feel much loneliness. It was a glorious and continuous fairyland performance and I only awoke after six or seven months of it.

At the death of his father, Hollister J. Van Kleeck, Jr., had been left a controlling interest in one of the largest wholesale and retail dry goods houses in America. He was just thirty-one. Prior to that time he had spent his days generally like most young Americans who have more money at their disposal than they know what to do with.

When Hollister J., Jr., became head of the firm he knew less about that business and business in general than the greenest office boy in his own employ. But that did not matter, because his father had tied up the estate so that all Van Kleeck, Jr., could do one way or the other was to DRAW DIVIDENDS. And his son was quite content. After all, I guess dividends are the object of business enterprises, so the old man attained his end.

And old Van Kleeck had left capable men at the helm of affairs who were constantly employed in finding avenues of greater profit into which to steer the business barque. So there was no good reason why his son should roll up his sleeves. And he didn't. He just kept on in his old ways, with the slight diversion of marrying the richest girl in Pittsburg. It was generally more than likely that his wife herself did not know where he was when he went out on a fishing trip or overland with an automobile party. But it did not hurt the business a bit.

But during my time at Guildhall, Mr. Van had become better known in his home town. He even pretended to talk business occasionally. I know sometimes I heard him talking about the "business interests," and he was made President of the Commercial Club. What the papers said about him is something we should all bear in mind. Their eulogies are surely—fitting.

They said he had become a power in the community and in the whole United States through his **wonderful business**

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foresight, his **financial acumen,** and his **integrity.** I suppose if we are going to point the moral, we will say, "Choose a RICH FATHER."

Mrs. Van Kleeck's father controlled the P. D. & Q. R. R. and two or three other Western roads besides, and riding in a private car was more common to her than a street car ride is to the children in the Dump. There were only two children and President White gave each of them a block of P. D. & Q. when they married, which meant that an army of working folks would labor for them as long as they lived, and that the children of these working folks will in turn have to work for his grandchildren, if something startling does not happen before their time.

Mrs. Van Kleeck's life before her marriage had not been much different from her husband's. She went to college and traveled and was introduced. All her life people had been busy performing service for her, making gowns, or hats, preparing dinners, sweating, starving and dying for her.

There were the men who built the cars and laid the road and those who ran the trains and earned the money for the road. They were paid out of the road's earnings to live on, and all the rest went to Mrs. Van Kleeck, her brother, and her father.

My brother Bob says the new capitalist system has the old monarchical and slave systems beaten to a pulp. The capitalists own the factories, the railroads or the mines. In other words, they own the JOBS. But there are not enough jobs to go around, and as a working man must have work in order to earn money to LIVE, there are always men and women who are compelled to sell themselves for a bare living. These men and women are awarded the jobs because the capitalist is in business only for the sake of PROFITS.

Whenever the workers get an advance in wages it leaves less for the capitalists; and every time the capitalists are able to force a reduction in wages, it means more for them. It looks to me as though it will be a hard matter to reconcile the boss and the workingman under these circumstances. They are bound to fight each other as long as there is any prospect of gaining anything by a struggle.

But as I started to say, Bob says the slave owner had very often to force his servants to work, but in these days the worker's stomach pushes him on to compete and even beg for a chance to toil. The capitalist does not need to worry about slaves in these times. There are so many more men than there are jobs that there is always an over-supply of those who must work for just enough to exist on, and no

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matter how many of them may be killed in accidents, or through the use of cheap or defective machines, there are always a score of others to take their places.

Besides, Bob says the working people THINK they are free, so the capitalists do not have to follow the example of the Kings and oppose "Liberty." They simply scream "Freedom" from the housetops on all possible occasions and the armies of slaves go back to work with their heads filled with sawdust.

Bob says if he were a king he would go into business, abdicate the throne, lay down his scepter and talk Liberty to his subjects. Then he would give them jobs in the factory and when they made ten dollars' worth of cloth, he would pay them $2.00 (or just enough to live on in that king's country) and the "Glorious, Free Afghanistan Citizen" would put the new boss upon a pedestal and paint a mental halo around his head.

As Bob says, "the owner of a factory could sure put their majesties on to easier and far better paying jobs." He thinks kinging is "crude and antiquated at this stage of the game."

Take Mrs. Van Kleeck for an example. I guess this is the first time anybody ever hinted that she was not a public benefactor. Kings are generally considered tyrants, but Van Kleecks are regarded as the cream of the earth, and Bob says men who would balk at an emperor do a lot of side-stepping for the sake of "standing in" with the boss.

But speaking of Mrs. Van Kleeck—she scarcely knew how to dress her own hair. Many times I have heard her boasting to her maid, Antoinette, of the things she couldn't do. In fact, I believe there is nothing useful in the world she knew anything about, and as for running a railroad—she does not even know what dividends "her" road pays. She has so much money that she does not know how much she is worth. She can speak French, of course, and German, a little, and Spanish and Italian, I believe, but she has nothing clever to say in any one of them.

When I went to work at the office of the Charity Organization Society, the first thing I noticed was a great sign placed over the door through which the "applicants" are obliged to pass when they want to ask for help. It reads this way: "ALL THINGS COME TO THOSE WHO WORK." I thought of Mrs. Van Kleeck and I laughed inwardly for many days whenever I saw that sign.

Mr. and Mrs. Van Kleeck and the friends in their set were liberal givers to all the charity organizations, and scarcely a

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day passed that an employee from the Van Kleeck stores or factory did not apply to one of the organizations for help of some kind. Five dollars a week was the average wage paid to clerks, and you can't make that amount stretch over seven days, try as you may. Besides, the girls are required to dress well and the shabby girl will not be kept long. When a girl is trying to support her mother, or her brother and sisters on five or six dollars a week, she is pretty certain to need aid from somebody very soon. So the Emporium came to be known as The School for Scandal and many of the girls were forced to add to this pittance in another way.

It was unbearably humiliating applying at the charity societies and if you needed a new and decent waist to wear at the new job at Van Kleeck's in the morning it would be a be dead of starvation before the "Scientific" Investigators got pretty safe bet to lay on the fact that the whole family would down to a working basis. Or they might present you with an antediluvian waist that The School for Scandal wouldn't employ at the wrapping counter.

They will tell you, at the charity organizations, that Hollister Van Kleeck, Jr., gave a thousand dollars one year to The Home for Delinquent Females and that Mrs. Van Kleeck became so much interested in the work of checking the social evil that she put up enough money to publish a book on the subject written by one of the "Charity experts."

There was not, however, any mention made in this book of The School for Scandal; nor was there in it anywhere a hint of a real cure for the disease.

The Right Reverend Doctor Squab tells us that religion will remove the cause; that when the heart is "purified" women will no longer "desire to sell themselves!" As though any man or any woman ever wished to sell themselves—in any way!

The purpose of Scientific Charity is to provide the members of a family with work paying enough to enable them to live, and if a hundred thousand men or women in any of our large cities should stop work to-morrow, there would be more men and women than would be needed applying to fill those positions the next day. When there are two girls for every job, you can't get jobs for all of us. So it is impossible for the most "scientific" Charity organizations to be "scientific" much of the time.

When a "Scientific" Investigator had Kate Miller's case in hand, Katy was working at the ribbon counter in the Van Kleeck downtown retail store. She was trying to support her mother and herself on five dollars a week, when one of

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the buyers took a fancy to her. He paid the room rent and bought her a new dress before he went to New York. Things got worse for Katy after that, instead of better, till the "Scientific" Investigator got hold of her. She lectured Kate and advised her to get a room with some family that would permit her to work at night for her board. Then she brought some sewing for Mrs. Miller, which she was unable to do, with her hands all pinched up from rheumatism. Katy would not go out to work evenings, because she knew somebody had to be home to look after her mother, but they moved into a cheaper room, which the Investigator found and which was so far away from the store that Katy had to pay car fare to the store or walk four miles night and morning.

Then the Investigator fussed with Katy for a while and wanted her to put her mother in The Old Folks' Home, where Katy could support her comfortably by paying only a dollar a week. Katy finally consented, but the Investigator found that Mrs. Miller was six months below the required sixty-five years of age, or not an American-born, or that she was a Catholic, or there was no vacancy or some other unconquerable obstacle—it may have been she had not been a resident of the state over ten years—I can't remember what it was; anyway they found Katy would have to go on supporting her mother the same as ever.

About that time the Investigator got busy on another case, but she did not neglect the Miller family. She sent down a bag of beans and some salt pork, and called around to see how they were doing about two weeks later.

In the meantime the new landlady insisted on having the room rent when it came due. Katy kept right on in the new way till Mrs. Deneen gave them notice and then she made up her mind there was nothing in reforming.

The Investigator was disgusted when the neighbors told her about the Millers and the Society gave Katy up as a bad lot and marked "Very immoral; don't seem to want to do right; UNDESERVING" after her name on the books. It would have done Katy no good to apply there for help after that.

What the Van Kleecks and their friends gave to the charity societies was not a drop in the bucket to what their own employes were actually in need of, but it enabled the management to turn the applicant over to the organizations. Besides, giving to charity is the best possible sort of an advertisement.

MARY E. MARCY.

(To be continued.)

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The Failure to Attain Socialist Unity.



HE unity of the Socialist movement should undoubtedly have been attained in 1901. Failure to secure the desired end by all of the then existing factions was due to a wrong position taken by some comrades, who will now pretty generally admit their error. There is no doubt, of course, that selfish conceit had no small part to play in the matter. The error was that each element in the Socialist movement of a nation should have a separate organization and oppose one another openly before the working class. This position, long felt to be wrong by those of the Socialist Labor Party who were active in the I. W. W., has finally been officially surrendered by that party. But every argument which can be massed for unity to-day was just as weighty in 1901.

The tactical position of the S. L. P. on the political field, since the convention of 1900, has been correct. This I have never heard disputed by members of the Socialist Party whose opinions carry weight among the thoughtful and well-informed. Whatever may be required by the peculiar exigencies of the movement in the various European countries, in America the revolutionary argument cannot safely be diluted by even a thimble full of compromise. I shall not take time to go over arguments pro and con which have been printed in the "Review" thirty-nine times. Why then the egregious failure of the Socialist Labor Party in its efforts to build up an organization?

It failed, first, because it attempted to sever the veteran revolutionary element from the forces which were developing to that position. Nor is this all. It strove to draw about itself the veil of absolute sanctity. It was supposed by certain of its leaders to have attained what the Salvation Army calls "Holiness"; therefore it durst not hold conversation with the unclean; therefore it refused to so far trust the working class' mind as to risk its fundamentally correct principles in the rough and tumble of a united movement. The scientific truths at the bottom of the revolutionary up-sweep were made over into the mumbled litany of a sectarian clique. And thus Truth lost its beauty and saving power.

The S. L. P. failed, second, because of its wrong methods of propaganda and education. Men and women who will

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develop into revolutionists worth while to the movement are sure to demand respect and decent treatment from their teachers while they are learning. This consideration the honest utopians and reformers in the movement (and all of us were such) have never received from the "People," by which the work of the S. L. P. is ever judged. There may be countries (parts of South America, perhaps) where political revolutions are furthered by going after recruits with a sugar-cane knife. But so far as I have been enabled to experience, the proletariat of North America is more impressed by other and more elevated methods of propaganda.

The pity of it all is that the revolutionary argument itself has often and wrongfully been made to bear the brunt of the opposition to wrong methods. Economic science and larger political forces should be considered apart from the manners of an individual or the peculiar methods of a group who are setting forth weighty arguments. And the revolutionary standpoint has suffered most severely in America because of the blunders, conceit and malignity of some who have stood as its chief exponents before the public. This stigma must be removed. Its advocates must henceforth be most guarded in statement and accurately just in their estimates of those comrades who differ with them. Nine-tenths of the unclearness in the American movement has been due to mud-spattering.

The Parable of the Field.

Once upon a time a party of working people were making their way west to the free lands which there waited them. After much wandering they came to a great field which had been allotted them. The party included the wise and the foolish, the strong and the weak, the just and the unjust. The field before them contained forest and swamp, gentle plain and rocky hillside. The people fell to arguing as to how the land might best be reclaimed and homes built.

Now the argument was all well enough. In fact, it was most necessary. The party contained no all-wise prophet. By quiet discussion, only, could they resolve upon a plan and proceed with their labors. Fro the season was already far advanced.

Unfortunately the party became divided. The smaller group, whose councils were undoubtedly the wisest, laid hold of a high, dry parcel of land and tilled intensely. This group contained quite a number of strong, enthusiastic men, a quack doctor with a retinue of servants, a lady of the sewing circle and a couple of half-witted fellows—perhaps a dozen in all.

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The larger group included all the others—every variety of intellect and character being represented, all desirous, however, of having a home in the wilderness.

While the active men of the smaller group were planting corn, the quack doctor and his servants busied themselves in building a high, tight board fence about their land. This fence not only separated them from their brethren of the other party, but kept out the sun's light and warmth. When the corn began to sprout the wise one pulled up some of it and planted a variety of seeds, which were to produce the cures. These he needed in his trade; various homely nostrums such as penny-royal and sage.

"Damn your nostrums," said the young men; "we want corn." The lady of the sewing circle was writing long letters East relating how nice the old doctor was. The half-witted fellows lay under a tree, making mud balls and throwing them over the fence at those outside.

And then the rain fell and the crops waxed high. And lo, it was seen that along with the harmless quack-nostrums the doctor had planted nettles and poison-ivy. The young men looked at each other and took counsel. The lady of the sewing circle, deep in the shadow of the fence, was writing poems to the doctor. The half-witted fellows were sick and nigh unto death, but knew it not.

"Let us throw down this fence and be united to our brethren," said the young men.

"Disturb us not with your alterations," muttered the imbeciles. "Let us groan in peace." The doctor's servants, as ever before, stood ready to obey him.

"Where he goeth, I shall go," repeated solemnly the lady of the sewing circle, pointing to the quack; "his people shall be my people, and his God, my God."

"I am agreed," said the quack, as he shrewdly eyed the young men, "to throw down the fence. But they that are without must promise to leave us our corn and me my sacred plants. For in my medicines alone is there salvation from the ills which afflict us."

"Anything to please him," said the young men. "What we wish is to smash the fence, that we may labor in harmony and fellowship with our brethren who are without. We have planted corn and they have cleared much new land and drained swamps. Why should we be divided? Life here is unprofitable and unbearable. (For the imbeciles were dying, one by one, and the stench of their pollution filled the air.) Let him have his nostrums. The nettles and poison-ivy have not struck root sufficient to live through the heat of summer."

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But the many without would promise nothing. "Throw down the fence," said they, "and join us. You will be welcome. We shall all take counsel later and decide about the corn as well as about the nostrums and nettles."

But the old quack's tongue was like unto the tongue of an adder. He crawled far into the poison-ivy. Thither followed his servants, the lady of the sewing circle and what were left of the imbeciles. They all sat there in gloom, and no one heard of them more. But those who were sound in mind and body picked a hole in the fence and joined their brethren on the outside, taking with them their corn which they had gathered.

The Socialist Labor Party, some years ago, was the only effective revolutionary force in America. It has now become a veritable mill-stone about the neck of the principle which it (judging from its official organ) claims to monopolize. Those of its members whose hopes for the future of the movement outweigh their regrets for the past will surely refuse longer to support an organization which is being used for purely negative and destructive purposes. One consideration alone has given I. W. W. men in the S. L. P. cause for sustaining it during the past three years. That consideration was expected unity. It was hoped that unity might be secured in such a way as to place I. W. W. men upon at least an equal footing with their opponents in the united party. But the current events are showing what a drag upon the I. W. W. the S. L. P. is proving itself to be.

The Socialist Party is not what we might desire. It would have been all that the clearest and most ardent revolutionist might have hoped for, had the whole revolutionary element united to form it in 1901 and learned to use decent and educational methods in propagating their correct principles. A developing class-conscious proletariat will yet make it what it ought to be—the political organization of a class which is as firmly united industrially as politically.

For each of the two essential working class organizations must be independent and supreme in its own field. The only "shadow" about the silly "shadow" theory has been the disordered theory itself.

In the I. W. W. we who uphold political action find no difficulty in working with those who do not. On the political field we industrialists can surely labor with equal success beside those who do not realize the efficiency and the ultimate revolutionary purpose of industrial unionism. For these reasons members of the I. W. W. who favor political action should support the Socialist Party.

FRANK BOHN.

Chagrin Falls, O.

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Liberty or Death.



ASSILI YEVEYEV had just left the room. Then they had heard shouts, then one shot, then another and the death yell of a man. After that all was quiet. But Wassili did not return. Out there upon the bleak field, covered by white snow, lay a rigid dark form.

Now they knew that all was lost. They knew that some accident had betrayed the fact that this lone house on the highway was a meeting place of the soldiers of liberty and a depot for their papers and books.

When daylight would break, those who had surrounded the house would catch them and kill them just as they had killed young Wassili. Every one felt for his weapon, for nothing was left for them now than to sell their lives as dearly as possible and to take along as many of those henchmen as possible into infinity.

When day should break, all would be over. But now the night fell and wrapped everything in its dark cloak.

No one spoke a word. They hardly knew one another by name. They knew only that all of them had worked, suffered and bled for liberty. So they were brothers and sisters of the revolution. There were a few women in the large bare room, whose tables and chairs seemed to tremble and live in the uncertain light.

Voloshenko wrapped himself up in his overcoat and sat down in a corner. His eyes were staring blankly into space. They did not see anything. His mind worked hastily, incessantly, without grasping a single thought.

His whole life, from the very beginning, passed in review before him. It reverted back to the years of his childhood and would not leave him. If he had known his mother, he would have had something sweet and pure to think of. But his life had been rough and hard. His father had fallen from a building scaffold and had been carried home, a corpse. Voloshenko had lived with strangers, had been exploited to the blood, had been robbed of youth and happiness. Then came the grey, miserable years, in which he knew nothing but the unremitting toil in a large factory, in which he was held with many others as though they had been prisoners. All he got out of this toil was enough to gather strength for next day's servitude.

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Suddenly he felt a body nestling close to his side. A hand glided over his cheek, one, twice. It was gentle, careful, loving, as though it caressed an invalid and feared to hurt him.

He did not resist. It felt so good, so good.

A neighbor lit a cigarette. In the light of the match Voloshenko recognized Marfa Lakonska. He had not recognized her before. He had thought she was held prisoner by the Warsaw police since they had had that brush with them. In spite of her youth she had accomplished much. In various disguises she had successfully held very important positions.

He did not ask how she came to be here. He merely pressed her hand. It was covered by a cold perspiration, and its lean and bony touch spoke of suffering and hardship, but also of energy.

In a twinkling all that had worried, irritated, tortured Voloshenko fell from him and he was ashamed to have been so nerveless. Had not his life been beautiful and grand from the day that his soul had been lit up by the spark of the revolution? From the very day that he had joined the comrades of the revolution his life, hitherto so purposeless and useless, had found an ideal to strive for. And now he was going to die, to die like the heroes of whom he had read in old story books, for a great and holy cause, and he would serve this cause even by his death. He would not die like so many others, who breathed their last upon a bed of ease, with their breaking eyes asking the last painful question: Was that all?

Suddenly a voice spoke up loudly: "I wish I could have lived at least another year."

But when the silence continued, as though to reprove the voice, it added hastily, as though it wanted to excuse itself: "It is only because my little Tatya would then be going to school." They all knew who had spoken. It was the little crippled teacher. But no one answered. Only a short, harsh laugh came from one corner of the room. That was Voloshenko's.

Dawn came with a pale and cold light. The snowy field was suffused with yellow and reddish hues.

The silence which had held them all through the night weighed them down even now, when they could see one another.

Silently they crowded around the two windows and looked out over the field, where death was stealthily approaching them.

Voloshenko and Marfa died with their arms around each other. All their comrades died with them.

But the fiery and redeeming thoughts that had impelled them did not die. They swept through space like a flock of wild birds. They fled across steppes, forests and seas. And they accused, and accused, and stirred men's souls. PAUL ENDERLING.

(Translated from "Der Wahre Jakob" by Ernest Untermann.)

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Socialist Platform.

PRINCIPLES.

Human life depends upon food clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point, where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and

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social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessaries of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wageworking class therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society; the small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its

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master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage-workers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom, the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

PLATFORM FOR 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessaries and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired

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the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellowmen, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called Independence parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

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In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the south which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

GENERAL DEMANDS.

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cutover and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are

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organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—That occupancy and use of land be the sole title to possession. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to he amount of the bequests and to nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionaltity of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

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15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

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The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER III.

Civil War and Reconstruction.



HE complexity of the race relations became especially manifest during the civil war. Nothwistanding all the protestations that only the preservation of the Union, and not the question of slavery was the purpose of the war, the South knew but too well, that the negro was destined to be the central figure of the problem. This being the situation, one might have expected the most strained relations between the races in the south; while in the north the white and the black man should have been marching side by side in the cause of the great fight for the emancipation of five milion slaves. But reality both in the North and in the South was very far from this ideal picture.

The northern negro knew quite well, that his race was the central problem of the struggle. The educated negro felt the importance of the situation and was very anxious to help along the work of the emancipation of his race. At the first call for volunteers negroes began to apply in great numbers for admission to the northern army. But invariably their requests met with a stern refusal. The denial of the right of military service at this most critical time was the best evidence of the attitude of the North to the negroes.

Even after the beginning of the rebellion, many of the western States continued in force all the special "Black laws", i. e., laws prohibiting the negroes from entering the state, and since with the progress of the war the number of the fugitive slaves looking for protection was rapidly growing, the objection against them in the North was becoming stronger. While the youth of Indiana and Illinois was shedding its blood for the liberation of the slaves, fugitive slaves were being sold at public auction into temporary servitude for no other crime that they were fugitive slaves.

The first successes of the South in the beginning of the war still more strained the relations between the white and the black in the North. When that part of the population which rushed into the battle, whether out of its devotion to the cause, or out of love of adventure, proved insufficient, and

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obligatory military service became necessary, a series of severe draft riots against the innocent negroes was an interesting commentary upon the northern love of the negro. The riots in New York which led to the killing of tens of negroes and the burning of a negro orphan asylum, have earned a place even in the schoolbooks. In brief, the civil war has not served to improve the relations of the races in the North.

Meanwhile the army in the South performed its work. Wherever it appeared, crowds of negroes flocked to it. And this led to the looming up of the negro question. What shall be done with these negroes? General Butler in Virginia considered them as contraband of war, and forced them to perform labor for the army. General Fremont in Missouri declared them free, for which he was severely criticized by the federal Government. Others went so far into the other direction, as to take pains to return them to their legal owners.

But with the progress of the war, the attitude was gradually changing under pressure of the exigencies of the moment. As the shortage in available fighting men was becoming more noticeable, and since the negroes were fully fit for military service, the return of the negroes was given up as a very unwise military measure. For while the South was fighting to prove the inferiority of the negro race, it nevertheless saw no contradiction in impressing the slaves into the southern army to fight side by side with the white men. Finally the admission of negro volunteers in the northern army was ordered in 1863.

One detail of this order went far to prove how remote the North was from ever admitting the equality of the negro. While the white soldiers were paid $13 per month, besides their clothes, the negroes were given only $10, out of which $3 were retained for their clothes, so that the negroes were paid about one half of the rate their white comrades were receiving. Among the colored regiments, (for the colored soldiers, even when admitted, were formed into separate regiments), there were two from Massachusetts, to whom the full pay was promised at the time of enlistment, and the strong protest of these regiments against this unjust discrimination showed that they had a strong feeling of human dignity, for they refused to accept the lower wages, and preferred to go an entire without any payment at all. Even the offer of the State of Massachusetts to pay the difference from its treasury was declined. It was this obstinacy that forced the Congress finally to equalize the pay of the negro soldiers with that given to the white.

The admission of the negro soldiers into the northern

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army began after the issue of the proclamation of emancipation, and followed the drafting into the army of the fugitive slaves. Thus the very issue of this proclamation seems to have been an act of military necessity and the result of the effort to break down the military resources of the enemy, and to excite the negro population of the South against the white. It was often pointed out how bloody a struggle the war of secession had been. Perhaps the negro owes his rapid emancipation to this very circumstance. That slavery would have remained in force were the South victorious, is certain. But it is also doubtful whether the emancipation of the slaves would have taken place so soon, if the North could have accomplished the suppression of the rebellion in a short time and without any great difficulties. For the avowed object of Lincoln was only a rapid return to the status quo. And the emancipation of the slaves was announced only as a necessary military measure, and was to be enforced only in those localities which persisted in the rebellion. For a time slavery persisted in those slave owning states which had not joined the rebels.

All these facts are well known to every American school boy. But they are reviewed here in order to show how little idealism and love for the colored brother there was to be found even in the northern states. For stern necessity, and not sentiments led the North on the way which it followed.

Let us now turn to the South for a similar rapid review of the race relations during the civil war. The utilization of the negroes in the northern army and Lincoln's proclamation called forth a feeling of bitter resentment in the South. Under pressure from the military authorities of the confederacy, the confederate congress passed a law establishing capital punishment for any negro or mulatto caught fighting against the confederate army. Furthermore, even white officers in command of colored troops were to be tried not as enemies and prisoners, but as criminals.

Judging from these facts, one might easily come to the conclusion that the relation between the slave owners and the slaves were strained to the utmost. But such a conclusion would only go to show how little one understood the complexity of the race relations in the South.

It is true, that thousands of negroes had escaped from their masters in those days, and had joined the northern armies. But this represented only one side of the problem. On the other hand, the same southern newspapers, while resenting the willingness of the northern army to employ colored soldiers, pointed with triumph to the fact, that negroes

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voluntered to serve in the southern army. Thousands of slaves were forced to do engineering work for the confederate regiments, while free negroes were received as soldiers; thus the southerner finally showed his willingness to recognize some difference between the slave and the free negro. The state of Tennessee officially announced that free negroes between the ages of 15 and 20 would be accepted into the army, and it was further enacted "that in event that a sufficient number of free persons of color to meet the want of the State shall not tender their services, the Governor is empowered to press such persons until the requisite number is obtained." And a Virginia newspaper, in announcing that 70 free negroes had volunteered to serve the army, exclaimed: "Three cheers for the patriotic free negroes of Lynchburg."

Thus quite suddenly souls were found in the black bodies, and even such souls as were capable of the high feeling of patriotism. Many negroes served quite faithfully the southern cause, for no other reason than that they remembered the kind treatment of their masters. And even now one meets many an old negro who is quite proud of his services in the southern army.

Cordial relations betweent master and slave were still more noticeable at home on the plantation, as Mr. Booker Washington, that famous negro apostle of peace, delights in pointing out. Says he in his autobiography: "One may get the idea that there was bitter feeling toward the white people on the part of my race. This was not true of any large portion of the slave population in the South where the negroes were treated with anything like decency. . . . In order to defend and protect the women and children who were left on the plantation when the white males went to war, the slaves would have laid down their lives. . . . Any one attempting to harm young Mistress or old Mistress during the night would have had to cross the dead body of the slaves."

Thus the patriarchal relations of the slavery not only created the peculiar mixture of confidence and friendship with contempt in the white men, but also the equally strange mixture of devotion and love with distrust and protest in the heart of the black man.

The conclusion of peace and the final legal abolition of slavery followed in rapid succession. The effect of the proclamation of January 1863 was automatically extended, as the victorious regiments of the northern army reached further into southern territory. The passing of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution soon after the conclusion of the war abolished slavery in those states to which the proclamation

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did not apply. But unfortunately the abolition of slavery did not bring about the abolition of the negro problem.

The decade which followed after the civil war is one that is least understood by the average northerner. Most of these ten years were years of unlimited negro power in the South, which came in quite suddenly after about three centuries of of slavery. At the same time they were years of most rampant political corruption, which the southerners quite naturally have altogether ascribed to the participation of the negro in political life. The mildest protest against the abrogation of the essential political and civil rights of the negroes in the South is immediately met with a reference to the reconstruction. Whithin the recent years this view upon that period has gradually extended to the north, under the general influence which the South is exercising upon northern thought. Some years ago, Root, then Secretary of War, and staunch Republican that he was, publicly announced that the granting of the franchises to the freed negro was a serious mistake. The historian Burgess makes the stronger assertion that it was "one of the blunder crimes of the century and unnatural, ruinous, destructive, and utterly demoralizing to both races." It is evident therefore, how very important is the study of the causes and results of the political emancipation of the negroes for a proper understanding of the present day negro problem.

At the bottom of the whole situation was undoubtedly the entire complicated political organization of the American union with its constitutional limitations of the legislative functions of the federal government. Since the permanent administration of the conquered territory from Washington was not to be thought of, (at least not in those days of adherance to the old republican principles), the question arose as to how and when the original status quo could be reestablished. It is not necessary to enter here into the details of the legal distinction as to whether the states as such or only their population had joined the rebellion against the federal government. But under the cover of these legal intricasies there were hidden material interests of utmost importance.

In many respects the American proclamation of emancipation was a most remarkable act. In announcing on January 1, 1863, the liberation of the slaves, Lincoln accompanied it with very well meant advice: "I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages." Thus at one stroke of a pen, a rural proletariat of over three million persons was created, and the whole material basis of the emancipation proclamation was limited to that very useful advice. During the last years of the war,

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when thousands of fugitive slaves were actually starving to death, some more direct help was granted through the newly organized "Freedman's Bureau," but its activity was limited, and the entire negro population was left in a very critical condition. One can easily understand therefore, why the first outburst of joy at the proclamation of independence was soon followed by a feeling of anxiety for the future, of which very interesting evidence and discussion may be found in Booker Washington's autobiography.

Nothing was left to the free negroes, outside of the small work of the Freedmen's Bureau, but to look for paying wage work at the plantations of their old masters or their immediate neighbors. On the other hand, the owners of the plantations were left in close dependence upon their ex-slaves. When the young planters returned from the war, they found themselves in a very critical economic position. The half destroyed buildings, neglected plantations, and absence of capital (since the paper money of the southern confederacy had lost its value) such was the situation of the South. The enormous amount of capital outlay, which the millions of slaves represented, had turned into nothing. The negro was at the bottom of this complete ruin, and a deep resentment and hatred arose within the hearts of the white planters of the South.

This situation was certainly striking, in that the entire hatred and illfeeling was on the side of the slave-owners. In its first proclamation of emancipation Lincoln announced that the Federal government would not take any measure to pacify slaves when they should make an effort to gain their freedom. This was an open invitation to the slaves to rebel against their masters. But the slaves did not rebel, they continued to work faithfully for their old masters until the very day of the formal announcement of their freedom. "It is probable" says Carl Schurtz, who has studied the situation in the South after the war, by order of President Johnson, "that some of them had suffered cruel punishment, or other harsh treatment while in the condition of slavery; but not one act of vengenace on the part of the negro after emancipation is on record. On the contrary, there were many instances of singularly faithful and self-sacrificing attachment."

No, the revenge came all from the other direction. The white southerner was full of revenge because for 250 years he had been exploiting his black neighbor. General Schurtz tells us in his report to President Johnson, "that not only the white slave-owners but the whites who owned no slaves began to hate the negro with special bitterness. "Since the money

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value of the negro vanished, the murder of or the injury to the negro is not only condoned but encouraged. Since the negro helped to preserve the union, he was hated by those who fought for secession." The feeling was so strong, that notwithstanding the presence of northern troops in all southern states, the negroes were brutally terrorized. As General Schurtz had indicated then, and as all the southerners readily, and almost boastfully admit now, the murder, the mutilations and all the other brutalities were committed not only by the mob and rabble, but by the very proudest southern gentlemen, respected members of southern society. The famous, or infamous Ku Klux Klan, the secret organization, whose investigation embraced a congressional report of thirteen large volumes, systematized this state of terror. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan rapidly grew to 1860 when the negroes had been given the right to vote.

Now, what was the real force behind this feeling of revenge and these acts of violence? That was the desire to **reestablish slavery.**

This is no exaggeration. There can be no doubt after a careful study of the contemporary literature of the South, as well as of the North, that a considerable part of the southern planters hoped and dreamed of the reestablishment of the "Southern institution" in substance if not in form. The investigation of General Schurtz was largely instrumental in demonstrating this state of affairs and it certainly helped to influence the subsequent course of events.

For the psychological effects of slavery upon the southern mind could not be easily obliterated. Obstinately they concontinued to cry: The negro is only fit for enforced labor. And still stronger was the conviction, still more deeply ingrained in the mind of the slave-owner of yesterday, that the negro was there only for the purpose of producing cotton, rice, and sugar **for the white man** and had no rights to the pursuit of happiness, guaranteed to white men only.

Such was the mental attitude, with which the slave-owner of yesterday was entering the era of free labor; and naturally he did not expect anything good to come from it. He sincerly thought that the emancipation of the slaves was not only harmful, but illegal. Slavery was properly a question of local self-government and as soon as the autonomy of the southern states would be reestablished the South would know how to help itself. Following Lincoln's plans, President Johnson promised the South the early reestablishment of the state rights, and the constitutional status quo. Here is what a southern gentleman in Mississippi wrote to his constituents

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in 1866, on being nominated for a local office for the elections which were taking place under the supervision of the northern army: After an indignant denial of the charge that he was an unconditional emancipationist and abolitionist, the gentleman says: "But fellow citizens, what I, in common with you, may have to submit to, is an entirely different thing. Slavery has been taken away from us; the power that has already practically abolished it, threatens totally and forever to abolish it. But does it follow that I am in favor of this thing? By no means. My honest conviction is, we must accept the situation as it is, until we can get control once more of our own state affairs. We cannot do otherwise to get our place back in the Union that will protect us against greater evils, which threaten us. I must submit for a time (!) to evils I cannot remedy."

A plainer admission of the plans which were brewing in the South could not be made. Such was the tone of the vanquished foe only three months after the conclusion of the war! Nor was the South satisfied with words alone. Encouraged by the pacifying attitude of President Johnson, it soon passed from words to actions. Many a planter simply decided that he would not grant the promised freedom to his negroes, and having armed a few white men would shoot down like so many dogs all the negroes who would dare to demand that long desired and promised liberty. This brutal use of force soon reached such dimensions, that the army of occupation, threatened to confiscate the entire property of the planters who would resist the presidential orders. On the other hand the municipalities, which immediately were granted almost full right of self-government, soon began to pass local ordinances, by means of which the actual freedom of the freedmen was materially reduced, and moreover, these ordinances now applied to all the negroes, whether they had been slaves before the war or not, so that as a matter of fact, the old free negroes soon found themselves in a worse position legally than they had been before. Each negro was required by these ordinances to be in employ of some white man, preferably his old master, and the employer was made responsible for the conduct of the negro. This employer could give the free negro a written permission to work for another employer, but such written permit was only good for seven days. Every infringement of these regulations was punishable by a fine of $5, and in the absence of this sum, (as was inevitable in the majority of cases,) by five days of enforced labor, and corporal punishment. The free negro had no right to enter the town without the written permit of his employer, under the penalty of imprisonment, a fine, or the whipping post. Meetings and

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conventions of negroes after the sundown were strictly prohibited. A negro could not speek at a meeting or even preach a sermon, without a previous permit from the authorities. A negro could not engage in commerce, without the written permission of his "employer", under penalty, of the whipping post, a fine, and the confiscation of his stock.

Such was the attitude of the municipalities, but the state governments did not lag behind.

After the taking of the oath, the state of Mississippi was the first to convoke a session of the legislature, and having agreed to the two demands of the president, i. e., the recognition of the abolition of slavery, and the invalidity of the southern war loans, it received back its old right for self-government. Within the first three days the legislature passed three bills in regard to the negroes, and as soon as the congress became acquainted with these three bills, it was forced immediately to change its policy towards the South, in direct opposition to President Johnson. An analysis of these three bills is therfore necessary for the purpose of understanding the racial relations at that period of turmoil and confusion.

The first bill was intended to regulate the relations between the employers and the minor negroes. According to this bill, minor negroes of either sex, when their parents were unable to support them, were required to register as apprentices to white men, and to remain in their places until they were of age. The employer was given the right of administering corporal punishment upon the slaves, and escape of the apprentice was punishable by imprisonment and the whipping post.

The second bill was aimed at the negro vagrants, and the white vagrants when found in association with the negro vagrants. Each negro who had not paid his poll tax was defined as vagrant; also the negroes found gathered in mobs, whether by day or night, and also white men, associating with negroes or mulatoes, or having sexual intercourse with the negro women. Such crimes of the negro were punishable by a fine of $50, and in the case of the white men, $200, and in absence of the sum necessary to pay the fine, the negroes were to be sold at public auction into, what really amounted to temporary slavery, to the bidder who was willing to take the guilty one for the shortest time in compensation for the full amount of fine. It was very evident that that measure alone amounted to the reestablishment of temporary slavery, and that with judges and officers all white men, the negro could be recaptured and resentenced as soon as he was through serving his sentence.

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The civil rights of the freedmen were defined by the third act. They were graciously given the right to own property and entertain action in courts, which rights the free negoes had even before the war, but they could lease landed property in cities only. Could their be found any better evidence of the class nature of this economic legislation, than this effort to prevent at the very begining the possibility of the growth of negro land ownership? Mixed marriages were strictly prohibited, and the presence of one eighth of negro blood was sufficient to classify a person a member of the negro race. Negroes could be admitted as witnesses only when one of the parties belonged to the negro race. Each negro was required to have a definite place of residence and an occupation, and to prove such by a written labor contract or a license from the authorities for performance of temporary work. The negro who broke his labor contract was to lose the right to claim his pay, was liable to arrest and forcible return to his employer; and the latter was to pay to the sheriff who accomplished his capture a consideable reward, to be deducted from the wages of the negro. Influencing a negro to escape or assisting him in his escape by furnishing food, was prohibited and punishable. The negro was not permitted to wear arms. In short, the old black code was reestablished for the freed negroes, though after it has been made somewhat more stringent. But the acme of class legislation was reached in the following provision: "that any freedman, free negro, or mulatto committing riots, affrays, trespasses, malicious mischief, and cruel treatment to animals, seditious speeches, insulting gestures, language or acts, or assaults on any person, disturbance of the peace, or exercizing the functions of a minister of the gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, or selling spirituous or intoxicating liquors, or committing any other misdemeanor," should be fined or imprisoned, and upon failure to pay the fine in five days' time after conviction, should be publicly hired out to the person who would pay the fine, and costs for the shortest term of labor from the convict.

Thus, each and every action of the "free" negro when unpleasant to the local authorities, could easily be termed a crime, and could serve as a ready excuse for arresting him and selling him into temporary slavery, as is admitted even by such a sympathizer with the South as Professor Burgess.

This well defined policy of the State of Mississippi, which other southern states seemed only too anxious to follow, could not but call forth severe criticism in the North. It would be difficult to state exactly how much of this protest was called forth by purely altruistic considerations; and how much by

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selfish calculations; but there is no doubt that the North was sincere in its criticism since it had no reason to desire the reestablishment of slavery which had cost so much to the country. The tendencies of the State of Mississippi and the report of General Schurtz, who had investigated the condition of affairs in that state and several other southern states, largely influenced the congress in its decision to break away from the pacifying policy of President Johnson, and to begin the new era of reconstruction.

Without going into the details of the political events, which followed in rapid succession, it may be useful to mention the main features of the congressional plan which was carried through. The southern delegates to the House and the Senate were refused admission. The radicals insisted that the granting of self-government to the rebel states would leave the rights of the negroes unprotected. Three roads to reconstruction were left open to the country. The North could continue the military occupation of the South and the government of the conquered states from Washington, or the internal government could be so centralized that local discrimination against the negro would be impossible, and their rights would be thus protected, or finally the negroes could be given the means for self-protection; namely, the right of participation in the state government. In the final plans, the military occupation was looked upon only as a temporary measure, any extensive changes in the methods of self-government, in the nature of centralization, were not thought of, and therefore the third plan was accepted, granting the negroes the right to vote. The thirteenth, foruteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution were passed in 1866. These amendments naturally called forth the violent opposition of the South and only passed because their acceptance was made a condition to the readmission of the southern delegates to the House and the Senate.

The thirteenth amendment formally prohibited slavery within the entire territory of the United States. Even this amendment was violently fought against by the south, and this only strenghtened the decision of the North not to let the South have its own way. The fourteenth amendment deprived those who had participated in the rebellion of the right to vote before 1870, and established the rule, which has caused so much discussion recently, that the representation of a state in the congress should be decreased whenever the voting right was taken away from a considerable part of the population; the measure could have been easily excused in view of the fact that the emancipation further increased the represen-

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tation of the South in the national legislature. The original constitution, while providing for representation in the lower house proportionately to population, was forced to introduce a compromise by which only three fifths of the slave population of the southern states was counted, and even that gave the white a representation which was considerably out of proportion to its numbers; were the negroes to remain without any influence on the elections though free, this would further increase the overrepresentation of the white men of the South, and to grant such a privilege to the vanquished would have been magnanimity, bordering on insanity.

The fourteenth amendment touched only upon the position of the South in national politics, but for the protection of the negroes and their rights in the South, the fifteenth amendment was passed in the same way, prohibiting discrimination at the polls on account of race, or color, or previous condition of servitude. This was the first measure that granted all the negroes throughout the country the right to vote; though the negroes of the South had already participated in the elections of 1866 and 1868, in virtue of various military regulations, yet the southerners had confidently hoped to be able to put a stop to that after they had reurned to power. This hope of the white man of the South seemed at that time to have been destroyed by the fifteenth amendment. In addition, this amendment had for the first time granted the right of vote to the negroes of the entire North.

Even such a level headed man as Carl Schurtz came out unequivocally in favor of granting the franchise to the negroes. "As the most difficult of the pending questions are ultimately connected with the status of the negro in southern society, it is obvious that a correct solution can be more easily obtained if he has a voice in the matter," wrote Carl Schurtz in his report. "The rights of a man of some political power are far less exposed to violation..... A voter is a man of influence, such an individual is an object of interest to the political partes that desire to have the benifit o fhis ballot. It is true, that bringing face to face at the ballot-box of the white and the black races may here and there lead to an outbreak of feeling, and the first trials ought certainly to be made while the national power is still there to prevent or repress disturbances, but the practice once successfully inaugurated under the protection of this power, it would probably be more apt than anything else to obliterate old antagonisms, especially if the colored people divide their votes between the different political parties."

Nor did Schurtz think that the ignorance of the negroes

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was a serious argument against granting them that franchise. The granting of the franchise, could not be postponed until the accomplishment of the education of the negro, because, he argued, the franchise was very necessary to accomplish the education of the black race. Just as lightly did he meet the plea, that the negro would become a blind tool in the hands of politicians, as for instance his masters..

"The beneficial effect of an extension of suffrage does not always depend upon the intelligence with which the newly admitted voters exercise their rights, but sometimes by the circumstances in which they are placed," says the old radical of 1848, "and when they vote for their own liberty and rights, they vote for the rights of free labor, for the prosperity of the country, for the general interests of mankind." Further, Schurtz insisted that the South could not be expected to grant the right to vote to the negroes without the interference of the North, that the white South is very much opposed to such a measure, and that this must therefore be made a condition of the return of the southern states into the union.

One need not doubt, however, that side by side with such idealistic constructions, the more vulgar motives of party advantage were exercising their powerful interests. The calculation was brutally plain and simple. Grateful for their emancipation, the negroes will necessarily join the republican party in a body. Even as honest a man as Charles Sumner was swayed by such an argument, though for purely public consideration. But many politicians of a much lower plane saw in this plan the possibility of gaining purely personal advantages. Only by a combination of all these considerations can the granting of the franchise to the freed slaves be explained. As at the same time the vote was taken away, for a time, from all the white southerners who had been active participants in the historical struggle, this granting of the franchise to the negroes was equivalent to the deliverance of the political future of the South into the hands of the slaves of yesterday.

I. M. Robbins.

(To be Continued).

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Does Socialism Change?



THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE is not always the true line of progress, intellectually or otherwise. But it attracts many travellers.

This may account largely for the phenomena written so large in the current history of American Socialism, viz: the fact that its national conventions, the correspondence of its national committee, and the propaganda matter in print and speeches have reflected so much the early classics of socialist thought, to the almost entire exclusion of later utterances even of such men as Engels and Liebknecht.

It has been left to Putnams and Harpers to bring out books such as Ensor's "Modern Socialism" or Jaures' "Studies in Socialism"—books which reflect in a more balanced way the thought of the modern socialist world as distinguished from the earlier socialist origins.

In view of this fact it is to the credit of the Chas. H. Kerr Publishing Company that they are putting out a translation of Kampffmeyer's "Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the German Social-Democracy."

Inasmuch as the writer of this article felt the value of Kampffmeyer's work to be such as to warrant its translation, those who are not familiar with the little brochure may be glad of a few words of introduction from one who has studied it closely.

If Germany were not a modern nation, throbbing with all the influences of a twentieth century capitalism, Kampffmeyer's little book would have only an academic value. But coming, as it does, from one of the most virile of the great national movements now based upon the tenets of socialism, it has immense value for all students of that movement.

In seven short chapters, occupying only about one hundred pages in the German, Kampffmeyer treats successively of "The Unfolding of Socialism in the Social-Democratic Theory, The Capitalistic State and the Parliamentary Activity of the Social-Democracy, State Social Reform and the Social-Democracy, Militarism and the Social-Democracy, Municipal Social Reform and the Social Democracy, Trades Unions and the Social-Democracy," and "Co-operatives and the Social-Democracy."

Thus the author covers most of the important fields of socialist thought, except that dealing with the agrarian ques-

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tion. And this he does not treat owing to the nature of his treatise, which aims to give an "estimate of the fundamental ideas in the theory of the leading minds of the Social-Democarcy"..... and "a presentation of these ideas which shall be as objective as possible." And as he says, ".....after two very promising efforts at a settlement of the agricultural question, the party as a whole has laid aside that question for the time being." The reader will do well to remember however, that this work of Kampffmeyer's bears the date of 1904, and that many things may happen within four years.

Perhaps no single work is so calculated to disillusionize the too enthusiastic preacher of an "absolutely scientific socialism" as this of Kampffmeyer—unless it be Bernstein's little brochure entitled "Is Scientific Socialism Possible?" We hasten to add that few will give the reader more confidence in the virility of a movement which can meet the tests of history and out of its very weaknesses fashion the weapons for victory, than does this story of the sturdy growth of the German Social-Democracy.

Every chapter throbs with the current of a live issue in the Socialist movement, not only of Germany, but of the world. The conception of the "state" and of "political action" is one vital to the American movement in these days, when "direct action" is not only written about by enthusiastic Frenchmen, its ambiguous phrases analyzed in the cold blood of retrospect in the *Socialistische Monatshefte,* but even finds expression in the platform committee of the American Socialist Convention.

"Social-Reform" is famous as a bug-a-boo to frighten socialist children, but like most of the terrible things of childhood, proved to be a helpful friend to the German Social-Democracy when the latter had grown to years of maturity.

Very interesting and instructive also is the experience of the German movement in connection with the trades union and co-operative movements. Taken with the experiences of the French and Belgian comrades they are calculated to raise important questions in the minds of thoughtful American socialists as to possible resources of future strength for our party.

Those unfamiliar with the phases of thought in the European Socialist movement, as the majority of our American readers have seemed to be, may at first mistake Kampffmeyer's book for a plea in favor of the "reform wing" of the movement. But a more careful reading will make it plain that he is only stating carefully and impartially the various positions, giving equal space and emphasis to representatives of the various groups. (Bernstein is mentioned only twice, I think.)

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Kampffmeyer states truly the basis of the principal variations of opinion, in a paragraph found in his chapter on "Trades Unions and Social Democracy", which reads as follows: "Points of view . . . depend upon the opinion which the various social-democratic wings have formed: first, with reference to the rapid or slow development of capitalism into socialism; second, concerning the possibility of the working class wresting labor legislation from the bourgeoisie within capitalistic society; third, concerning the role which labor legislation can undertake alongside the other means of transforming capitalism."

Most valuable of all, perhaps, is the portrayal of the changes of opinion on the part of men like Bebel, Liebknecht, etc., on matters connected fundamentally with theory and tactics. The following quotation from Liebknecht is characteristic of the whole story as told by Kampffmeyer: "In the early days of our party, when we had only few followers, we went to the Reichstag exclusively, or almost exclusively, for the propagation of our ideas. But very soon we were placed upon the ground of practical matters. We have seen that the injustice in the present social order is something more serious than simply an opportunity for the making of pretty speeches, and that it will not be done away with by the prettiest or strongest of speeches. We have discovered that the most important thing is, to do something in the field of practical affairs. . ."

The Socialist Party in America has suffered from the conception held of it by friends as well as by enemies, that it is fully formed and possesses a completed set of ideas. But a study of the movement in any country where it has had time to develop a history shows, that if socialist thought and theory is to be conceived as a crystal, it is as a crystal which has not yet fully formed all its facets and angles, nor drawn to itself all of the material of its own quality which is now in solution in the world of economics and politics. And the socialist movement is an organism, subject to all the laws of growth and adaptation; not final in its present form and force, but growing, changing, developing, taking on new and greater meaning day by day.

Some day there will be writen the story of "The Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the American Socialist Movement." I trust that it may show a record of as much sanity and insight as this work of Kampffmeyer's reveals in the German movement, with such added strength as ought to come to those who are in a position to profit by the experience of others.

WINFIELD R. GAYLORD.

Milwaukee, Wis.

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The National Socialist Platform. Four years ago a Socialist Party platform was adopted without discussion and with hardly a dissenting vote on the floor of the convention, but it met with a storm of protest from party members who were not delegates, and who felt that their views had not been properly represented. This year all shades of opinion were fully represented, and every disputed point was thoroughly discussed. Nearly every test vote resulted in an overwhelming majority for one of the two opposing views, and when the platform as a whole came to a vote, it was passed without a word of protest. Some of us would have preferred to have included in it an explicit declaration for industrial unionism, but the majority of the delegates were not well enough informed on the subject to take a decided stand, and party platforms and resolutions must always state the things on which the members of a party are in substantial agreement rather than the things on which they differ. Some again would have preferred to replace the list of immediate demands by a general statement that we favor whatever is for the interest of the working class, but it was urged with a good deal of force that it is more democratic for the party through its delegates to consider the question of what measures are for and what against the interest of the working class than to leave the matter entirely to such comrades as might hereafter be elected to office. A motion was passed to include "all the land" with railways and other means of transportation, among those things of which immediate collective ownership was demanded. Moreover an attempt to make a definite declaration for maintaining the private ownership of small farms was voted down. These two votes doubtless represent the opinion generally prevailing among socialists, but the fact of the matter is that the question of individual or collective farming will in the long run be determined by the development of industrial processes, without the least reference to political platforms. Or rather, the platforms of the future will be made to fit the industrial development of the future. It was an encouraging sign that a farmer was the one who drafted the

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minority report on the farming questison which the convention accepted. The platform as adopted was alike revolutionary and constructive. It will enlist the support of all members of the working class who are beginning to understand socialism, and we can wait a little longer for the others.

The Party Constitution. The Socialist Party, unlike the old parties, is controlled by its members. The old parties have no members, only bosses and voters. A member of the Socialist Party is one who has signed a pledge severing his connection with any other party and who pays monthly dues, also wherever practicable attending the meetings of his local. The State and National Committees are elected by direct vote of the membership. The membership may at any time by a referendum vote reverse any acts of committees or officers, or remove them from office. The National Committee consists of one member from each state with an additional member for every thousand active members of the party. This committee is too large to hold frequent meetings, and minor details of party management are left to an executive committee of seven, all acts of which are subject to review by the National Committee. This executive committee was formerly elected by the National Committee, but during the last two years the experiment has been tried of electing it by a general referendum vote of the party membership. The experiment has led to some inefficiency and confusion and the recent convention voted, wisely, we believe, to return to the former method of electing an executive committee. It is not the province of the executive committee to originate new policies, but to carry out those of the National Committee, and its members should be selected for their experience and known efficiency rather than for their public prominence. Another feature added to the constitution is a provision for a socialist Congress to be held in the even years when no presidential election occurs. All amendments voted by the convention must be confirmed by a referendum vote of the membership before going into effect. Every Socialist should not merely vote the ticket but join the party. If you do not know how to get in touch with the nearest local, or with the secretary of your state, write to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary, 180 Washington St., Chicago.

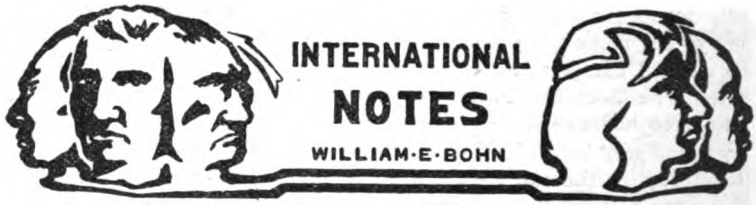
Women at the Convention. Never have women been so conspicuous a factor in the American Socialist movement as to-day. This was indicated in part by the intense interest with which the relations of women to the Socialist Party were discussed. The real question at issue was practically the same as the question of a special program to attract farmers. Some of the women in the convention, like some of the farmers, thought that the general Socialist propaganda would be better than any special appeal. A large majority of the women present, however, favored special action, and the convention complied with their wishes, although one woman offered strong reasons for holding that more could be accomplished by mak-

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ing the same appeal to women that we make to men. Unrestricted suffrage for adult women was rightly made a prominent part of our immediate demands. The Socialist Party of all countries stands not only for the collective ownership but also for the democratic control of the means of production by which wage-labor is exploited, and no control can be democratic when half the workers are denied a vote. The Socialist Party is the only party that has consistently advocated suffrage for woman through the whole course of its existence, and any lack of emphasis on this topic has been due to a lack of interest in the subject on the part of women. The most hopeful thing for the woman suffrage movement about our recent convention is the fact that women have fearlessly and efficiently taken hold of the general work of the movement. The women delegates commanded a hearing not because they were women but because they had something to say and knew how to say it.

Debs and Hanford. The veteran Socialist, who realizes how little votes count for without active brains behind them, is not easily carried away with enthusiasm over the question of candidates. But veterans and recruits alike had their pulses quickened when the Convention named Debs and Hanford as their standard bearers. The result was far from assured before the delegates met. Both of these comrades were said to be shattered in health, and it was feared that their places would have to be taken by untried men. But Hanford was at the Convention and the way he fought for his ideas dispelled all fears as to his fitness for a longer fight, while there were plenty of comrades who testified that Debs was himself again. So it was Debs and Hanford. Eugene V. Debs suddenly became a world-figure in 1894 when as the head of the American Railway Union he went to Woodstock jail rather than surrender in the fight the railway men were waging on behalf of the overworked and underpaid operatives at the Pullman car works. 'Gene went into that jail a "pure and simple" trade union man; he came out a class-conscious Socialist, with a grasp on Socialist principles that many an earnest student might well envy. He worked for years to build up the Social-Democratic Party, and when in 1900 it united with the saner two-thirds of the Socialist Labor Party to make up the Socialist Party, he was made the presidential candidate of the united organization. In 1904, he was drafted into service again, and this time his running mate was Ben Hanford of New York, one of the fighters of "Big Six," the typographical union that forces recognition from the great capitalist newspapers of New York City, and an old-time member of the Socialist Labor Party. Debs and Hanford are living incarnations of the class struggle. A vote for them is a vote for the peace than can only come when the predatory class is overthrown.

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England. Though little has happened during the past month there has been a good deal of significant discussion. There is no country in the world where at the present moment the fundamental principles of government are so much in question. Every joint in the social fabric is being put to the test. It must be admitted, however, that the legislative result is pitiful enough. For example, the long promised Old-Age Pension Bill is valuable only because it recognizes the principle of social responsibility and so opens up the whole problem of the relation of the individual to the state. This measure, which was introduced into the House of Commons on May 7th, provides for a pension of $1.25 a week to all the worthy poor above seventy years of age whose weekly incomes are under $2.50. Mr. Asquith estimates that the number of such will not exceed 500,000, and so the provisions of the bill can be carried out at an annual expense of about £30,000,000. Of course few of the poor, worthy or unworthy, ever live to the age of seventy, and it is very clever of the Premier to use this fact in support of his bill. Some of the arguments against the measure are extremely amusing. The London Spectator proclaims, for example, that the maintenance of indigent employes should devolve upon the capitalists who have profited by their toil, not upon the state. Which looks rather queer on the pages of a sheet that wages systematic war upon Socialism.

The Education Bill outlined in the April number of the Review has practically been defeated in the House of Lords, and a new one is now up for discussion. This was submitted by the Bishop of St. Asaph on March 30th. Strange as it may appear this measure, though unofficially supported by the Angelican church, seems to an outsider more sensible, and even more liberal, than the one introduced by the government. It provides that no elementary schools shall be maintained out of public funds unless controlled by the local education authority; that there shall be no religious test for teachers; that no teacher shall be required to give religious instruction; that any teacher may on certain days give such religious instruction as may be desired by parents, but shall not be paid therefor out of the public funds. This bill has strong support, and, with some amendments, stands a chance of favorable action. But whether it goes through or not the government can get small comfort out of the situation.

As was expected Winston Churchill was defeated in the Manchester bye-election. The chief interest attaching to the incident lies in the fact that in their eagerness for the Irish vote the govern-

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ment pledged themselves to make home-rule the issue in the next general election. Mr. Churchill was finally saved to the cabinet by being returned from the safe constituency of Dundee.

The relation between the Social Democrats and what has come to be called the "Socialist-Labor" party is now a matter of vital importance to our English comrades. The Social Democratic Federation maintains toward the English labor movement an attitude somewhat analogous to that of the Socialist Labor Party in the United States. Since the adoption of Socialism as the objective of the Laborites there has arisen a strong element in the S. D. F. demanding a change of policy. This element is represented by numerous letters in recent numbers of **Justice**, the official organ of the party. The chief arguments presented sound strangely familiar to American ears. It is contended, e. g., that keeping aloof from the trades-union movement argues lack of faith in the principle of the class-struggle. The Socialist element in the Labor-Party, it is claimed, is already strong. Increased by the adhesion of the S. D. F., it would soon leaven the whole lump of the labor movement. Then, we are told, the proletarian class would have a real political expression. Comrade H. Quelch replies to all this that the Labor Party is not yet sufficiently class conscious to be trusted, and if the Social Democrats go over to it they will be bound by the will of a compromising majority; consequently there will be no organization to represent before the English proletariat the genuine principles of Socialism. Whatever is the immediate outcome of this discussion there can be no doubt that the S. D. F. will ultimately join with the larger current of the labor movement. In the meantime it is worth remembering that it is the Labor Party which has made Socialism a national issue in England.

Germany. In an article which has been widely discussed and quoted a writer in the London Spectator comments on what he calls German Disillusionment. For years the Germans have been hypnotized by the spirit of imperialism. From their colonial aggressions, their imposing army, their industrial conquests, they expected some great national good—just what, has remained rather vague. Now they have achieved a sort of national greatness, and a majority of them are waking up to the fact that they get little out of it except the privilege of paying taxes. In this connection **Vorwaerts** publishes a number of illuminating articles. During the past ten years, it appears from figures given in these articles, the cost of the necessities of life has been steadily rising. Since 1900 the price of wheat and potatoes has increased more than 25 per cent. This increase, more alarming than a similar phenomenon in America, seems to be due to new tariff rates and the monopolizing of industry. That there has been no corresponding increase in wages goes without saying. The Prussian government has just refused to raise the slender salaries of its employes. The most disheartening feature of the situation, from the standpoint of the bourgeois statesmen and economists, is that Germany faces an industrial crisis similar to our own. Already production is being limited, and captains of industry are instituting such "economies" as reduction of wages and the discharge of workingmen.

The last echoes of the electoral reform demonstrations are dying away. On April 16th the captured demonstrants were sentenced to various fines and terms of imprisonment. Socialists are making an interesting comparison between this incident and a similar one which occurred in 1894. In both cases it turned out that police spies did

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their utmost to induce the crowds to riot. In 1894 these spies were obliged to make a clean breast of the affair and the prisoners got off with a light sentence; in 1908 the police commissioner forbade his men to testify against the department and the prisoners were given the limit. Still more significant is the fact that in 1894 numerous bourgeois papers gave unprejudiced accounts of the "riot," while in 1908 all of them represented the demonstrants as malicious law-breakers. Within fourteen years the lines of the class-struggle have grown infinitely sharper.

There are other signs to prove that the conflict between bourgeois and proletarian, between progress and reaction, is growing more and more definite and bitter. Old-fashioned liberalism, the sort that asserted itself in the Revolution of 1848, has had its death-warrant signed. This political faith has been represented by the faction known as the Free-Thinkers. These Free-Thinkers, appealing to the old revolutionary principle of individual liberty, have in times past fought many a battle against reaction. Even within the last few months a few of them have had hope of lining up their party with the Social Democracy in favor of electoral reform. But in a congress held recently in Frankfort these representatives of the old liberalism were practically thrown out of the party. The lineal descendants of the revolutionists of 1848 are now permanently grouped with the **bloc** in support of the government.

So far as the Social Democrats are concerned this development is not without its advantages. At the last election to the Landtag they gave their support to three Free-Thinkers who pledged themselves to vote for electoral reform; when it came to the test all three proved false. This has done much to clear the ground for the campaign which is now on. On June 3rd are to be chosen the electors who will select the members of the new Landtag. As was explained in this department last month, the Socialists can secure little representation, no matter how large their vote. All they hope to do is to make an impression upon the public consciousness. But their campaign activities are heroic. Everywhere and in every manner conceivable the injustice of the three-class electoral system is being exposed. Socialists the world over will await eagerly reports of the outcome of the conflict.

The Association law outlined in the April number of the Review has been passed by the Reichstag. In a few respects the government was forced to amend it. In its final form, for example, it permits the use of foreign languages in international congresses, in political meetiugs and generally in parts of the country where 60 per cent of the inhabitants speak some language other than German.

Holland. During the Easter holidays four Socialist conventions were held, at all of which vital questions of policy came up for discussion. At the fourteenth convention of the Social Democratic Party of Holland, held at Arnheim, it was the place of parliamentarism in the party program and, more particularly, the management of the party press and the actions of the Socialist group in Parliament, which were under examination. The leaders were charged with laying too much stress on politics and too little on industrialism, with exchanging favors with bourgeois statesmen and failing to support the Socialist cause in other countries. The men attacked, especially Comrade W. H. Vliegen, editor of Het Volk, defended themselves triumphantly and were acquitted by a vote of 204 to 86. The task for which the party is now gathering its forces is a campaign in favor of universal suffrage. Reports submitted indicated a very satisfactory increase in numbers and activities.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Belgium. In Belgium the great problem of the hour is the proposed annexation of the Congo Free State. And the attitude of the Socialist group of deputies to this problem was the chief matter for debate in the convention of the party which was held in Brussels. The deputies themselves, including Comrade Vandervelde, are in favor of annexation but opposed to the specific measure presented by the government. The convention decided after a long discussion that any colonial policy is unsocialistic and that therefore it would organize a propaganda against annexation. The deputies expressed their willingness to submit to the dictates of the party.

Austria. The fifteenth convention of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary met at Budapest. Reports of the proceedings go to show that Hungarian Socialism has reached a crucial stage in its development. The government of the province is in the hands of feudalistic agrarians. They leave no stone unturned in their effort to hinder not only the spread of Socialism but even the growth of modern industrial life. As in Holland and Denmark and Prussia, the problem of the hour is electoral reform. It has lately been discovered that the imperial government plans to fob off on the people a pseudo-reform measure. And now the Social Democratic Party, as the only representative of popular interests, is preparing for the greatest struggle of its existence. It made a good beginning last October when on the same day it made demonstrations in 191 cities and towns. New provincial organizations are being formed and literature is being distributed as never before. There is a good deal of talk of the general strike as the ultimate weapon.

German Poland. The eleventh convention of the Polish citizens of Germany met at Kattowitz. The chief subject discussed was the method of co-operating with the German comrades against the tyrannous measures of the German government.

Australia. These are lively times in Australia. The Socialists and the Laborites wage vigorous war for the support of the proletariat. The Laborites already exercise a strong political influence. In certain provinces they are actually in the majority, they control numerous municipalities, and everywhere they have made the problem of labor and capital the chief political issue. They have not yet formally recognized Socialism as their objective, but their leaders, and especially their journalists, are constantly preaching Socialism, and Socialism, too, of the genuine sort. But constituting an actual political force, the Laborites insist upon certain "immediate" reforms, the introduction of the eight-hour day, for example, and the erection of municipal slaughter-houses. And it is on this point, the demand for "palliatives," that the Socialists raise their issue. Our comrades in Australia differ from us in that they absolutely refuse to incorporate into their platform a program of reforms. This policy is vigorously defended by **The Socialist** of Melbourne, **The International Socialist Review** of Sydney, and **The Flame** of Broken Hill. The other side is represented by **Barrier Truth**, also published at Broken Hill, one of the mining centers. It argues that the Laborites with their insistence on "palliatives" are working along the line of evolution. Far from opposing Socialism, this paper insists that its own doctrines are the only ones to which Socialists can look for substantial advances. This position it supports with quotations from Marx and Engels. The situation is complicated just at present by the introduction of the I. W. W. In a land where labor unions have long been class conscious and actively political a form of organization which demands no political expression is naturally received with a good deal of suspicion.

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WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

The renomination of Debs and Hanford by the National Convention of the Socialist Party last month is meeting with universal satisfaction among the progressive and thinking element in organized labor and favorable comments are appearing in increasing number in the labor press. The opinion is expressed on all sides that Debs is pretty nearly the embodiment of this year's issues, as labor questions are bound to be injected in the campaign, much as the Democratic bunco-steerers would delight to sidetrack all economic discussion and revive the old tariff humbug. Bryan has never had much of a fling on the tariff trapeze, the greatest straddling scheme ever invented, but judging from his past performances he is about due to give us an exhibition of his versatility in this line. The peerless one has juggled the silver and injunction issues, imperialism, government railways and initiative and referendum, trusts, etc., and then carefully packed those toys away and is now backing up to the Grover Cleveland brand of safe and sane statesmanship. The poor man wants to be President at any cost, and if tariff agitation is too strong to suit "the interests" he may yet spring the momentous issue as to whether or not there are warts on the back of the neck of the man in the moon.

On the other hand, if Taft is the nominee on the Republican ticket or the convention is stampeded to Roosevelt, as many have been predicting, is immaterial, for Debs will confront either and force them on the defensive. Taft's literary henchmen point with pride to the fact that the fat man's decision in the Phelan case, while he was on the Federal bench, served as the basis for the opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Debs case, which sent the American Railway Union officials to the Woodstock jail, and subverted the right of free speech to government by injunction, the tyrannical weapon with which capitalism has mercilessly pursued the organized workers of this country for more than a dozen years. Should Roosevelt be nominated for a third term there will be a good many "undesirable citizens" who will want some further explanations on many of his public and private acts relating to labor questions from the gentleman who is credited by the Parryites with being "the father of the open shop."

Ben Hanford, Debs' running mate, is also an able orator, clear thinker and exceedingly popular with organized workingmen, especially in the eastern section of the country. That he will outclass his opponents on the old party tickets in every particular except boodle-getting will be quickly discovered by any person who cares to make comparisons.

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I have personally met scores of people, before and since the nomination—and not all in the working class ranks, either—who declared themselves for Debs as their choice for President no matter who were nominated by the old parties. Not all understand the principles of socialism—it is doubtful whether all will comprehend the principles of socialism even when the co-operative commonwealth is inaugurated—but they are in sympathy with the working class' struggle and desire to give practical assistance, and naturally want as much company as possible. Hence these newcomers are wishing for a million Soialist Party votes this year.

This reminds me that a man in Chicago informed me that some time ago he attended a banquet in Washington, at which were present Mr. Mallock, the British Socialist-smasher, and a number of bankers, manufacturers, editors and other "best" citizens, including several high government officials. The discussion turned to the growth of socialism and, my informant tells me, the 400,000 votes polled by the Socialist Party four years ago created more genuine anxiety and alarm than the 2,000,000 votes cast by the Populists at the height of their power. "Fancy the state of mind the gentlemen at Washington will be in if you fellows make good and poll a million votes this year!"

And why shouldn't the Socialist Party roll up a million votes in 1908? At no time in the country's history has labor found itself in a more critical period. What with the heaping burdens upon the workers' back, with Congress turning a deaf ear to all appeals for relief, with the industrial system demoralized by the frenzied financiers, with the open shop fanatics declaring war all along the line upon those workers who dare to organize for mutual protection, and with many other minor problems confronting the laboring class, it is beyond comprehension how any thoughtful workingman can cast a vote for either old party, and thus write himself down as being satisfied with the conditions that injure and oppress him.

Debs and Hanford ought to poll at least a million votes!

And what would not a million votes signify?

A million Socialist votes would throw the fear of God into the hearts of every plutocratic tyrant and trust oppressor in the United States!

A million Socialist votes would mean the striking of a blow that would be heard around the world!

A million Socialist votes would cause the old dry bones at Washington to rattle as they have not rattled since the election of Lincoln!

A million Socialist votes would start the wheels of Congress and State Legislatures revolving to grind out concessions in fear and dread that two million might follow at the next election!

A million Socialist votes would mean the modification of the injunction evil "voluntarily" by the judicial usurpers who are in contempt of the people!

A million Socialist votes would sound as the thunderous roar of an awakening working class to the ears of the Parrys and Posts and Van Cleaves and compel them to scurry for cover to avoid retributive lightning!

A million Socialist votes would blanch the cheeks of every Pinkerton thug and Hessian hireling and pronounce the doom of the strike-breaking industry!

A million Socialist votes would make the working class con-

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scious of its own strength and virility, and would send the sunshine of hope into every hovel and sweating hell in the land.

A million Socialist votes would sound the tocsin that the working class had repudiated the Pharaoh of capitalism and was preparing to march into the promised land of the co-operative commonwealth, where there will be no economic injustice, suffering and sorrow, but where equal rights and opportunities will be the order and the brotherhood of man practically applied.

Every working man who has heretofore voted with the old parties should study the present economic conditions, his party principles and leaders, and the probable developments of the future before he decides definitely how to vote this year. Unfortunately labor has "thrown away" its vote too long and is now reaping the consequences. But lost ground can yet be recovered, although in no other manner than by rolling up at least a million votes for Debs and Hanford.

And every Socialist party member and voter and sympathizer should redouble his efforts to secure at least one recruit and the million mark will be reached quite handily. Hold meetings, circulate literature, talk to your neighbors, your friends and relatives and shopmates, and never overlook a chance to gain a convert for the cause in which we are enlisted. The names of Debs and Hanford stand for socialism in our time, and these leaders should receive and have a right to expect our most loyal and hearty support.

Several months ago it was stated in this department that if the vessel owners and dock owners of the Great Lakes insisted upon forcing the open shop system upon the seamen and longshoremen the latter might accept the situation generally, but that they had a card up their sleeves that could and doubtless would be played quite effectually. The employers passed resolutions in favor of the open ship and open dock and were successful in driving their employes to tentatively agree to abide by the edict, but there was no time limit or other usual conditions stipulated, the masters fearing that to treat with the men collectively might be interpreted as a recognition of the unions. Therefore, the individual contract idea was exploited among some of the employes, those classed as the "most desirable," while the others were given less consideration than so much junk.

Now the employes are beginning to show their teeth. At a number of points along the lakes they have returned their individual contracts and walked out on strike, and union officers announce that the men, having no agreement to bind them, reserve unto themselves the right to cease work or not, as they may choose, and wherever they like. This decision has plunged the capitalistic side of the marine interests into a condition somewhat chaotic. The vessel and dock owners are in the dark as to when or where their employes are likely to strike. They may or may not secure cargoes at one end of the lake and find trouble in transporting to or unloading them at the other end. To enlist a small army of strike-breakers, pay and feed and house them and transport them from one port to another is an expensive undertaking and may wipe out the margin of profits that they hoped for this year. Several local strikes have occurred at Lake Erie ports and they are interpreted as warnings of a coming storm. Hence some of the vessel owners, in order to get their bearings, make the announcement that shipping will be delayed until

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the first of July, doubtless hoping that their employes will have become hungry enough by that time to remain at work and forego the inauguration of a general guerilla warfare.

If the vessel owners and dock managers imagined that their pronouncement for the open shop would result in stampeding the workers out of their organizations they were very much mistaken. If anything, the workers are more determined than ever to maintain their unions, and in fact the hostility of the bosses has aroused a great deal of bitterness among some of the men. They look upon the attack against their organizations at this time as being cowardly and unfair, and they are obstinately refusing to please their kind masters by dropping out of their unions. The upshot of the whole controversy may, before long, bring about what the industrialists have been looking for, namely, a close federation of all the marine and transport crafts. A compact and well-disciplined alliance on the lakes would wield immense power, and in the very nature of things would have many advantages that strictly land trades do not possess. Whether it will require a long, bitter struggle between masters and men to bring this condition about only the future can reveal.

Political action is now the shibboleth of organized labor from one end of the country to the other. In some places the unions are voting to act with the Socialist Party, in others they favor starting parties of their own, and in still others they seem to favor endorsing candidates placed in the field by existing parties who are considered friendly to the workers. While there may be doubts as to the wisdom of the unionists in localities where they are still inclined to flirt with capitalistic politicians, still the signs of awakening that are seen on every hand are encouraging. Once they begin to read and think a distinct advance has been made and it is only a matter of time when they will hit the right trail. Heretofore it has been a difficult matter to get union men to listen, but now many of them have plenty of time to consider arguments presented relating to economic problems and they display a sincere desire to learn the cause and cure of industrial depression, hostile court deisions, refusal of legislative bodies to extend relief, and so forth. The decision of Congress against enacting an anti-injunction law and passing the amendments to the Sherman anti-trust law to protect trade unions and their funds destroyed the last hope of the most conservative element to obtain the slightest recognition. Now it is politics from one end of the country to the other, and even if there is confusion for a time the indications are that the Socialist Party will profit immensely by the turn affairs have taken.

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Peonage in Mexico. Not long ago a company in Sonora, Mexico, sent an American over the Fuerte River to hire men to work for them on a ditch. These Mexicans were to receive fifty cents a day. The American was offered fifty cents for every man he induced to come over. He was also given money for feeding these men and teams to be used on the road returning. I advised him that he would be regarded as an enemy of the Dons, since all the men upon the banks of the river are peons; but he felt certain that the Dons, themselves, would not take offense since he meant only to offer work to idle men. A few days later the dead body of the American was found upon the roadside. A Don is lord over his ranch or his business in deed as well as in word. Many men peon themselves because they are then sure of the given amount of corn every week. They earn from four, six and eight pesos per month. The patron, or Don, buys the labor power of the peon, who is required to agree to work at whatsoever his master chooses, to the best of his ability, any length of time required. Many work from eighteen to twenty hours a day. The patrons have so often cruelly misused the peons that the government was forced to enact a law for their protection. This law for the government of peons was to be posted in the construction room, or at a conspicuous place where all might read. But I have known cases where the Dons shot down a peon and were punished only by a small fine. I do not think the testimony of a thousand peons against a Don would affect the mind of a judge. The Dons uphold the government and the government, in turn, gives them full swing. A Don likes to have many peons, because in all governmental matters he is allowed to cast a vote in the name of each of them.—**From a subcriber in Mexico.**

Dedication of New Socialist's Hall at Ironwood, Mich. From May the first to the third, inclusive, the Finnish comrades held three days of festivities in dedication to their new hall, to the emancipation of the working class. The hall or Labor Temple, which has been in construction for some time, is a splendid tribute to the energy, intelligence and sacrifice of Ironwood Local, which is almost wholly composed of Finnish comrades, and they deserve great credit for their noble effort.

The hall is situated almost in the heart of the city, near the depot, and easily accessible to all portions of the town. It is a large building of modern architecture and one that strikes the attention of the pedestrians as soon as they enter the city.

On entering the building the slightest observation reveals the

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fact that much pains have been taken to make everything safe and comfortable. The interior is very excellently arranged for entertainment purposes. The main hall, which has a seating capacity of between eight and nine hundred and possibly a thousand if slightly crowded, is provided with a good stage platform and modern stage equipment. The entrance is provided with large swinging doors, besides extra exits with red lights above them as indicators in case of fire.

On the upper floors are large rooms for serving suppers, having modern kitchen appliances; also spacious closets for hanging wearing apparel, racks being provided and numbered for hats, satchels, etc. The rooms are finished in different colors, with red and blue predominant. The wainscoting, doors and wood work are mostly all finished in a beautiful shade of weathered oak. The spacious cellar, with cement walls and floors, is finely laid out for steam heating plant, gymnasium, bathrooms and is already equipped with excellent toilet arrangements.

Everything from the cellar up shows harmony of arrangement and faithfulness to detail, reflecting nothing but credit upon the energy and ability of those whose hearts, beating in sympathy with their fellowmen, have successfully reared a home for the entertainment and education of the working class in Ironwood.

This grand achievement, consummated by a comparatively few of the total working class of that city, is a standing example of what could be done if the laboring millions would forget their national boundaries, petty superstitions, selfish politics, and band themselves together as one universal brotherhood against the one common enemy of mankind, CAPITALISM. W. J. ROBERTS,

Ishpeming.

It Was a Joke. Last month we published a short announcement by Ben Lichtenberg under the heading "Hebrew Socialist Fellowship." He writes us that the notice was intended as a joke, but that most of the papers which copied it took it seriously, one looking forward toward the formation of the H. S. F. with apprehension, and another extending a welcome and promising its aid. The editor must own that he was himself misled by the plausible way in which the notice read. It was absurd, of course, yet no more absurd than many things written in all seriousness by new converts to socialism of other creeds and races, and we had not enough personal knowledge of Comrade Lichtenberg to give him credit for that rather unusual possession, a sense of humor. We trust that he will accept this apology, and that the moral of the incident will not be lost on the next Socialist who thinks of starting another Fellowship or Association.

Better Organization Methods. On Monday, May 18, the day following the adjournment of the National Socialist Convention, an informal meeting of state secretaries was held at national headquarters. Many secretaries gave interesting reports of their work, their methods and their problems. It was suggested that some regular means of communication between state secretaries should be provided, and the editor of the Review made an announcement, which he desires to repeat here, namely, that letters from state secretaries and organizers suggesting improved methods of propaganda and organization will be welcomed for the News and Views department of this magazine.

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How to Make a Local Meeting Interesting. One obstacle to the growth of the party organization, in both new and old territory, is that the regular weekly or fortnightly meetings are too often taken up with a prolonged discussion of trivial and uninteresting business, so that newcomers are repelled. H. G. Tersliner, State Secretary of Tennessee, makes this suggestion: "In answer to question how to make the meeting interesting when no speaker is at hand, I would suggest the reading of good Socialist books or the speeches of Socialist orators. A reader should be selected, a chapter read and then discussed. This discussion always arouses interest and trains those participating in public speaking. Try this, comrades; make your business short, then take turns reading. You will soon develop speakers in that way."

Giving Both Sides a Hearing. Lincoln Braden, who evidently lives on the Pacific slope, but omits to give his address, congratulates us on our new idea of open discussion. He is furthermore particularly pleased with the article by Cameron H. King on Asiatic Exclusion, and particularly displeased with the article by H. S. Victorsen on the same subject. He says that after a workingman has "carried his blanket" past thousands of his "brother" Japs, who are holding the jobs formerly held by himself and his friends, it knocks the theories out of his head that he has held on the subject of Japanese Immigration; he says it is all very well to love the Japs as ourselves, but rather unhealthy upon our wives and our children.

Under-Fed School Children.—As a result of the statements made by Robert Hunter in his **Poverty,** and John Spargo in his**The Bitter Cry of the Children,** concerning the physical condition of school children in this country, a number of prominent New York reformers and philanthropic workers formed the Committee for the Physical Welfare of School Children, and undertook an extensive investigation into the subject. It is a well-known fact that the committee expected to discredit the estimates made by the writers referred to. It will be remembered that Hunter asserted that there were some 70,000 underfed children in the public schools of New York City. Spargo took up the question and carried it very much further, coming to the conclusion that at least two million children in the public schools of the nation are underfed more or less seriously, and a great many more in need of medical attention. The Committee on the Physical Welfare of School Children had some 1400 children, from various districts—not the poorest, either—examined by a staff of medical inspectors. If the results noted in these districts are typical, as they may well be, there must be 1,248,000 children in the public schools of the nation suffering from malnutrition, that is to say, from the starvation disease. **They are not merely underfed, but the underfeeding has been chronic and serious enough to set up a disease—the disease of hunger!** The committee's report further indicates that there are probably 12,000,000 children in the schools needing medical attention! Of course, these results are worse than Hunter and Spargo ever charged.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

SOCIALIST BOOKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

We have started on the greatest campaign in the history of American socialism. Capitalism is breaking down: it can no longer feed and employ its slaves. Millions of working men and working women who know that something is wrong and that both the old parties stand for things as they are, will listen this year for the first time to the Socialist message.

No speaker, however able, can transform an inquirer into a clear-headed Socialist. Nothing but books will do it, and only the right kind of books. They must be readable, and they must state the principles of socialism clearly, so that the man who read them approvingly will want to work with the Socialist Party and will have no use for reforms.

The Common Sense of Socialism, by John Spargo, is recognized by friends and enemies alike as the best Socialist propaganda book that has yet appeared. For example, the Buffalo Evening News says: "It discusses what the author regards as socialism with an ease, a mastery of the subject from his point of view, that leaves nothing to be desired. . . . Mr. Spargo is not bitter about it and therein his book is a comparatively pleasant one. . . . He is radical enough to suit the Socialists and not violent enough to repel the reader who may look into his book for information on the subject." Cloth, $1.00; paper, 25 cents.

The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For. This briefer work by John Spargo has had a sale of seven thousand copies in a cloth edition at 50 cents, and we shall this month issue a paper edition at ten cents. which will be the best propaganda book at this price in the English language.

Value, Price and Profit. Marx himself is often pleasanter reading than his interpreters, and this short work is the clearest and best statement in any language of his theory of Surplus Value, which shows just how it is that the capitalist gets most of what the laborer produces. This book has heretofore been obtainable only in the edition of the S. L. P. We have now issued a much better edition, in large type and cloth binding, at 50 cents, and shall this month issue a paper edition at 10 cents.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Frederick Engels, is one of the few books that **must** be read to arrive at a clear understanding of the modern Socialist movement. In 1900 we published the first complete American edition of this book, and the plates have been worn out in printing many editions. We have now made new plates, in larger and clearer type, and the new paper edition retailing at 10 cents will be ready this month.

Other 10-cent books which should be sold at Socialist meetings everywhere are the **Communist Manifesto,** by Marx and Engels; **Merrie England,** by Robert Blatchford; **Class Struggles in America,**

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by A. M. Simons; **The Socialist Movement**, by Charles H. Vail; **The State and Socialism**, by Gabriel Deville; **Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism**, by Gabriel Deville, and **Crime and Criminals**, by Clarence S. Darrow. One each of these ten books, with a credit slip for forty cents to apply on a share of stock, will be mailed to any address for one dollar.

The Pocket Library of Socialism. This is a series of five-cent books, sixty different titles, each 32 pages and cover, just the right size to slip into a letter and light enough to enclose without making extra postage. Some of the recent additions to the series are **Where We Stand, Forces that Make for Socialism** and **A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller**, by John Spargo; **What Socialists Think**, by Charles H. Kerr; **Socialism and Slavery**, by H. M. Hyndman; **History and Economics**, by J. E. Sinclair, and **Industry and Democracy**, by Lewis J. Duncan. We shall also publish at once in this library the **National Socialist Platform of 1908**, with some of the most important resolutions adopted by the National Convention. A full set of the sixty books, or sixty copies assorted as desired, will be mailed to any address for a dollar, and with them a credit slip for forty cents, good toward the purchase of a share of stock.

SOCIALIST BOOK BULLETIN.

We have lately published a new book bulletin, not in newspaper form like the last two issues, but in the shape of the Review, and printed on super-calendered book paper, with portraits of Marx, Liebknecht, Lafargue, Labriola, Ferri, and a number of American Socialist writers. In it are full descriptions of all our books, nearly a hundred in cloth binding besides nearly a hundred pamphlets. Every reader of the Review who has not already received a copy of this bulletin should ask for it.

HOW TO GET BOOKS AT COST.

The authorized capital stock of the publishing house is $50,000, divided into 5,000 shares at $10.00 each. Of these 2,780 have been sold, leaving 2,220 in the treasury subject to sale. The stock draws no dividends, but every stockholder has the privilege of buying any book published by us at half the retail price if he pays the expressage, or at 40 per cent discount if we pay it.

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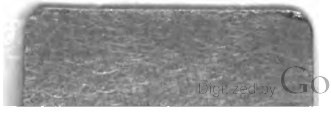
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